

A GENERAL
HISTORY of the WORLD,
FROM THE
CREATION to the present Time.

INCLUDING

All the EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, and STATES; their REVO-
LUTIONS, FORMS of GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGIONS,
CUSTOMS and MANNERS; the PROGRESS of their LEARN-
ING, ARTS, SCIENCES, COMMERCE and TRADE;

Together with

Their CHRONOLOGY, ANTIQUITIES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, and
CURIOSITIES of NATURE and ART.

By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Esq;
JOHN GRAY, Esq;

And others eminent in this Branch of Literature.

*cui lecta potenter erit res
Nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo.*

HOR.

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M DCC LXV.

A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

W O R L D.

THE HISTORY OF

I T A L Y.

CHARLEMAGNE, after having reduced *Pavia*, Affairs in the capital of *Lombardy*, and taken prisoner *Desiderius*, *Lombardy*. its king; whose ambition, encouraged by various successes, so alarmed the pope, that he was under the necessity of throwing himself under the protection of the *Franks*, was crowned king of *Italy*, by the archbishop of *Milan*, at *Mentz*. Having thus fulfilled his engagements, and restored tranquility in the pope's dominions, he confirmed the grant of those territories made to the popes by his father *Pepin*, which included the greatest part of the kingdom of *Naples*, and returned to *France* with his royal prisoner, whom, after having divested him of his kingdom, he shut up in a monastery, and received the oath of allegiance of the *Lombards*.

This calm, however, was shortly after disturbed by the Success of princes of those territories which were situated in *Naples*: *Charles* viz. the dukes of *Friuli*, *Spoleto*, and *Benevento*, who took the advantage of the king's absence to revolt, and declared themselves independent; but, although *Charles* was engaged in another war with the *Saxons*, they were soon obliged to return to their allegiance. *Rotgand*, prince of *Friuli*, was defeated and put to death; which intimidated the two latter from farther rebellious proceedings; and, having renewed their allegiance, escaped punishment. *Charles*, however, added *Friuli* to his own dominions.

He sub-
dues the
Saxons,

The affairs of *Italy* being again settled, *Charles* resumed his expedition against the *Saxons*, and put a considerable stop to the incursions of the *Saracens* in *Spain*; but being informed that the *Lombards* were ripe for another revolt, and that they threatened to restore *Adalgise*, the son of the late king *Desiderius*, to *Italy*, he returned, with his family, in the *December* following, and arrived at *Pavia*; where he summoned a general assembly of the states, and published several excellent laws, most of which are still extant, especially for the punishment of robbery and murder. *Charles* then continued his journey to *Rome*, where his two sons, *Pepin* and *Lewis*, were, shortly after, most solemnly crowned by pope *Adrian*; the former king of *Lombardy*, and the latter king of *Aquitain*. *Pepin* was afterwards crowned at *Monza*, with an iron crown, by the archbishop of *Milan*; after which ceremony, *Charles*, having appointed a proper governor, and other officers, of *Pepin's* household, returned to *Germany*; where his presence at the diet of *Worms* was necessary.

but alarms
the em-
press *Irene*.

The rapid successes and growing power of *Charles* alarmed the empress *Irene*, who, disliking that the *Franks* should be masters of all *Italy*, concluded a secret treaty with *Arechis*, duke of *Benevento*, and *Tasillon*, duke of *Bavaria*, both brothers-in-law to *Adalgise*, the deprived prince of *Lombardy*, and resolved to re-instate him in his father's dominions; but *Charles* having early intelligence of this design, resolved to frustrate it; for which purpose he marched over the *Alps* to *Florence*, and ordered that city, which had been destroyed by *Totilla*, king of the *Goths*, to be rebuilt. From *Florence* he marched to *Rome*, where he was splendidly received by the pope.

Arechis
implores
peace.

Arechis, being apprehensive of the resentment of *Charles*, dispatched his eldest son, *Romuald*, to *Rome*, to beg for a peace; but *Charles*, who continued deaf to his entreaties, detained *Romuald*, and marched directly on to *Capua*, which he took with little resistance. *Arechis*, informed of this, retired precipitately to *Salerno*; from whence he sent another ambassador, with the most profound submissions, to *Charles*; who, at length, granted him a peace, on condition of his paying a yearly tribute, besides a vast sum of money, to *Pepin*; and he took with him *Arechis's* second son, *Grimoald*, and his daughter *Adeleisa*, as hostages for the performance of their father's engagements. *Arechis* and his eldest son soon after dying, *Charles* generously conferred the government upon *Grimoald*, who was greatly beloved and gladly received by the *Beneventines*.

He sub-
dues *Ta-*
sillon.

Charlemagne, upon his arrival in *Germany*, in order to reduce *Tasillon* to obedience, raised a considerable army of *Franks* and *Saxons*, who assembled at the *Danube*, whilst he in person marched with another body to the river *Lech*. He also ordered his son *Pepin*, with an army of *Italians*, to march to the *Trentine*; by which *Tasillon* was surrounded,
and,

and, thinking it in vain to make any resistance against so powerful an enemy, he quietly submitted ; and, having renewed his allegiance, and given proper hostages (amongst whom was his son *Theodon*) for his fidelity, *Charles* pardoned him. *Tasillon*, however, being convicted of inviting the *Hunns*, in consequence of his treaty with *Irene*, to invade the *Franks*, he was, with his son *Theodon*, condemned to a cloyster for the rest of his days. The *Hunns*, according to engagement, invaded *Germany* and *Friuli* ; but were obliged to retire from both countries, with considerable loss, to *Pannonia*.

In the mean time, *Adalgise* did all he could to get himself reinstated, and, by his intrigues, prevented the intended match between the daughter of *Charlemagne* and the emperor *gise, Constantine*; in this he was, in a great measure, encouraged by *Irene*, the empress-mother, who was jealous lest she should lose her influence over the emperor, by the young empress persuading him to take the reins of government entirely to himself. *Constantine* being ignorant of those intrigues, and thinking himself slighted by *Charles*, which opinion he was confirmed in by the artful insinuations of *Adalgise*, he resolved to resent the supposed affront, and, at the same time, to drive the *Franks* from *Italy*. In order to effect this, he gave the command of a large army to *Adalgise* ; thinking that the presence of the son of their former king might be the means of reducing them. *Pepin*, at this time, being jointly employed with his father against the *Hunns*, received the news of this invasion by an express from *Grimoald*, and hastened back to *Italy*; but sent the charge of commander-in-chief, for suppressing the rebels, to *Grimoald* ; who, being joined by the duke of *Spoleto*, and some other princes tributary to *Pepin*, immediately marched against the rebels, who were landed in *Calabria* ; and, after an obstinate and most bloody dispute, entirely routed them, taking all their baggage, with *Adalgise*, and the principal officers, prisoners. *Adalgise* was immediately put to death, that he might no longer be a means of rebellious disturbances in *Italy*. who is put to death.

Grimoald, notwithstanding this great piece of service, having received, about four years after, some slights from *Pepin*, which were exaggerated by his mother, at her persuasion, revolted from his allegiance. *Pepin*'s army not being in a state to cope with so formidable an adversary, he implored assistance from his father, who sent his second son, *Leouis*, king of *Aquitain*, to his relief ; and *Pepin*, being joined by his brother, they marched against *Grimoald* about the end of *November*, and with great difficulty subdued him ; and, laying the whole country waste, returned home.

Pope *Adrian*, about two years after this, dying, was succeeded by *Leo* ; who, after his consecration, sent ambassadors to *Charlemagne* with the standard of the city, acknowledging his submission ; for, though the popes had renounced *Italy* ravaged by the *Hunns*. their

their allegiance to the emperor, they had not yet assumed independency ; but, on account of the great power of *Charles*, they sheltered themselves under his protection, and desired he would send a deputation to receive their oaths of allegiance.

Part of *Italy* being, at this time, ravaged by the frequent incursions of the *Hunns*, *Charles* sent *Henry*, duke of *Friuli*, in whom he placed great confidence, with a considerable army, to drive them out. *Pepin* being engaged in an expedition against the *Hungarians*, had various success ; but got one victory which proved decisive. After this, he retired to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, loaden with spoil and treasure, where he heard of the death of the emperor *Constantine*, whose eyes had been put out by *Irene*, the empress-mother. He also received news of the death of *Hildebrand*, duke of *Spoletto*.

Conspira- The promotion of *Leo* to the papal dignity gave great of-
cy against fence to the relations of *Adrian*, who formed a conspiracy
Leo. against his liberty ; which they carried into execution, and, with a band of ruffians hired for that purpose, attacked the pope on St. *George's* day, in the chapel of St. *Stephen* ; and, after wounding him, they stripped him of his robes, and thrust him into the monastery under a strong guard. He was soon after, by the address of one *Alcuin*, his servant, who corrupted the guards, removed to St. *Peter's* church ; where he continued concealed till the duke of *Spoletto* relieved him with an army. *Leo* went, after this, into *Germany* ; where he was received with suitable distinction by *Charlemagne*, and proposed to remain there till affairs at *Rome* should be in a state of tranquility ; and an opportunity soon after happening, he returned to *Rome* with a most splendid retinue. At this time *Charles* received the news of the death of his favourite, *Henry*, duke of *Friuli*, who had been assassinated at *Tarsatz*, in *Illiricum*.

Charles The spirit of the faction, who opposed *Leo*, being not yet
returns to subdued, and the chiefs of it threatening to throw them-
Rome, selves again under the emperor's protection, *Charles* thought his presence in *Rome* necessary to quell the disturbances ; and, in order to give a face of justice to his proceedings, declared *Leo* should be regularly tried for the crimes laid to his charge. Accordingly, having settled his affairs in *Germany*, he set out for *Italy*. First of all he went to *Tarsatz*, where he created a new duke of *Friuli*, named *Cardolathus*, after having severely punished the accomplices in the murder of *Henry*. Whilst *Charles* was preparing to proceed to *Rome*, he received news of *Grimoald's* having again revolted. Upon this he went to *Ancona*, where *Pepin* then was, and sent him with an army against *Grimoald* ; and, as the affairs of *Charles* were in a very critical situation at *Rome*, he hastened thither, and, upon his arrival, nominated the day of *Leo's* trial. The persons appointed for judges declaring that they could not proceed against their superior ; and the pope declaring him-
self

self, on the Holy Gospels, innocent, was acquitted by the whole assembly. *Leo*, as an acknowledgment to *Charles* for where his timely intercession, proposed to the senate the declaring he is and crowning him emperor of the *Romans*; which being unanimously agreed to, they proclaimed him, “*Charles Augustus*, crowned by God, emperor of the *Romans*.” After which, he was solemnly crowned and invested amidst the acclamations of the people; and then, having made some precautionary regulations, he returned to *Germany*.

Pepin, who marched against *Grimoald*, after having taken *Pepin* and destroyed several towns, receiving an account of the latter having taken *Luceria*, and making *Vinigise* (who had, for his former services against *Adalgise*, been created duke of *Cor-Spoletto*) prisoner, determined to conclude a truce with *Grimoald*, who accepted of it, setting *Vinigise* at liberty. The *Saracens*, at this time, seized on the island of *Corfica*; but *Pepin* having early intelligence of it, sent a powerful fleet to drive them off; which arriving at the above place unexpectedly, took thirteen ships of the infidels, and destroyed the rest.

The *Venetians*, at the instigation of *Nicephorus*, the eastern emperor, disavowed the supremacy of *Charlemagne*, notwithstanding all the remonstrances and persuasions to the contrary by their duke *Obalerius*, who was sent into exile. They were strongly supported by *Nicetas*, the patrician, who arrived in the *Adriatic*; and a diversion was, at the same time, made by another fleet in the *Lower Sea*. The latter took *Populonium*, in *Hetruria*, while the former, being joined by the *Venetians*, attacked *Comaclo*, but were repulsed by *Pepin*’s army. After this, they proposed a truce; which *Obalaris* dissuaded *Pepin* to accept of. The *Saracens* observing those dissensions among the *Christian* powers, took the advantage of them, and attacked *Corfica* and *Sardinia*; from whence they carried off many prisoners and much plunder with little resistance.

The truce proposed by the *Venetians* being rejected, the war was vigorously carried on, the next year, against them with *Pepin*, both by land and sea; he being resolved, at any rate, to re-establish his father’s supremacy, and to restore *Obalerius* and *Valantine*, the degraded dukes. At first, the success of *Pepin* was rapid, having taken and reduced all the cities on their frontiers, from whence he proceeded to *Metamaucum*, the ducal residence; which place was immediately abandoned by its inhabitants, who retired to the islands *Rialto* and *Olivola*, which were strongly fortified by nature; the water being so shallow, and the coast so rocky, as to render it impossible for the large vessels of the enemy to get near their forts. *Pepin* being determined to attack them, notwithstanding these disadvantages, ordered all his smallest vessels and boats to be manned; and, taking an opportunity of the tide’s setting in, attempted a landing; but they were vigorously

Death of
Pepin.

ously opposed by the *Venetians*, who, on the reflux of the tide, which left *Pepin's* vessels on ground, sallied out and burnt most of them ; whilst their crews, endeavouring to regain their ships, were mostly drowned. This defeat so chagrined *Pepin* that he did not long survive it ; for, in the same year, he died at *Milan*, in the flower of his age, leaving a natural son, named *Bernard*, and five daughters.

Charles, on his receiving the news of his son's death, was, for some time, inconsolable ; and, on account of the affection he bore him, appointed *Bernard* to succeed him in the kingdom of *Italy*. As that kingdom was threatened by another invasion from the *Saracens*, in order to secure a peaceable possession of it for the young king, he concluded a peace with the eastern emperor, giving him up his sovereignty over *Venice*.

War with
the *Sara-*
cens.

The first expedition *Bernard* was employed in, was, in conjunction with *Wala*, governor of *Saxony*, against the *Avars*, who had invaded *Italy* ; but, upon his arrival in that kingdom, they rather chose to attack *Sardinia* ; where, in a short time, they were almost totally cut off. The next year, however, the *Saracens*, having got together another army, with a formidable fleet, invaded *Corfica* ; from whence returning to *Spain*, they lost eight of their ships in an obstinate engagement with the governor of *Majorca*. To revenge this loss, they attacked and plundered *Civita Vecchia* ; and *Nice*, in *Provence*, underwent the same fate ; but attempting to land again on *Sardinia*, they were repulsed, with great loss both of men and ships.

Death of
Charles
the Great,

Italy being now freed from the incursions of the *Hunns* and *Saracens*, and *Grimoald*, prince of *Benevento*, once more submitting, a general tranquility was restored to that kingdom. *Charles*, tired with the toils of empire, and greatly affected with the loss of his two sons, *Charles* and *Pepin*, resolved to give up the reins of government in favour of his surviving son *Lewis* ; whom having declared his heir, he caused to be crowned emperor in the year 813 ; and ordered *Bernard*, in the same year, to be crowned king of *Italy* ; which was accordingly performed at *Monza*. But *Charles* did not long enjoy the sweets of retirement, for, being soon after attacked with a pleuretic fever, he died, on the twenty-eighth of *January* following, in the seventieth year of his age.

who is
succeeded
by his son
Lewis.

Lewis, upon the death of his father, sent for his nephew *Bernard* to *Aix-la-Chapelle* ; where they jointly settled and renewed the treaty which was made by their father with *Leo*, the emperor of *Constantinople*. They also ratified the peace which had been concluded with *Grimoald*. Great disturbances happening at *Rome* about this time, *Lewis* sent *Bernard* to enquire into the cause of them ; and he found that the faction which had formerly opposed pope *Leo*, upon the death of *Charlemagne*, his protector, was revived ; but that the chiefs of it were seized and indiscriminately put to death by *Leo*.

Leo. Upon this, *Bernard* sent an account of the whole proceedings, together with a deputation from the pope, to his brother, who was well satisfied with *Leo's* proceedings.

Leo, the next year, dying, was succeeded by *Stephen IV*. Succession who, immediately after his election, ordered the *Romans* to of the take the oath of allegiance to *Lewis*; and was afterwards at- pope. tended by *Bernard* into *Germany*, where he crowned *Lewis* emperor. *Stephen* enjoyed this high station but a short time after he returned to *Rome*; and *Paschal*, who was not very well attached to the state of dependency upon *Lewis*, succeeded him, and was elected without giving the emperor previous notice; which excited, in some degree, resentment in *Lewis*: but, upon *Paschal's* sending a most submissive apology for his taking this step without his knowledge, *Lewis* not only overlooked it, but renewed the former grant of lands made to the popes. *Lewis*, in the same year, caused his eldest son, *Lotharius*, to be crowned emperor; *Pepin*, his second son, king of *Aquitain*; and his third son, *Lewis*, king of *Bavaria*.

Those promotions excited great discontents in *Bernard*, *Bernard* who, as being the only son to the elder brother of *Lewis*, invades looked upon himself to have an undoubted right to the em- the terri- pire; and not finding himself included in the succession, was tories of determined to assert it by force; and, lest in his invasion of *Lewis*. his uncle's territories he might prove unsuccessful, he was resolved to secure a safe retreat into his own; for which purpose he fortified all the passes of the *Alps*. The account of these proceedings, alarming *Lewis*, he marched in person, at the head of a great army, to defeat the purposes of *Bernard*, which were not ripe for execution. The chiefs of the conspiracy being alarmed at the rapid progress of the imperialists, declined having any farther concern in the designs of their king; who, finding himself deserted, he went to *Chalons*, on the *Soane*, where the emperor then was, and implored his pardon, confessing his treason. *Lewis*, being previously resolved to punish this revolt with the greatest rigour, and having secured a great number of the conspirators, amongst whom were several bishops, he ordered the latter to be divested of their sees, and the eyes of all the laics to be put out, not excepting *Bernard*, of which operation he died His death: in a few days, in the fifth year of his reign.

While these things were transacting, *Grimoald*, prince of *The Hunns* *Benevento*, was assassinated by *Radalchis*, count of *Campania*, repulsed. who caused his friend *Sico* to be invested with the government of that principality. The latter declaring himself innocent of the murder of *Grimoald*, to the emperor, and expressing the greatest sentiments of friendship and amity, confirming it with a tributary consideration, was approved of by *Lewis*. The *Hunns*, at this time, committing outrages in *Germany*, *Lewis*, in conjunction with *Balderic*, whom he created duke of *Friuli*, in the room of *Cardolach*, who died

in the former year, marched against them; and, having ravaged *Pannonia*, returned to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and sent back *Balderic* to his dukedom; and, in his way, he reduced *Carinthia* and *Carniola*.

Suppo
created
duke of
Spoleto.

Disturb-
ances at
Rome.

Suppo, count of *Brescia*, was, at this time, created duke of *Spoleto*, in the room of *Vinigise*, who, being advanced to a great age, chose to spend the remainder of his days in a monastery. In the mean while, two opposite factions were committing great outrages in *Italy*; the one being secretly encouraged by *Paschal* to disavow the emperor's authority, and the other defending it. These dissensions were carried on to such a height, that *Paschal* ordered the eyes of two eminent prelates to be put out for preaching up obedience to the emperor; but fearing *Lewis's* resentment on this occasion, who had already been acquainted with the nature of the disturbances, he assembled the bishops; and swearing, in their presence, upon the Gospels, he had nothing to do in the rebellious proceedings against the emperor, they transmitted the account of it to *Lewis*, who overlooked the pope's ingratitude. *Paschal*, however, ordered that the persons he had thus punished, should be declared traitors to their country. These arbitrary proceedings of the pope were upon the point of being extended, but were put an end to by his death; which occasioned fresh disturbances about the election of a new one, and *Eugenius* was, in a tumultuous manner, consecrated, being strongly supported by the nobles.

Lotharius
visits *Italy*.

Lewis, chagrined at the contempt of his authority in this election, sent his son *Lotharius* into *Italy* to enquire into the cause of it, with a commission to create a duke of *Spoleto* in the room of *Suppo*, lately deceased; which dignity was conferred upon one *Adelard*, an *Italian* nobleman, who survived his investiture but a few months, and was succeeded by *Maurigno*, count of *Brescia*. *Lotharius*, upon his arrival at *Rome*, enquired strictly into the late disturbances, and severely punished the delinquents; and, to prevent such unauthorized proceedings for the future, he enacted a law, whereby no one should be elected or consecrated pope without the authority and consent of the emperor.

New par-
tition of
the impe-
rial terri-
tories;

Judith, the wife of *Lewis*, soliciting him to alter the partition he had formerly made of his dominions, in favour of *Charles*, his infant son, hastened the return of *Lotharius* to *Germany*, he being jealous of the empress's ascendancy; but before his arrival there, *Lewis* had settled the territories which were situated between the *Rhine*, the *Maine*, the *Necker*, and the *Danube*, with the greatest part of *Burgundy*, upon *Charles*, together with the title of king. The joint deprivation of *Lotharius* and his brothers, *Pepin* and *Lewis*, of so considerable a share of their revenues, caused them to retire, in a very discontented manner, to their kingdoms; which the empress taking advantage of, wheedled the emperor to turn out those ministers who had opposed her proceedings, and

and to create one *Bernard*, governor of *Catalonia*, administrator of the empire. These proceedings exasperating the deposed parties, they made a formal complaint of them to *Pepin*, and solicited him to inform his father of his injustice; and, if he could not convince him of it by fair means, peremptorily to insist upon an alteration in his conduct; they, at the same time, promising to assist *Pepin* in this negotiation with all their power and interests.

Pepin, glad of the preference shewn to him in this situation, readily granted them their request; and, after levying an army, proceeded to put his promises into execution; which the emperor hearing of, he secured the empress in a nunnery, and sent *Bernard* to his government, while he marched to *Compeigne* at the head of a small army. *Pepin* being advanced to the neighbourhood where *Judith* was confined, he commanded her to be brought before him; and made her promise, as she regarded her life, to persuade her husband to resign to him the empire, and retire to a monastery for the remainder of his days. *Judith*, who was desirous of an opportunity of speaking to the emperor, readily consented to undertake this task; and, arriving at the emperor's camp, she persuaded him to feign a consent to their injunctions; after which she was obliged by *Pepin* to take the veil.

The preference which the malecontents had given to *Pepin* awakened the jealousy of *Lotharius*, although he was glad of the revolt; and he determined to put himself at the head of it. Arriving therefore in *Germany* with a large army, he was there received, by the chiefs of the faction, as heir to the empire; upon which, *Pepin* retired, disobliged, to his own kingdom.

Lewis being obliged to comply with *Lotharius's* injunctions, *Lewis* went into a monastery; but the monks desiring him not to be tired to a disheartened, and to exert his authority the same as if he was not deposed, persuaded him to send ambassadors to his sons *Pepin* and *Lewis*, to demand, on their allegiance to him, to employ their utmost endeavours to reinstate him in his authority. These messages were not without effect; for *Pepin*, who had been before chagrined at his brother's superseding him, readily obeyed, as also did *Lewis*; and the emperor ordered a diet to be held at *Nimeguen*, to which he cited the princes of the empire to attend. This resolution of the emperor daunting the conspirators, and, at the same time, encouraging those chiefs who were obliged, by the superior force of the malcontents, to espouse the cause of *Lotharius*, to re-assume their attachment to *Lewis*, *Lotharius* thought proper to implore his father's forgiveness; which was granted him, after a most serious, though affectionate, reproof.

While *Lotharius* was thus negotiating his reconciliation, the malecontents grew impatient at his absence; and, a re-
 port

port being spread amongst them that he was made a prisoner by the emperor, they gave a general alarm to their camp, and were determined to make one bold stroke for their liberty, imagining that *Lewis* would grant them no quarter. But *Lotharius* appearing with the emperor, he declared his reconciliation with him; and, at the same time, prevailed upon them to submit to the emperor's clemency; which was immediately complied with on their part. *Lotharius*, altho' he had procured his pardon, was deprived of his title of emperor; and was also obliged to bind himself, by solemn oath, not to take up arms against, or upon any account whatever disturb, the peace of the empire; the oath of allegiance, which his subjects, as emperor, had taken to him, being dissolved: after which he was suffered to return to *Italy*.

Peace being thus established, was, however, of very short duration; for *Bernard*, returning to court, was but coldly received by his former protectress the empress, and more so by *Lewis*, who forbade him his presence. *Bernard*, being thus discarded, resolved to sow dissention; for which purpose he went to *Aquitain*, where he alarmed *Pepin* with an insinuation of the emperor's determination to disinherit him and his brothers, *Lotharius* and *Lewis*, in favour of their brother-in-law *Charles*; which resolution his mother, *Judith*, had ascendancy enough over her husband to get him to confirm.

A new rebellion breaks out.

The brothers, alarmed at this, and conscious of their former disobedience, formed a scheme to frustrate the designs of *Judith*, and *Pepin* once more took arms against his father; in which proceeding he was seconded by his brother *Lewis*. Upon this, the emperor appointed a diet to be held at *Orleans*, to which he cited his three sons to appear personally; but, before the time of convocation was elapsed, being apprehensive of disagreeable consequences from their presence, he assembled an army, with which he marched against *Lewis*, who submitted on his pardon being granted. This submission of *Lewis* occasioned *Lotharius* to think proper to disavow his rebellious proceedings; and, not having openly appeared in arms, he easily obtained his reconciliation. *Pepin* persevering in his revolt, occasioned his father to send him a summons, ordering him to surrender on pain of being disinherited; which had the desired effect. Upon his arrival in the emperor's presence, he was put under an arrest, and was ordered by his father to be conducted prisoner to *Triers*; but making his escape in his way thither, he found means to get into his own kingdom, where he collected an army, and much harassed that of his father in his return to *Aix-la-Chapelle*.

Pepin disinherited.

The emperor, exasperated at this rebellion, and his anger being kept awake by the instigation of *Judith*, she easily accomplished her purpose, and got him to declare *Pepin* disinherited,

inherited; and his kingdom was immediately conferred upon *Charles*: but *Judith*, being apprehensive that this partial behaviour of her husband in behalf of the younger son, might exasperate *Lotharius*, she promised to get him re-instated in the imperial dignity.

Lotharius, finding these promises of no effect, he took *Pe-* The pope
pin's part, and prevailed with the pope to accompany them mediates.
as a mediator between the emperor and his sons; but, altho' the pope yielded to their solicitations, and accepted of that salutary office, they every where published that his holiness was come in person to excommunicate the emperor for his unwarrantable proceedings. This assertion, joined to the personal appearance of the pope, influenced the common-people in behalf of the brothers; but only served to confirm the attachment of the nobles to the emperor, who wrote to the pope to desist from such proceedings on pain of being excommunicated himself; but *Gregory* disavowed his coming with any intention of excommunicating the emperor.

Lewis, secure in the attachment of the nobility and the *Lewis*
principal bishops of the empire, marched with his army to made pri-
attack the rebels; and, upon his appearance near their soner by
camp, which was between *Basil* and *Colmar*, the pope de- his sons,
manded an audience of him; and, after three days unsuc-
cessful solicitation, returned to *Lotharius*, who employed the
time to much better purpose than the good father had done;
for, having corrupted the hearts of all the common soldiers,
they deserted in one body to his army. This reduced *Lewis*
to the necessity of surrendering himself prisoner, on condition
of his life and liberty being granted; but he no sooner ar-
rived in the rebels camp than he was made close prisoner
and deposed; which violent proceedings having been pro-
tested against by *Gregory*, he returned to *Rome*.

Lotharius being declared emperor at *Compeigne*, obliged his
father to do public penance, and afterwards condemned him
to perpetual imprisonment; which inhuman proceeding ex-
asperating his other two sons, they demanded the liberty of
their father, whose misfortunes gained him several other
friends; and these, pitying his situation, concerted measures
for his restoration. *Lotharius* finding himself under the ne- but re-
cessity of submitting, he procured pardon, on condition of covers the
returning to his own kingdom, and never to repass the *Alps* empire.
without permission of the emperor.

The submission of *Lotharius* was, in a great measure, for-
warded by his having received news of the *Saracens* irruption
into *Italy*, and committing the most dreadful ravages; but,
upon the appearance of *Lotharius's* army, they thought pro-
per to retire. After repelling the infidels, *Lotharius*, instead
of taking proper methods for the future security of the pro-
vinces, seized upon several of them; which, as before
mentioned, had been granted to the popes; but, by peremp-
tory

tory orders from his father, he was obliged to restore them.

Lotharius
emperor.

Pepin, king of *Aquitain*, dying at this time, the emperor sent for *Lotharius* from *Italy*, and divided the empire between him and his brother-in-law *Charles*; after which he returned to *Italy*: but his father soon after dying, he marched into *France*, where he was received and acknowledged as emperor. Not contented with the partition his father had made of the empire, he began to usurp that part of it which was left to *Charles*. This obliged the latter to ask assistance of his brother *Lewis*, king of *Bavaria*; who entering into an alliance with him, they gave battle to the army of *Lotharius* near *Fontenay*; and, after a most bloody engagement, entirely routed it, and obliged him to retire to *Vienna*.

The em-
pire again
divided.

The victorious brothers immediately pursuing those advantages, seized upon all *Lotharius's* dominions in *Germany*; which they divided between them, and prevailed upon the bishops and nobles to declare them forfeited by *Lotharius*; who, finding his brothers so strongly supported, sued for peace, and submitted to another partition of the empire, which was divided between the three brothers equally; *Lotharius* taking the title of emperor, *Lewis* that of king of *Germany*, and *Charles* that of king of *France*.

Sergius
chosen
pope.

Lotharius being thus engaged in *Germany*, he appointed his eldest son, *Lewis*, king of *Italy*; and sent him with an army into that kingdom, to enquire concerning the validity of the election of *Sergius*, who was appointed by the sacred college to succeed *Gregory*, deceased. In the course of the march of this army, great outrages were committed by it; which intimidated *Sergius*, and his party, from employing forcible means to confirm himself pope; he having procured himself to be elected without the concurrence of the emperor. *Sergius*, however, received *Lewis* with all the deference that used to be shewn to his ancestors; and, acknowledging the power and supremacy of the emperor, was, by him, confirmed pope, after a reprimand by *Lewis* for such proceedings without the emperor's consent. *Lewis*, the next day, was, by the pope, crowned king of the *Lombards*; and received, by commission, the oath of allegiance from the *Romans* to the emperor. *Lewis* also ordained that the former law of the pope's not being consecrated till confirmed by the emperor, should be, for the future, put into execution.

Lewis ar-
rives at
Rome,

Lewis, upon his arrival at *Rome*, ordered his army, consisting of *Franks* and *Lombards*, to be quartered without the walls of the city. Upon this they continued committing great disorders; and the *Romans*, mistaking the causes, apprehended, that *Lewis* had instructions to take possession of *Rome*. In those conjectures they were, in a manner, confirmed by the arrival of *Siconolphus*, prince of *Benevento*, at the head of a large army; which, they supposed,

posed, was sent for by *Lewis* to re-inforce him in case of necessity. But this apprehension was soon afterwards dispelled by a declaration, on the part of *Lewis*, disavowing such proceedings, and punishing the promoters and actors in these tumults; and confirmed by the peaceable departure of *Siconolphus*, who, it seems, had only come to concert measures with *Lewis* concerning the present state of the affairs of *Benevento*, where there was a dissention about the partition of that dutchy. *Lewis*, by virtue of his sovereign power, settled the dispute, by putting *Siconolphus* in possession of *Salerno*, and giving *Benevento* to his brother *Radelchis*.

Upon the return of *Lewis* to *Germany*, the *Saracens*, who where he were still possessed of *Bari*, renewed their ravages, and invaded *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Benevento*; upon which, the *Italians* deputed two ecclesiastics, who repaired to *Germany*, to implore the return of *Lewis* to protect them. The emperor *Lotharius*, who was zealous for the re-establishment of the imperial power, in matters ecclesiastical, and which he understood had been greatly violated, consented to the march of *Lewis* at the head of an army; with which, assisted by the *Capuans*, he defeated the *Saracens*; but gave the principality of *Salerno* to one *Ademarius*.

Lewis, returning to *Pavia*, ordered an assembly of the *Italian* prelates and states to be held at *Tessino*; and appointed the archbishop of *Milan*, and the patriarch of *Aquileia*, to enquire into the state of religion and the lives of ecclesiastics. Their report was unfavourable for both. *Lewis* therefore published an edict, commanding all the clergy and monks to conform themselves to their sacred institutions; and that lay-men should be judged by the civil-laws. *Lewis*, soon after this publication, was alarmed by the information against one *Gratian*, who held a considerable rank at *Rome*, and was accused of a design to join with the *Greek* emperor in driving the *Franks* out of *Italy*. *Lewis*, upon this, communicated the affair to *Leo* at *Rome*; but *Gratian*, in a solemn assembly of nobles and senators who were appointed to try him, not only cleared himself, but turned the charge upon his accuser, who was punished accordingly. *Leo* before his death, which happened soon after, professed the greatest submission to the imperial power; but begged *Lotharius* to indulge the *Romans* in being governed by the civil-law of *Rome*, to which they had been always accustomed.

Notwithstanding those professions from the papal chair, nothing is more certain than that they were insincere, and that *Benedict III.* the pope who succeeded *Leo*, was chosen without the consent or knowledge of the emperors. He thought it sufficient that he made an apology, by his ambassador, for this proceeding; but they gave orders for a new election, and it fell upon one *Anastasius*, whom the other ecclesiastics with so much obstinacy refused to consecrate, that
the

the imperial deputies were obliged to allow of the election of *Benedict*.

Submis-
sion of
Lewis,

During this contest, the emperor *Lotharius* died ; and the kingdom of *Italy*, by the partition which he made of his dominions, fell to *Lewis*, who was obliged to be contented with that allotment. He carried his family and court to *Lombardy*, and applied himself to reform the abuses and promote the welfare of his kingdom, by making progresses thro' its chief cities and towns. He was received at *Venice* with great magnificence, and, being visited by pope *Nicholas* in his camp, out of politeness he went to meet him, and, for some time, held the bridle of his horse ; a servile ceremony which was afterwards construed into a duty to be performed by every emperor to the pope. Next year, the archbishop of *Vienna*, who had been excommunicated by the pope, put himself under the emperor's protection ; but it availed him so little, that, before he was restored to his see, he was obliged to submit to the will of his holiness.

who is
forced to
raise the
siege of
Bari.

In the year 867, *Adelgise* was suspected of corresponding with the *Saracens*, who still held *Bari*, but were defeated by *Lewis* through the assistance of the *Germans*. He was, however, obliged to raise the siege of *Bari*, with the loss of two thousand of his men. Upon the election of *Adrian II.* into the holy-see, he informed the imperial ambassadors, that he had not invited them to be present at the ceremony, because he was resolved, for the future, that no temporal prince should interfere in the choice of a pope. The succession of *Charles the Great* was, by this time, so miserably divided, that it was not in the power of *Lewis* to resent this usage as it deserved ; nor was he able, next year, to take *Bari*, tho' he was assisted by the *Greek* fleet. He drove the infidels, however, out of some other parts of *Italy* ; and, in the year 869, he, at last, took *Bari* ; but was forced to raise the siege of *Tarento*, which was held by the infidels.

A conspiracy of two counts against him being discovered, the conspirators fled to *Adelgise* at *Benevento* ; and *Lewis* being in haste to take possession of the estates which had fallen to him by the death of his brother *Lothair*, he pardoned the counts at the intercession of *Adelgise*. Those estates were usurped by *Charles the Bald*, king of *France*, who was exhorted by the pope to restore them to his nephew, the emperor *Lewis*, but all in vain ; upon which the pope crowned *Lewis* king of *Lorraine* (for so the dominions in question were called) that he might thereby strengthen his title. *Charles* knew that the *Italian* dominions of *Lewis* were too much harassed by the *Saracens* for him to make out his claim by force of arms ; but he was obliged to pay some regard to the king of *Germany*, who demanded a part of the same succession.

Progress
of the *Sa-
racens*,

In the year 871, *Lewis* found himself surrounded with various difficulties. The *Saracens*, being re-inforced, were powerful

powerful in *Italy*. *Basil*, the *Greek* emperor, being disappointed in marrying the daughter of *Lewis*, declared against him, erased his title of emperor out of the public deeds, and entered into a secret treaty with *Adelgise*, who treacherously surprized *Lewis* and made him prisoner; nor could he regain his liberty without making oath, that he never would again enter the territories of *Benevento*. The *Saracens*, encouraged by the *Greek* emperor, were still multiplying in *Italy*. *Lewis* who are besieged *Capua*, which made a strong resistance, and, when defeated. taken, he was resolved to have put all the inhabitants to the sword; but their bishop obtained their pardon by appearing before the emperor with the body of *St. Germain* upon his shoulders. The infidels, being soon after defeated near the same city, evacuated *Italy*; and the pope having absolved *Lewis* from the oath he had made to *Adelgise*, the latter fled to *Corfica*, but was soon after reconciled to *Lewis*, who still continued without male-issue.

The kingdom of *Italy* was an object worthy the attention of his two uncles, the kings of *France* and *Germany*; and each endeavoured to secure to himself the succession. The king of *Germany* had ceded his part of the *Lorrain* succession to *Lewis*, and he promised to protect the empress against the *Italian* nobles, who hated her because she had no children and meddled too much in the affairs of state. The king of *France*, on the other hand, made a party among those very nobles, and endeavoured to gain the pope to his side.

During those transactions, the infidels, under their king *Abdalla*, again invaded *Italy* and besieged *Salerno*; but they were defeated by *Lewis*, who died in 875, and was buried at *Milan*. He left issue only one daughter, *Ermengard*, who was the wife of *Boson*, king of *Provence*. *Lewis*, though an upright, well-meaning prince, and brave in his own person, is justly accused of suffering the popes to lay, through his want of spirit, those ambitious foundations of greatness which afterwards proved so fatal to the successors of *Charles the Great*.

Charles the Bald, king of *France*, on the death of *Lewis*, *Charles the Bald* was privately invited by the pope to enter *Italy* with an army; which he accordingly did, but was opposed by another enters under *Charles the Gross*, son to *Lewis*, king of *Germany*. *Italy*. *Charles the Bald* was at first victorious; but *Carloman*, another of *Lewis*'s sons, taking the command of his father's army, a negotiation ensued; in which it was agreed that the late emperor's succession should be divided between the two claimants, and that both armies should evacuate *Italy*. *Carloman* performed his part of the agreement, but *Charles*, under pretence of having been invited by the pope, marched on towards *Rome*, where he was to receive the imperial crown.

This was a favourable juncture for the holy-see. The *Italian* nobility, with the count of *Tuscany* at their head, demanded

The *Italians* demand an *Italian* king.

manded an *Italian* king ; and they were opposed by *Charles the Bald*, who shut up all the passages into *Italy*, lest he should be again disturbed by the king of *Germany*, who had the right of primogeniture on his side. The pope dreaded an *Italian* more than he did a *French* emperor ; and *Charles*, having seized upon the treasures of his nephew *Lewis*, bribed the pope and his clergy so high, that his holiness, at last, consented to give him the imperial crown, provided he would acknowledge that he held it by the gift of the see of *Rome*, which was, at the same time, declared to be independent of the empire. *Charles* agreed to those and other terms which derogated from his dignity, and was crowned in the *Vatican*, on *Christmas-day*, the same year. In *January* following, he went to *Pavia*, attended by the pope, who, in an assembly of the nobles held there, expatiated on the virtues of *Charles*. From thence he proceeded to the *Milanese*, where, by the archbishop of *Milan*, he was crowned king of *Lombardy*. While *Charles* was receiving those specious honours in *Italy*, the king of *Germany* was laying waste his *Italian* dominions. *Charles* had, at this time, very little real power in *Italy*, where he was despised on account of his mean submissions to the pope.

Their privileges confirmed.

The *Italian* princes and states laid hold of so favourable a conjuncture for strengthening their own independency, by obtaining from *Charles* a confirmation of their privileges ; which he readily granted them. He made *Boson*, whose sister he had married, his viceroy for *Italy* during his absence. He created the counts *Vido* and *Berengar* dukes ; the first, of *Spoletto* ; the latter, of *Friuli* ; and returned to *France*, which he found in a most miserable condition. In the mean while, *Albert*, count of *Tuscany*, renewed his intrigues with several other noblemen for raising an *Italian* to the imperial throne. They were joined by *Formosus*, bishop of *Porto*, and one *Gregory*, another ecclesiastic. *Albert* might have succeeded in his design, as *Charles* was in no condition to march back to *Italy*, had not the infidels again landed at *Tarento*, and, making an alliance with the inhabitants of *Salerno*, *Amalfi*, and *Naples*, they prepared to invade the *Roman* and *Tuscan* territories. The pope pressed *Charles* to march to his relief ; but he was not only in an ill state of health, but had been lately defeated by the king of *Italy*. *Charles* therefore could do no more than send orders to the duke of *Spoletto*, and some other *Italian* princes who depended on him, to assist the pope. They persuaded the prince of *Salerno* to break off his alliance with the infidels ; but *Sergius*, prince of *Naples*, preferred their friendship to that of the *Christians*, and was privately encouraged to the same by *Adelgise*, duke of *Benevento*, and *Lambert*, brother to the duke of *Spoletto*. *Guaferius*, prince of *Salerno*, accordingly attacked the *Neapolitans* in right of the pope, who ordered the heads of all the prisoners to be struck off ; and the prince of *Naples*, being seized by his

The pope distressed.

own brother *Anastasius*, a bishop, was sent prisoner to *Rome*, where his eyes were put out by order of his holiness.

Notwithstanding those events, the *Saracens* continued to make great progress in *Italy*, from whence the pope was afraid of being expelled. All he could do was by the force of money and submissions, to purchase some respite from the barbarians; and, the mean while, *Charles* listened so far to his repeated solicitations, that he gave him a meeting at *Pavia*, where the empress was to be crowned. News arriving, that *France* was again invaded by the *Germans*, that ceremony was performed at *Tortona*; and the emperor, whose troops had mutinied, set out for *France*, but died on the road; on the fifth of *October*; being poisoned, (as is said) by a *Jew* physician. *Charles*, upon his death bed, left the imperial regalia to his son *Lewis the Stammerer*, whom he appointed his successor. We can scarcely conceive greater confusion than happened in *Germany* on the death of *Charles the Bald*. *Carloman* was in the heart of *Lombardy*, at the head of an army. The *Capuans* had taken arms, and had chosen one *Ladenulph*, a converted *Saracen*, and a married man, to be their bishop, and so miserable was the pope's situation, that he was forced to consent to his consecration, nay, he afterwards made him bishop of *Gaeta*. *Ladenulph* proving a tyrant, the *Gaetans* invited the *Saracens* to relieve them, and they defeated the duke of *Gaeta*, who had been persuaded by the pope to fight them.

The *Italian* princes, headed by *Lambert*, who was now duke of *Spoleto*, resumed their design of raising an *Italian* to the empire; and demanded from the pope the imperial crown for *Lambert*, who, to make his claim good, entered *Rome* with an army. *John* the eighth, who was then pope, complained of this insult, and *Lambert* taxed him with having promised him the empire. *Lewis the Stammerer*, and *Carloman* the *German*, had obtained the like promise from his holiness. *Lambert* treated *John* with the utmost indignity. He refused to give him his ordinary titles of respect, and behaved towards him with the greatest rudeness. At last, he shut him up a prisoner in *Rome* itself. *John* continued inflexible against *Lambert*, who was suspected of holding a correspondence with the *Saracens*. His holiness therefore bought them off, by paying them twenty thousand marks of silver, and *Lambert* finding his party too weak, pretended to declare for *Carloman*; but was obliged to give the pope his liberty, after a month's imprisonment. His holiness then set sail for *Provence*, but sent an apology to *Carloman*, for not repairing to *Germany*, alledging, that the roads were blocked up by *Lambert*. *Boson*, king of *Arles*, or *Provence*, received *John* with so much affection, that it was thought he had promised the imperial crown to him likewise. At *Troyes* he excommunicated *Lambert*, crowned *Lewis the Stammerer*, king of *France*; and *Boson* undertook to re-

establish him on the papal throne, in hopes of himself being seated on that of the empire.

Feudal laws established in Italy.

It appears, that *Carloman* at this time asserted his hereditary right to the kingdom of *Italy*. *Charles the Bald*, had established the feudal laws in *Lombardy*, and *Tuscany*, which at this time, were divided into a vast number of petty principalities, who paid *Carloman*, though he was then in *Bavaria*, for their privileges ; which gave them the colour of independency upon all powers but that of the emperor, whom they knew to be at too great a distance to controul them. On the twenty-seventh of *November*, the pope, attended by *Boson*, at the head of an army, summoned an assembly of the *Italian* bishops and states at *Pavia*, to restore the peace of *Italy*. The artful pontif still kept the imperial crown, of which he pretended to have the disposal, vacant, and even suffered himself to be reconciled to *Lambert* and *Albert*, that he might have an opportunity to send back *Boson*, who accordingly returned to *Provence*. At this time, *Adelgise* of *Benevento*, was murdered by his own nephews ; one of whom seized his dukedom, without regard to the right of his son *Radclchis*. *John*, upon his return found the *Saracens* in possession of all the *Italian* sea-coasts towards *Fundi*, and *Terracina*. His holiness however, formed so powerful a confederacy, that he took eighteen of the infidels ships, and recovered from them six hundred captives. The county, or bishopric of *Capua*, was then torn by the civil dissensions, that happened among the grand-children of *Landolph*, its late bishop.

The *Saracens* again defeated.

Contest about the imperial title.

Those differences, and the attention now bestowed by the *Italian* princes, each to strengthen his own interest, were of infinite service to the *Saracens*, who were now upon the point of conquering *Rome* itself. It is probable, that the yoke of those infidels was far more tolerable to the *Italians*, than that of their own princes. Even the zealous *Athanasius* of *Naples*, joined them in laying waste *Benevento*, *Spoleto*, and the papal see, and shared in all their sacrilegious plunder. *Lewis the Stammerer*, was now dead, and had left two sons, both of them minors ; but still the pope refused to name the emperor. He amused the *Italian* princes, by appointing a meeting at *Rome*, for deliberating upon the choice of an emperor, or king of *Italy* ; but he enjoined the archbishop of *Milan*, not to crown any king of *Lombardy*, without his consent. At the same time, he gave a kind of exclusion to *Carloman*, of *Bavaria*, whose bodily infirmities, he said, disabled him from being chosen emperor ; and whose dominions were now possessed by *Lewis*, king of *Lorraine*. It is thought, not without some grounds, that all this management of the pope, was owing to a secret desire he had, to give the imperial crown to *Boson*. *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, suspecting this, demanded it of the pope, and being joined by the *French*, he invaded

Boson's

Boson's dominions, who was thereby disabled from furnishing the pope with any farther supplies against the infidels. *Charles the Gross*, then carried his army into *Italy*, and partly *Charles* cajoled, and partly threatened the pope into a promise of *the Gross*, making him emperor. The affairs of *Germany* obliging invades *Charles* to repass the *Alps*, the war was continued against *Italy*. *Boson*; a new division of *Germany* took place, and the pope was left exposed to the insults of the *Saracens*. *Athanasius*, of *Naples*, still continued to be their firm ally, and the more he was dissuaded from being so by the pope, who went to *Athanasius* *Naples* for that purpose, the more he seemed to be attached *of* to them; upon which the pope pronounced a sentence of *Naples* excommunication against him. This served only to confirm the union, and *Athanasius* sent an invitation to *Suchaim*, a *Saracen* prince, inviting him to come to *Italy*, and to put himself at the head of his countrymen there. *Athanasius*, was at this time possessed of *Capua*, which he suffered to be plundered by his troops. *Suchaim* accepted his invitation, but, finding that the ambitious prelate pretended to take the direction, he declared against *Athanasius*; who had assumed the civil, as well as the religious power of *Naples*, and plundered that territory. *Athanasius*, upon this, allied himself with *Guamar*, prince of *Salerno*; and raising a fresh army, drove the infidels out of *Naples*.

In 880, *Charles the Gross*, returned to *Italy*, and was *Charles* crowned king of *Lombardy*, by the archbishop of *Milan*; *the Gross* but was soon obliged to repass the *Alps*, to assist in carrying on the war against *Boson*. All of a sudden he returned to *Italy*, and on *Christmas-Day*, 881, he was crowned emperor by the pope in *Rome*, *Charles*, in his return to *Germany*, made an alliance with the *Venetians*, to defend their common coasts against the infidel, and other piratical states; but no sooner did he leave *Italy*, than the *Saracens* renewed their incursions upon the territories of the pope, who could by no means persuade him to return to his assistance, though he sent him a small body of troops. These not being sufficient to repress the infidels, who were kept in awe only by their *Christian* allies, especially the duke of *Spoleto*; the pope was preparing again to leave *Italy*, and fly to *France*, when he died at *Rome*, the *December* following. His death, revived the hopes of the *Italian* party; and *Marinus Galesianus*, who took the name of *Martin the Second*, was chosen pope. This pontif took off the excommunication that had been pronounced by his predecessor, upon the bishop of *Porto*, and others. But the *Italian* noblemen now having a pope to their own mind, made use of his authority to gain farther establishment to their own independencies. Meanwhile, the emperor, who had returned to *Italy*, ordered *Berengar*, the duke of *Friuli*, to execute the sentence that had been pronounced against the duke of *Spoleto* for treason; and pope *Martin* died on the sixteenth of *January* 884.

History of He was succeeded by pope *Adrian III*, who, like his pre-
Benevento decessors, was harrassed by the *Saracens*; but, upon the
 and the arrival of the emperor with an army of *Germans*, the duke
Neapolitan of *Spoleto*, who had joined the infidels, threw himself at his
 states. feet. Notwithstanding this, the *Saracens* continued their
 ravages to such a degree, that the fairest provinces in *Italy*
 were turned into deserts. The *Greek* emperor, who still
 claimed *Apulia*, as part of his dominions, sent succours to
 the *Calabrians*; and they shut up a large body of the *Sara-*
cens in *Santa Severina*. The infidels attempted to raise the
 siege, but they were defeated, and that place, with all the
Lower Calabria, fell into the hands of the *Greeks*. The
 principality of *Benevento*, at that time, contained a large ex-
 tent of territory, and was one of the most powerful in *Italy*,
 as well as the most turbulent. The subjects had deposed their
 prince *Radelchis*, and substituted his brother *Aio* in his room.
Aio was taken prisoner by *Guido*, or *Vido*, duke of *Spoleto*,
 who took *Garigliano* from the *Saracens*, and attempted to
 make himself master of *Benevento*, but the *Siputines*, who
 were subject to *Benevento*, surprised *Guido*, and delivered
Aio. The *Saracens*, in revenge, plundered and burnt the
 monastery of *Monte Casino*; and *Athanasius*, bishop of *Naples*,
 persuaded one *Atenulph*, to usurp the principality of *Capua*,
 in which he was countenanced by pope *Stephen IV*.

Decree The constant supplies of men, which the infidels receiv-
 about the ed from the continent, enabled them, notwithstanding the
 election many defeats they received, to continue their progress in
 of popes. *Italy*; where there was no principle of union among the
 princes and states. *Athanasius*, and *Atenulph*, were connect-
 ed with the *Saracens*, who drove *Guaimar*, prince of *Salerno*,
 to *Constantinople*, where he received a body of auxiliaries
 from the emperors *Leo*, and *Alexander*, who likewise con-
 firmed him in the possession of his principality. *Aio*, of
Benevento, declared himself independent of the *Greek* empire,
 and defeated the *Greek* auxiliaries under *Guaimar*, of *Salerno*.
Atenulph detached himself from *Athanasius*, and all the
 princes of that fine country, which now forms the kingdom
 of *Naples*, sought to maintain their independency, by the
 assistance of the *Saracens*, against the pope on the one hand,
 and the *Greek* emperor on the other. As to the *German*
 emperor, he was at this time of very little consideration in
Italy, where the princes and states towards the north were
 solicitous to form a bulwark against his influence; but
 their plan was far more noble than that of the *Neopolitans*.
 They persuaded the pope to publish a decree, importing,
 that popes might be consecrated without the presence of the
German emperor, or his ambassadors, and that if *Charles the*
Gross should die without issue, an *Italian* prince should be
 raised to the sovereignty of all *Italy*, with the title of em-
 peror. *Charles* marched into *Italy* with an army to do him-
 self justice, but without effect; for the *Normans* invaded
France

France at the pope's instigation, and he was forced to repass the Alps. Upon the death of Charles, the Italian nobility attempted to carry their plan of sovereignty into execution. Berengar, duke of Friuli, and Guido, duke of Spoleto, had each of them pretensions, as grandsons by the mother's side to Charlemagne, to a share of that prince's succession; and they had entered into a compact, that upon the death of Charles the Great, Guido, should be king of France, and Berengar, king of Italy. Guido was disappointed by the French raising count Eudes, or Odo, to their throne; but Berengar was crowned king of Italy at Pavia, by Anselm, archbishop of Milan, and actually exercised several acts of imperial sovereignty. Guido returned to Italy, and set up a claim to the imperial crown there, in opposition to Berengar, and by this competition, all the hopes of reviving the sovereignty of Italy were dashed. Berengar, shewed dispositions, that were incompatible with the lofty claims of the holy see; and Guido offered to confirm all the grants of Pepin and Charlemagne, and in a manner to hold his crown from the pope; who, upon those terms, adopted his cause.

Italy, was now rent by the factions of Guido and Berengar; that of Guido, by means of the pope, proved the most powerful; and he defeated his rival in a bloody battle, fought on the banks of the river Trebia. Berengar, recruiting his forces, ventured another battle near Brescia, which he lost likewise, and then fled to Germany; where he implored the assistance of the emperor Arnolph, who was then raising troops to march against both competitors. In the mean while, all Lombardy fell under the power of Guido, who on the nineteenth of February 890, actually was crowned emperor by pope Stephen, at Rome. Having confirmed all his engagements with the holy see, he held an assembly of the states, and passed some popular laws. Arnolph, was at this time advancing with an army, to make good his pretensions upon Italy; and, according to some authors, he agreed that Berengar should hold the crown of Lombardy under him, and he made his son Zeuentibold, general of the army that was to dispossess Guido of the throne of Italy. Zeuentibold marched to besiege Pavia, which he found he could not do without fighting Guido's army, which was strongly entrenched on the banks of the Verber. Guido, it seems, was hated by the inhabitants of the country, who were attached to Berengar, and his army was in danger of starving, when he secretly persuaded Zeuentibold to accept of a sum of money, and to return with his army to Germany. Guido, then made his son Lambert his associate, but was alarmed by the landing of the Saracens, in the northern parts of Italy, where they seized on a fort at the foot of the Alps, and committed vast depredations. The southern parts of Italy underwent the like calamities. Symbaslicius, the Greek general, besieged Benevento, and Aio being now dead, leaving

Guido
prevails.

behind him a son of ten years old, he reduced both that, and the principality, which were put under the government of *George*, a *Greek* patrician, who at first treated the *Beneventines* with great humanity.

Revolu- His government was so gentle, that many of the *Salerni-*
tions in tans, who were oppressed by the tyranny of their prince
Naples by *Guaimar*, conspired to put him in possession of *Salerno*. This
the *Greeks*. was by no means agreeable to the *Beneventines*, as it might
render their governor too powerful; and the conspiracy was
defeated, when it was on the point of being executed.
Berengar, all this while was not idle in *Germany*, and he
persuaded *Arnolph* to march into *Italy*, in person. *Arnolph*
took possession of *Verona*, without opposition; but was
obliged to besiege *Bergamo*, before he became master of it,
and ordered its governor *Ambrose*, to be hanged as a traitor.
In short, *Arnolph* soon made himself master of the chief
places of *Lombardy*, of which he made *Berengar* the gover-
nor, and obliged *Guido* to shut himself in *Spoleto*, when the
affairs of *Germany* forced him to leave *Italy*. *Guido* then re-
turned to *Lombardy*, where he died of a vomiting of blood,
and his death left *Berengar*, who no longer aspired to be
king of *Italy*, in possession of *Lombardy*, without a rival.
He found however, many enemies in *Guido's* party, which
continued very strong, and sided with his son *Lambert*, the
associated emperor. That prince's mother was *Ageltrude*,
a woman of spirit and capacity, and her son accepted of the
sovereignty by her advice. His party soon grew so power-
ful, that *Berengar* was driven out of *Pavia*, and retired to
Verona, where he remained inactive, while *Lambert* return-
ed to *Rome*, where every thing was in confusion. That
city was divided into two factions, that of *Sergius*, and that
of pope *Formosus*; the latter of whom had crowned *Lambert*,
who sided with *Sergius*, as did the count of *Tuscany*. *For-*
mosus, upon this, offered to the emperor *Arnolph* the crown
of *Italy*.

The em-
peror *Ar-*
molph's
expedi-
tion into
Italy.

He takes
Rome.

That emperor, now having the authority of a pope on
his side, marched with an army into *Italy*, intending to
crown his son *Zeuentibold*, king of *Lombardy*. *Lambert* en-
trusted his mother *Ageltrude* with the government of *Rome*,
which was besieged by *Arnolph*, and she defended it bravely.
Arnolph, carried on his approaches on the *Leonine* side of
Rome, so called from pope *Leo IV.* who had enclosed it
with a wall to defend it from the *Saracens*. A ridiculous
incident is said to have put *Arnolph* in possession of that
capital. A hare started, and the *German* soldiers running
after it with great eagerness, the garrison on the walls were
struck with a panic, upon which the imperialists mounted
the walls, got possession of one part of the city, and forced
the other to surrender. *Arnolph* being thus victorious, made
a most barbarous use of his power against *Sergius*, whom
he

he drove out of the city, and the *Romans* of his party, whom he indiscriminately put to death, without regard to age, sex, or profession. *Formosus* then crowned *Arnolph* emperor, but *Ageltrude* had made her escape to the city of *Fermo*. *Arnolph* leaving the government of *Rome*, (where the pope had very little power,) to *Farold*, one of his generals, laid siege to *Fermo*. *Ageltrude* made interest with a general officer about *Arnolph's* person, and who very possibly detested his cruelty, to present him with a draught, which she pretended would soften his disposition. Instead of that, it threw him into a lethargy, and affected his brain; upon which the siege was raised, and his army returned with him to *Lombardy*.

Berengar, perceiving himself slighted and neglected by *Berengar Arnolph*, had before this time left his camp; but hearing of the emperor's lethargy, he returned to it. *Arnolph* recovering, ordered *Berengar's* eyes to be put out; upon which he fled to *Verona*, where he complained to the public of his own wrongs, and the barbarity of the imperialists. It was no difficult matter to exasperate the *Italians* against the *Germans*, whom they butchered whenever they had an opportunity; and *Berengar* getting together an army, forced the emperor to repass the *Alps* at *Montijoux*. Upon the death of pope *Formosus*, which happened at this time, the *Romans* gratified to the full their hatred of the *Germans*. *Boniface VI.* who succeeded *Formosus*, lived but fifteen days after his election; and then the imperialists, upon his death, chose in his room, *Stephen VII.* who ordered the body of *Formosus* to be dug out of his grave, decapitated, and thrown with ignominy into the *Tiber*. He then annulled all his acts and decrees, and pronounced *Lambert*, the son of *Guido*, to be emperor. He even invalidated all the ordinations that had been performed by *Formosus*. The inconstancy of the *Romans* was such, that upon the death of *Stephen*, who is said to have been first imprisoned, and then strangled by the imperial faction; they chose in his stead one *Romanus*, who drew the body of *Formosus* out of the *Tiber*, and buried it in the vatican. *Romanus* dying, he was succeeded by *Theodore II.* whose pontificate lasted only twenty days. Pope *Sergius* being still alive, his party proposed to reinstate him in the holy see, but they could not prevail; and the third party, which was that of *Lambert*, chose *John IX.* who acknowledged *Lambert* for emperor, and indicted a council at *Ravenna*, where the coronation of *Arnolph* was annulled; and it was decreed, that the future popes should not be consecrated, but in presence of the emperor, or his deputies. *Lambert*, now thought himself secure upon the imperial throne, by attaching himself so strongly to the pope, but he thereby disgusted the *Italian* princes, and nobility, who alledged that he oppressed them.

Success of
Berengar
in *Lom-
bardy*.

Berengar, who was still at *Friuli*, took that opportunity of renewing his claim upon *Lombardy*, where *Lambert* was hated. *Mangifroy*, a count of *Alitan*, not only opposed him, but ravaged his dominions, and being taken prisoner by *Lambert*, he was by him put to death, as a terror to other rebellious subjects. This did not intimidate *Adelbert*, count of *Tuscany*, and another count, called *Hildebrand*, from conspiring against *Lambert*, who soon dissipated their troops, and *Adelbert* being taken, was carried prisoner to *Pavia*; but in the mean while, *Lambert* himself was assassinated by *Mangifroy's* son, whom he had imprudently admitted to his confidence. Upon *Lambert's* death, *Berengar* was received in *Pavia*, where he set at liberty *Adelbert*, with other prisoners of his party, and began to exercise acts of government. He could not however, get the better of the dislike, which many of the *Italian* princes still bore him, and who offered the crown of *Italy* to *Lewis*, the son of *Boson*, king of *Arles*, or *Provence*; who likewise claimed it in right of blood, and raised an army to make good his double title. The head of the conspirators was said to have been the marquis of *Furea*, who was married to a daughter of *Berengar*. The latter confirmed the count of *Tuscany* in his interest, and in 899, when *Lewis* entered *Italy*, he was opposed so strongly, that he and his army must have perished, or been cut in pieces, had he not taken a solemn oath to return peaceably to *Provence*, and never again to return to *Italy*, even if it was to receive the imperial crown.

Affairs of
Benevento

Towards the southern parts of *Italy*, the *Beneventines*, now entirely averse to the *Greeks*, invited *Guido*, of *Spoleto*, younger brother of *Lambert*, to take possession of their principality, which he did, and made *Furmaca* the *Greek* governor prisoner; but gave him his liberty upon payment of five thousand crowns. *Guido*, after governing *Benevento* for two years, wanted to return to *Spoleto*, and intended to have made his brother-in-law, *Guaimar*, his deputy, in *Benevento*; but as *Guaimar* was on his march to take possession of his government, he was surprized by a nobleman, who had enmity to him, and put out his eyes. The bishop then took the reins of government, to which finding himself unequal, he resigned them to *Ageltrude*, who restored her brother *Radelchis*, the same who had been deposed fourteen years before by *Aio*. *Radelchis*, was a weak indolent prince, and governed by a minister, who excited him to acts of cruelty and oppression, and this obliged some of the *Beneventine* lords to invite *Atenulph*, of *Capua*, to become their prince. *Atenulph*, before he accepted the offer, endeavoured to strengthen himself by an alliance with *Guaimar*, prince of *Capua*; but meeting with a repulse from him, he applied to *Athanasius*, the bishop, and now duke of *Naples*, who gave his daughter in marriage to *Landulph*,

Landulph, *Atenulph*'s son, and entered heartily into his alliance.

Atenulph, by means of the *Beneventine* exiles easily got of which possession of that city, with the person of *Radelchis*, and *Atenulph* was proclaimed duke in the year 900. *Atenulph*, then made becomes his son *Landulph* his associate in the government of *Benevento*, and retired to *Capua*, leaving *Peter* the bishop, governor of the city of *Benevento*. Many of the *Beneventines* had still a warm side towards the family of their ancient dukes, and by *Peter*'s persuasion formed a conspiracy against the reigning family. *Atenulph* receiving intelligence of this conspiracy, punished the ringleaders, and drove *Peter* to *Salerno*, where he was received by *Guaimir II.* who had deposed his father for his acts of oppression. *Atenulph*, then united the principality of *Benevento*, and the county of *Capua*, under one government, and formed a confederacy with *Gregory*, who had succeeded *Athanasius*, as duke of *Naples*, and the prince of *Amalfi*, for driving the *Saracens* from the forts they had built upon the *Garigliano*. The infidels being strongly situated there, he sent his son *Landulph* to desire assistance from the *Greek* emperor, which was readily granted, and *Atenulph* having associated another of his sons in the government, lived till the year 910. *Landulph*, upon his father's death, returned to *Benevento*, where he reigned jointly with his brother *Atenulph*, and they adhered to their father's maxim of not separating the duchy from the county.

The emperor *Leo*, had now formed a serious scheme for The once more getting footing in *Italy*. He sent over one *Greek* emperor at-
Nicholas Picigli, with an army, and the dignity of a patrician peror at-
was conferred by his successor *Constantine VIII.* upon *Landulph*, *Gregory*, duke of *Naples*, and *John*, duke of *Gaeta*. get foot-
As the *Greeks* had still a great interest in those parts, *Picigli* ing in
soon drew considerable reinforcements to his army; and *Italy*.
being joined by his allies he advanced to the *Garigliano*.
There seems, at this time, to have been a more than com-
mon unanimity among the princes of the southern parts of
Italy. The *Beneventines*, the *Capuans*, the *Salernitans*, and
the *Gaetans*, besieged the chief fort of the *Saracens* on the
one side of the river, and on the other it was blocked up
by the troops of the pope, and those of *Alberic*, marquis of
Tuscany, *Spoleto*, and *Camarino*. The *Saracens* made a brave
defence for three months, and then setting fire to the fort,
they attempted to escape; but being intercepted in their
flight, few of them escaped the sword. This happened in
the year 915.

In the northern parts of *Italy*, *Lewis*, now king of *Arles*, Where
treated with *Adelbert*, count of *Tuscany*, to abandon the in- *Berengar*
terest of *Berengar*, which he did, and *Lewis* being joined is assassi-
by the greatest part of *Lombardy*, without any regard to nated.
the oath he had taken, returned to *Italy* at the head of a
very

Hugh
count of
Arles de-
clared
king of
Italy.

very strong army; and *Berengar* was obliged to retire to *Verona*. *Berengar* was now in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, but the *Veronese*, who had been faithful to him before, plotted his destruction, and he was assassinated in a church; but *Milo*, count of *Verona*, revenged his death, by ordering the conspirators to be hanged. *Rodolph* king of *Burgundy*, had then been chosen emperor by the factious *Italians*; but the *Hunns* taking the advantage of the disorders of *Italy*, invaded that country, where they committed the most terrible ravages; being supported by *Adelbert*, count of *Tuscany*, whose dominions they ravaged equally with those of their other enemies, and then returned home. About the year 926, *Rodolph* was abandoned by almost all the *Italians*, and they offered their crown to *Hugh*, count of *Arles*. He was accordingly crowned at *Pavia*, by the archbishop of *Milan*, notwithstanding all the opposition made by *Rodolph*, who was forced to retire to *Burgundy*. Assassinations, plots, and conspiracies, compose the history of *Italy*, at this time; and the number of murders and rebellions that then happened there, are almost incredible.

The famous *Marozia*, widow to *Adelbert*, count of *Tuscany*, but now the wife of *Guido*, marquis of *Tuscany*, was at that time, in a manner, mistress of the see of *Rome*. She had raised to the popedom her own adulterous son, whom she had by pope *Sergius* III. called *John* X. and being in possession of the castle of *St. Angelo*, commanded the city of *Rome*, while *Hugh* was strengthening himself by alliances with the *Greeks*, *Germans*, and *Venetians*, and thereby he quelled the many conspiracies and plots that were formed against his life, and dignity. *Marozia*, had then a variance with the pope *Stephen*, another of her sons, who at her desire, was thrown into prison, and suffocated by her husband *Guido*. Soon after she became a widow, and she offered her person in marriage, with the government of *Rome*, to *Hugh*, who accepted of both, though he was the brother of her former husband. *Hugh* had scarcely got possession, when he was ignominiously expelled by *Alberic*, another of *Marozia's* sons; and the *Romans* attempting to restore their republican constitution, chose *Alberic* for their consul and patrician. In 928, pope *Leo* VI. died, and was succeeded by *Stephen* VIII. whose fate we have already seen. He was succeeded by *John* XI. another son of *Marozia*, by pope *Sergius*, while *Hugh* gave the marquisate of *Tuscany* to his brother *Boson*, and put out the eyes of his brother *Lambert*, who was its legal owner. The *Italians* then again offered their crown to *Rodolph*, who compromised matters with *Hugh*, while the *Saracens* ravaged *Genoa*, and other parts of *Italy*. The *Italians* next made an offer of their crown to *Arnold* of *Bavaria*, but he was totally defeated by *Hugh*, who associated his son, *Lothair*, with him in his government, and married him to *Adelaide*, *Rodolph's* daughter.

The

The *Romans*, all this time, continued to live under a re- The Ro-
publican form of government; and, about the year 932, *mans de-*
Hugh marched against them with an army; but the *Romans* fend
defended themselves so bravely, that he was obliged to retire. themselves
The several successions, at this time, among the *Italian* against
princes, are so confused, that it is next to impossible to de- *Hugh*.
velop them, through the inaccuracies of names, the inter-
marriages, and sometimes double marriages, divorces, adul-
teries, and arbitrary proceedings of the several parties. The Confused
sacerdotal, civil, and military characters, were commonly state of
blended in one person, as chance, interest, or ambition di- *Italy*.
rected; and we now hear of one *Manasses*, a bishop of
Arles, who was a general officer under *Hugh*, and, at the
same time, archbishop of *Milan*, bishop of *Verona* and *Man-*
tua, and bishop and marquis of *Trent*. *Hugh*, about the year
936, conciliated to his interest, by marriage and favours, *Be-*
rengar and *Anscarius*, the grandsons of the emperor *Berengar*
by his daughter *Gisla*, wife to *Adelbert*, marquis of *Ivrea*, and
who were two of the most powerful subjects in *Italy*. He
likewise gave his daughter in marriage to *Alberic*, with whom
he concluded a peace; but deprived his brother *Boson*, who
was caballing against him, of the marquisate of *Tuscany*,
which he bestowed upon one *Hubert*.

Next year, *Hugh* received a great accession of power in
Italy, by his marrying *Berta*, the widow of *Rodolph*, king of
Burgundy. The *Hungarians*, about this time, again invaded
Italy, and advanced as far as *Nola*; but were entirely defeat-
ed by *Marfi* and *Peligni*. *Alberic* seems, all this time, to
have kept his ascendancy in *Rome*; and *Stephen II.* who was
a *German*, succeeding to the papacy, contrary to *Albe-*
ric's inclinations, the latter flashed his holiness in the face in
such a manner as disabled him from ever again appearing
abroad.

During the popedom of *Stephen*, *Berengar*, and *Anscarius*, Successes
who very possibly thought that they had a hereditary right of *Hugh*.
to the crown of *Italy*, conspired against *Hugh*, who put *An-*
scarius to death; but *Berengar* fled to *Otho the Great*, emperor
of *Germany*. The *Saracens*, who were the great fomenters of
those disturbances, had still footing in *Italy*, especially at the
foot of the *Alps*; but they were now attacked and defeated by
Hugh, who was assisted by the *Greek* emperor. While he
was pursuing his advantages over those infidels, he had in-
telligence that *Berengar*, being protected by *Otho*, was pre-
paring to repass the *Alps*; upon which he made peace with
the *Saracens*, whom he allowed to settle between *Suabia* and
Italy, upon their promising to assist him against *Berengar*; and
then he dismissed his *Greek* auxiliaries. The bad policy of
this step was soon perceived by the cruelties which the *Sa-*
racens committed on all pilgrims travelling to *Italy* and *Rome*,
whom they plundered and murdered. The reputation of
Hugh,

Hugh, at this time, is said to have been so great as to have induced the *Greek* emperor, *Romanus*, to demand his daughter of him in marriage; and *Hugh* frankly declaring he had no legitimate daughter, his imperial majesty condescended to marry one *Bertha*, whom he had by a concubine, and who afterwards changed her name to *Eudoxia*.

He is dis-
possessed
by *Beren-*
gar,

The natural inconstancy of the *Italians*, and the partiality which *Hugh* discovered in favour of the *Burgundians*, at last disposed the former to throw off his yoke. *Berengar*, who was still in exile in *Germany*, being informed of this by the emissaries he sent into *Italy*, ventured to pass the *Alps* with a small army. It was soon increased by the defection of the *Italian* princes and states from *Hugh*, who, at last, raised an army, but found himself unable to subdue *Berengar*, who got possession of *Milan* and declared himself king of *Italy*. *Hugh*, upon this, offered to retire to *Burgundy*; but, though he was favoured in his request by the *Italians*, yet he and his son *Lothair* were detained, for some time, by *Berengar*, who endeavoured to make himself master of their treasures; but *Hugh* found means to carry them with him into *Burgundy*, where he turned monk and died soon after. *Lothair*, whom his father had associated in the government, still retained the title of king of *Italy*, and was recommended by the *Greek* emperor to the compassion of *Berengar*, who is said to have poisoned him at a feast.

who asso-
ciates his
son *Adel-*
bert with
himself in
the go-
vernment.

During the first years of *Berengar*'s reign, his situation was so unsettled, that he was obliged to harass his *Italian* subjects, that he might raise money for bribing the *Germans* and *Hungarians* to desist from their ravages of *Italy*. On the death of *Lothair*, he associated his son *Adelbert* with him in the government. *Adelaide*, or, as she is called, *Alice*, the widow of *Lothair*, still kept possession of *Pavia*; and rejecting a proposal made to her by *Berengar* for marrying his son, he took that city and shut her up in prison; from whence she escaped with the greatest difficulty, and gained the protection of one *Atho*, who gave her shelter in the strong castle of *Canoza*. There she was besieged by *Berengar*; but *Atho*, with her consent, sent for assistance to *Otho*, emperor of *Germany*. It appears, though it is hard to say upon what principle, that *Adelaide* was considered, at this time, as the heiress of *Italy*; and *Atho* proposed a match between her and *Otho*; which would put the latter in possession of that kingdom, where *Berengar*, in his turn, began now to be looked upon as an usurper. *Otho* accepted of the proposal, which had been backed by the pope; and he sent his son *Ludolph* with an army to the relief of his future consort. He himself followed with a still larger army; and advancing as far as *Verona*, he, with great difficulty, found means to inform *Adelaide* of his arrival; upon which *Berengar* raised the siege. *Otho* married the lady, expelled *Berengar*'s troops out of *Pavia*, and he and his queen entered that city in triumph.

Upon

Upon the return of *Otho* to *Germany*, his son *Conrad*, duke of *Lorrain*, prosecuted the war in *Italy* against *Berengar* with so much vigour, that he persuaded him to repair to *Germany* and to throw himself at *Otho's* feet. That emperor, by an unusual strain of generosity, deprived him only of the marquisates of *Verona* and *Friuli*, and restored to him the rest of his dominions, on condition of his holding them of the kings or emperors of *Germany*. *Otho's* sons in *Germany* rebelled against him on account of his marriage with *Adelaide*, and *Berengar* made use of that opportunity to resume his arms, and to prosecute, with the utmost tyranny and oppression, all who were in the imperial or papal interest. The *Italians* again applied to *Otho*, who sent one of his sons, with whom he had been lately reconciled, with an army into *Italy*, and *Berengar* was defeated; but the *German* prince was poisoned.

During those transactions, *Octavian Sporco*, said to be another son of *Marozia*, by *Alberic*, the *Roman* patrician, was, through his family interest, elected pope, though no more than eighteen years of age, and took the name of *John XII*. He declared war against *Berengar*, on account of the duchy of *Spolito*, of which both pretended to have the disposal. The interest of *John* happened to be the most powerful in those parts, and *Berengar* was obliged to retire to *Pavia*, while the pope and the archbishop of *Milan*, with other *Italian* princes, offered the crown of *Italy* to *Otho*, provided he would once more march to their assistance. The tyranny of *Berengar* had rendered him odious to the *Italians* of his own party, and, though they were forty thousand strong, they refused to serve under him, unless they were commanded by his son *Adelbert*, and unless *Berengar* should resign the kingdom. The latter rejected the condition, his army separated, and the chiefs of his party went over to *Otho*, who was crowned king of *Italy* at *Milan*. *Berengar* and his family were obliged to keep themselves concealed in various parts of *Italy*; but *Otho*, in 962, received from the pope the imperial crown at *Rome*. Mutual oaths and promises passed between the pope and the emperor on this occasion, and it was agreed that no future pope should be chosen but with the consent and in the presence of the imperial commissaries at *Rome*, who, in right of their emperor, were at liberty to exercise acts of sovereignty and jurisdiction in that capital.

After those regulations, which extended the imperial authority over *Italy* much farther than the pope intended it should reach, *Otho* marched with his army to extinguish the remains of *Berengar's* party; and his holiness made a secret treaty with *Adelbert* for driving the *Germans* out of *Italy*. *Otho* complained bitterly of this confederacy; but *John*, though young and abandoned to all kinds of vice, was, at once, brave and politic, treated his ambassadors with great contempt; and received *Adelbert* at *Rome* as the man destined to

to deliver *Italy* from imperial tyranny. It happened, however, that the *Italian* noblemen, who always hated the pope, favoured *Otho*, who marched to their relief; which obliged *John* to retire from *Rome* with all the papal treasures. *Otho*, upon his arrival at *Rome*, called together an assembly of ecclesiastics; in which all kind of crimes that the wickedness of the human heart, or the wantonness of impiety, could suggest, were alledged and proved against *John*, who not appearing was deposed from the popedom; and, in his room, was elected his chief secretary *Leo*; who, though a layman, was consecrated, and assumed the name of *Leo VIII.* This new pope, in gratitude to his benefactor, confirmed and enlarged all the imperial prerogatives over the pope; and *Otho*, unadvisedly dismissing his troops from *Rome*, was on the point of being surprized by the deposed pope *John*; who, by the force of money, had brought the fickle *Romans* to side with him; but the emperor was saved by the valour of his *German* soldiers.

The *Romans* rebel.

Otho's troops were, all this while, pushing the siege of *Monte Feltri*; which having reduced, *Berengar*, and his wife *Villa*, fell into his hands. The former died a prisoner in *Germany* two years after. *Adelbert* still continued to make head against the emperor, and had thrown strong garrisons into *Spoletto* and *Camarino*. *Otho* marched to reduce those cities; and *John* was so well beloved by the *Roman* ladies, that he was again admitted into *Rome*; where, in an assembly of the bishops, he reversed all the decrees of *Leo*, and punished the chiefs of the imperial faction with the loss of their tongues, noses, and hands. While he was thus pursuing his revenge, he pursued his pleasures likewise; but, in two or three days after holding the assembly, he was murdered by the husband of a *Roman* lady, with whom he was found in bed.

Tragical death of pope *John*.

The nobles and people of *Rome* were now in the situation they had often desired; for they were free, at once, from the tyranny of the pope and that of the emperor. Instead of recalling *Leo*, who had fled to *Otho*, they raised one *Benedict* to the popedom: but they were unable to maintain their choice; for the emperor, abandoning the siege of *Camarino*, returned with his army to *Rome*; where he re-instated *Leo*, and sent *Benedict*, as a private man, in exile to *Hamburgh*. Information arriving that *Adelbert* had fled to *Corfica*, *Otho*, instead of re-assuming, as he proposed to have done, the siege of *Camarino*, returned to *Germany*; while the *Italians* recalled *Adelbert*, and endeavoured to re-settle him in the kingdom of *Italy*. In the year 965, he was attacked and defeated by *Burchard*, one of *Otho's* generals; and this kept the *Romans* so much in awe, that, on the death of pope *Leo*, they consulted him in filling up the *Roman* see. He left them to their own liberty, and the election fell upon the bishop of *Nani*, who took the name of *John XIII.*

The

The republican magistrates, who still existed at *Rome*, looked upon this election as a diminution of their authority, and expelled the new pope, who had declared himself in very high terms for the emperor; and they made *Rofred*, one of the principal *Capuans*, their consul. *John* fled to *Capua*, where he was kindly received; and *Rofred* was assassinated. The emperor, *Otho*, who thought that he had acquired a double title to the sovereignty of *Italy*, in his own and his wife's right, returned to *Lombardy*; where he severely punished some noblemen who had been in the interest of *Adelbert*, and advanced to *Rome*.

The *Romans*, who did not support their spirit of independence with proper courage, hearing of *Otho's* march towards their city, recalled their exiled pope, *John*, from *Capua*, and re-instated him in the popedom. This did not satisfy *Otho*, who inflicted the most exemplary punishments upon the republican magistrates of *Rome*, and confirmed all the former privileges that had been granted to the *Venetians*. He then carried his pope to *Ravenna*, where, in an assembly of the *Italian* states, he confirmed all the grants of his predecessors to the holy-see; and created the son of *Otho*, count of *Canosa*, marquis of *Este*; a dignity which is still in that family, whose representatives are the present queen-dowager of *Spain* and the king her son. He then demanded from the *Greek* emperor, who still held *Apulia* and *Calabria*, his daughter *Theophania*, as a wife for his son *Otho*. *Nicephorus* resented his having taken the title of emperor, and refused the alliance: upon which *Otho* sent an army under his young son, who had lately been crowned emperor, against the *Greek* dominions in *Italy*, but, being intent upon plunder, it was defeated. This did not discourage *Otho*, who disposed of the *Italian* affairs at his pleasure; and so arbitrarily, that he gave the rich dutchy of *Milan* to one *Scrofa*, a butcher.

Mean while, *Nicephorus* being deposed and murdered by his subjects, his successor, the emperor *John*, cultivated the friendship of *Otho*, and gave his son the princess *Theophania* in marriage; the nuptials being celebrated at *Rome* with vast splendor. *John* found the friendship of *Otho* so necessary to him, at this time, that he gave up to him many important points; and the *German* historians pretend that he renounced, in his favour, his pretensions to *Apulia* and *Calabria*; to which the *German* emperors ever afterwards laid claim. This is one of the most important æras in the modern history of *Italy*, because, at that time, it was, in a manner, new modelled by *Otho*. He divided it into the following provinces: *Apulia* and *Calabria* (to which he appears to have had a claim either by cession from the *Greek* emperor, or as the dowry of the princess); the dukedom of *Benevento*; the provinces of *Campania*, and the *Romagna*; the dukedoms of *Spoletto*, *Tuscany*, and *Lombardy*; and the marquisates of *Ancona*, *Verona*, *Treviso*, *Friuli*, and *Genoa*. *Benevento*, the antient *Samnium*,
Otho

Otho bestowed upon a duke who bore its name. *Campania*, including *Lucania*, was divided among the dukes of *Capua*, *Naples*, and *Salerno*. *Rome* and the *Romagna*, *Ravenna* and its exarchate, *Spoletto*, *Tuscany*, and the marquissate of *Ancona*, was bestowed upon the popes; but they never possessed them. The remaining part of *Italy* formed that kingdom of which *Otho* pretended to be king. It is difficult, from the most enlightened accounts, to distinguish the nature of all the feudal tenures that *Otho* and his predecessors instituted in *Italy*. The most probable opinion is, that they differed from one another only in the proportion of the acknowledgments the feudatories were to pay, and the privileges they were suffered to exercise. It is certain that the *German* emperors pretended to be lords paramount over all; but that their sovereignty was always disputed by the popes, and sometimes disowned by states and princes, when linked together in a powerful confederacy. Exclusive of the division we have mentioned, were the free cities which formed the richest part of *Italy*. Their capital privilege consisted in the power they had of chusing their own magistrates, or potestas, who, however, were obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor, before the bishop, or the imperial commissary. The tribute which they paid in consideration of this privilege, consisted in a certain quantity of corn for subsisting the king's troops, which was called *fodera*, and which was commonly converted into money. The next species was, the making, keeping, and repairing public roads, for the conveniency of the royal troops, and this was called *parata*. The last was the furnishing, lodging, and all accommodations to the king's troops, whether they were in quarters, or encamped; and this species was called *mansoniacum*.

Origin of
titles of
distinction
there.

It would not be difficult to prove, that the original of all those duties lay in the *Gothic* constitutions, and existed from the earliest ages. They were even carried from *Germany* into *Britain*, where they may be still traced in the antient reservations of the *English* kings; and they continued in full force during the *Saxon* government there. It was likewise about this period, that the several denominations of honour were regulated. The titles of duke, marquis, and count, were known before; but *Otho* fixed their distinctions. A duke had a civil, as well as a military command, and headed his own tenants in time of war. The marquisses were supposed to serve on horseback, in time of peace as well as war, and were conservators of the limits, as laid down by the lords paramount; and the counts were obliged to attend the persons of the sovereign, as often as they required them, either in peace or war. Each was obliged to furnish a number of soldiers against the sovereign's enemies, according to the value of their fiefs; but this provision was productive of vast revolutions in *Europe*, by leaving the feudatories

stories at liberty to maintain larger armies, which in time they employed to the destruction of their neighbours, till at last they became too powerful for their sovereigns. The office of captain took rise about this time, and was then, as now, applied only in a military sense; being an officer appointed to the command of a certain number of men, at the pleasure of their respective superiors. In *Italy*, the commander of the troops of free states, and cities, was known by the name of captain, as they were not of dignity enough to constitute officers of a higher rank. The next in command to a captain, was called a valvasor, and their subalterns were termed valvasins; terms that are now in desuetude. *Otho* was preparing to clear *Italy* of the *Saracens*, when being obliged to return to *Germany*, he there died, in 973.

Otho's death ruined the system which he had just introduced into *Italy*, for some time, and laid the foundation of vast alterations, which took place, till his successors in the *German* empire found means to establish his plan. The pope, by a rare concurrence of circumstances, stood firm to the imperial interest; but an universal spirit of innovation (for it deserves not the name of liberty) possessed all the other *Italian* states. Some of the cities chose their own magistrates. Petty tyrants started up in others, assumed titles of distinction, and built citadels, which they garrisoned with their own banditti, for bridling their fellow citizens. The notion of restoring the forms of their antient republic revived among the *Romans*, and they chose one *Cincio* consul. By his order, the pope, who disapproved of the revolution, was thrown into prison, and strangled. One *Donus* was chosen in his place, and he soon after dying, was succeeded by *Boniface VII.* who with *Cincio*, was driven out of *Rome*, by the counts of *Tuscany*. These placed upon the papal throne, a grandson of the consul *Alberic*, who taking the name of *Benedict VII.* was supported by the emperor *Otho II.* and subdued the opposite faction; while *Boniface* carried the treasures of *Rome* to *Constantinople*, where he excited that emperor to assist the *Italians* in throwing off the *German* yoke. Every nobleman turned his own house into a fortification. The inhabitants of *Orvieto*, and most of the cities of *Tuscany*, followed their example, but that of *Milan* continued remarkably steady to the imperial interest.

In the mean while, the *Greek* emperors *Basil*, and *Constantine*, taking a body of *Saracens* into their pay, invaded *Italy*, which obliges us to review the state, for some years past, of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, the great subjects of contention between the *German* and *Greek* emperors. The *Italians* of those provinces, thought the *Greeks* the less dangerous masters, which obliged the late emperor *Otho* to treat them

History of
Apulia and
Calabria.

with great severity. *Pandolph*, the prince of *Benevento*, had been for some time a prisoner in *Constantinople*, where the princess *Theophania* had poisoned her first husband *Romanus*, had murdered *Nicephorus*, and advanced her lover *John Zimisces*, to the imperial throne. *Zimisces* set *Pandolph* at liberty, and upon his arrival in *Italy*, he was, by *Otho*, restored to his dukedom, and mediated a peace between the two emperors; in consequence of which, the *German* emperor's son, afterwards *Otho II.* married *Theophania*, step-daughter to *Zimisces*, and she was afterwards crowned empress at *Rome*. About this time, *Landolph*, the banished prince of *Capua*, surprized *Gisolph*, prince of *Salerno*, his nephew; and by pretending that the latter had been killed, he was recognized as prince of *Salerno*. A difference happening between *Landolph*, and his son *Indolph*, the latter discovered that their lawful prince *Gisolph*, was a prisoner at *Amalfi*; the duke of which, together with *Narino*, duke of *Naples*, supported *Landolph* in his usurpation. On this intelligence, some of the discontented *Salernitan* nobility, applied to *Pandolph Ironhead* of *Capua*, who, with great difficulty, replaced *Gisolph* in his principality; and he having no children, adopted for his successor *Pandolph*, the son of his deliverer; so that in process of time, the principalities of *Benevento*, *Salerno*, and *Capua*, with a great many other rich and powerful fiefs, were united in *Pandolph's* family.

Multiplication of fiefs in *Italy*.

Pandolph the elder, at the time of his death, seems to have been by far the most powerful prince in *Italy*; but he gave a mortal blow to the future greatness of his family, by dividing his dominions among his sons, and descendants. *Pandolph* the elder remained prince of *Salerno*. His second son *Landolph*, succeeded to *Capua*, and *Benevento*, and his four other sons *Landolph*, *Gisolph*, *Landenolph*, and *Atenolph*, obtained the duchy of *Spoletto*, the marquisate of *Cambrino*, and the remaining part of their father's succession. The truth is, the *Italian* history, excepting that of a very few states towards the north, more immediately depending on the *German* emperor, is at this period remarkably confused, through the vast number of petty princes into which it was then divided. The splitting large possessions into smaller fiefs, among the descendants of the same family, was the mistaken policy of the time and country, and was productive of many inconveniences, which ended in the general slavery, in which the *Italians* now live. To this practice, we may attribute the revival of surnames in that country, and the rise of them in other parts of *Europe*; where many descendants of the same family were possessed of separate estates, it was found absolutely necessary to distinguish them by some patronymic, official, personal, or local title. This practice was at first confined to princes and noblemen, but by degrees it has become universal.

It is evident from the course of history, that the absence Cruelty of of the *German* emperors always encouraged a spirit of in- *Otho* II. dependency among the *Italians*, which the former looked towards upon as rebellious, and punished it accordingly. *Otho* II. the *Ita-* was so bent on his revenge, that he made peace with the *lians*. *French*, and hearing that the *Greeks* had invaded *Italy*, he carried a powerful army over the *Alps*; and summoning an assembly of the *Italian* states about the middle of *August* 980, in the plains of *Roncalia*, he there appeared with all marks of sovereign power, and exercised to the full all it's proregatives, by receiving the allegiance and tribute of all who were present, punishing offences, and rewarding loyalty. *Tedald*, marquis of *Mantua*, and *Lanfranc*, of *Piacenza*, received remarkable testimonies of his bounty; but, it is said, that at *Rome* he invited the nobles to a general entertainment, where, in the midst of their festivity, he introduced armed soldiers into the room, who cut the throats of all the guests, excepting a few, who had not offended him. From *Rome* he directed his march against the confederate army of the *Greeks* and *Saracens*, who were now masters of *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, and he forced the *Romans*, the *Beneventines*, and the *Nepolitans*, who were intimidated by his power and cruelty, to join him.

At first, nothing could withstand *Otho's* arms, and he His pro- penetrated as far as *Tarento*. The year after, the *Greeks* gress in and *Saracens* being reinforced, and well knowing how much *Italy*. he was hated by the *Italians*, they gave him battle at *Basentello*, on the coast of *Calabria*, where through the defection of the *Italians* from him in the beginning of the engagement, he was entirely defeated, and escaped with great difficulty. *Landolph*, of *Capua*, and his brother *Atenolph*, were killed in the engagement; but the victors, instead of pursuing their blow, were contented with reconquering *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, while *Otho* remained at *Capua*, collecting, and reinforcing his army. It is probable that, at this time, the *Greeks* and *Saracens* conquered the antient *Lucania*, which they annexed to their *Italian* provinces, and in honour of the emperor *Basil*, they gave it the name of *Basilicata*. *Otho* entertained greater resentment against the *Italians*, than against the *Greeks*. He conferred the principality of *Capua*, on *Landenolph*, the brother of the deceased *Landolph*, and his mother *Aloara*; but, she dying, he was afterwards murdered by his subjects. *Otho* then marched against *Benevento*, which in revenge he gave up to the plunder of his soldiers; but he did not think to attack the *Greeks* and *Saracens*. Finding himself in a languishing state of health, he returned to *Verona*, where, in an assembly of the *Italian* states, his son *Otho*, a boy of ten years of age, was recognized for his successor, and he died at *Rome* on the His death. seventh of *December* following.

Revolu-
tion at
Rome

and *Milan*.

The em-
peror ap-
points a
pope.

Boniface VII. had, by this time, returned from *Greece*, and was still rich enough to bribe a party of the *Romans*, who threw the emperor's pope *John XIV.* into prison, where he died of hunger, while *Boniface* established himself upon the papal throne. *Crescentius*, surnamed *Numentanus*, was then the most powerful nobleman at *Rome*, and under the title of consul, he obtained the sovereignty of that city. Finding himself opposed by pope *John XV.* successor to *Boniface*, he drove him out of *Rome*; but the citizens, afraid lest *John* should introduce the *Germans* into *Italy*, soon recalled their pope; and the arrival of a *German* army overawed the *Romans*. About this time, *Bonicius*, the duke of *Milan*, made his son *Landolph* archbishop of that city; but being opposed by the people, much blood was shed; *Bonicius* being stabbed in his bed, and his family driven out of *Milan*. The *Milanese* then chose, like many other cities of *Italy*, a consul for their governor, and erected themselves into a commonwealth, a proceeding which established an aristocratic, and a republican party in that noble state, that afterwards were attended with terrible disorders. *Theophania*, mother to young *Otho*, then acted as his vicar in *Italy*, and *Hugh*, marquis of *Brandenburgh* commanded the *German* army there; but they were so intent on watching the motions of the *Romans*, *Greeks*, and *Saracens*, all of them equally their enemies, that they seem to have neglected the affairs of *Milan*.

Landolph, the banished archbishop, however, took refuge at the court of *Otho*, and prevailed with him to put himself at the head of an army, to re-establish the imperial authority in *Italy*, which became the more necessary from the state of affairs at *Rome*. *Crescentius* continued to act there as sovereign, and openly made dispositions for expelling the *Germans* out of *Italy*. *Otho*, who was now about twenty years of age, marched with an army into *Italy*, obliged the *Milanese* to receive him into their city as their conqueror, and master, and was there crowned king of *Lombardy*. The holy see being then vacant, *Otho*, by his own authority, named one *Bruno*, his kinsman, to the popedom; and he took the name of *Gregory V.* *Otho* then proceeded to *Rome*, where he was crowned emperor; but he pardoned *Crescentius*, and continued him in his consulate. The emperor being obliged to return to *Germany*, the *Romans*, at the instigation of *Crescentius*, renounced his authority, and expelled his pope. An obscure *Calabrian* was raised to the popedom, and *Gregory* went to *Germany*, to crave assistance from the emperor. *Crescentius* made use of that opportunity to fortify their city, but *Otho* returning to *Italy*, threw their pope, who had assumed the name of *John XVI.* from the top of the castle of *St. Angelo*, after his nose had been cut off, and his eyes put out. As to *Crescentius*, he died nobly fighting for the liberties of his country, according to some;

some; but, according to others, he was treacherously put to death by *Otho*, who having established his kinsman *Gregory* in the papedom, marched to *Tivoli*, where the inhabitants had murdered their duke *Mazolin*. *Otho* was prevailed upon by *St. Remwald* not to put them to the sword; but they gave up the murderers, and he demolished their walls. Returning to *Rome*, he revived the decrees of his predecessors, that no pope should be chosen, but by the imperial authority. *Gregory* dying, *Otho* appointed for his successor *Gerbert*, archbishop of *Ravenna*, who had been his preceptor, and was one of the most learned men of his age. It was probably by his means, that *Otho* was prevailed on to do public penance for his crimes, especially that of having for his concubine the wife of *Crescentius*, after having put his own empress either to death, or disgrace. Returning to *Germany*, the *Saracens* renewed their ravages in *Italy*, especially in *Campania*, where they took *Capua*. *Otho* returning with incredible speed, drove the infidels from their acquisitions, and kept his *Christmas* at *Rome*, where he quieted some disturbances by the death of the ringleaders.

Thinking that this was a favourable opportunity for re-establishing the system of his grand-father *Otho the Great*, he appointed courts of enquiry for that purpose; but this exasperated the *Romans* to such a degree, that, headed by the counts of *Tuscany*, who must have suffered considerably by such an enquiry, they almost surprized both him and the pope, and it was with the utmost difficulty that they escaped to the imperial army, which was encamped without the walls of *Rome*. The emperor giving orders for his army to be reinforced, prepared to take a signal revenge upon the *Romans*. According to the *Italian* authors, he had been obliged to leave his mistress, the widow of *Crescentius*, in *Rome*, and they sent her to his camp with their submissions. Not being able to prevail, and finding his resentment to be stronger than his love, she is said to have poisoned him with a pair of gloves. It is however certain, that he died and is at this time, though authors are not agreed as to the manner; and that the *Germans* returning home with the dead body of their emperor, were attacked by the *Italians* in their march; and it was with difficulty that they reached *Augsbourg*.

The circumstance of *Otho* dying without children, was laid hold on by the anti-imperial party in *Italy*, to persuade the people, that all connections between them and the *German* emperors were now dissolved; and *Ardoin*, marquis of *Furea*, in an assembly of the nobles of his party at *Pavia*, was elected king of *Italy*, at the same time that *Henry*, duke of *Bavaria* was declared emperor of *Germany*. The archbishop of *Milan* protested against the election of *Ardoin*, and informed the emperor of his proceedings. *Henry* gave the command of an army to the duke of *Carinthia*, to reduce *Ardoin*, but the duke was defeated in attempting to

The emperor
Henry
crowned
at Pavia.

Who re-
turns to
Germany
and then
to Italy.

Henry
crowned
at Rome.

pass the *Alps*. This was far from rendering the *Italians* unanimous in favour of *Ardoin*. The imperialists had still a powerful party in *Lombardy*, and the cities of *Pisa*, *Genoa*, and *Florence*, formed themselves into independent governments. Pope *Silvester*, about this time, died at *Rome*, and was succeeded by *John XIX.* and in the year 1005, *Henry* prepared to march into *Italy*, which was then recovering from a dreadful plague and famine. He was greatly favoured by the behaviour of *Ardoin*, who pretended to treat as rebels all the *Italians* who did not submit to his authority. *Ardoin* endeavoured, as before, to fortify the passes of the *Alps* against the *Germans*; but *Henry* dislodged the *Italians* from all their fortresses, forced *Ardoin* to retire towards *Furca* with his army, and proceeding to *Pavia*, he was there crowned king of *Italy* by the archbishop of *Milan*. Though the ceremony was performed amidst the acclamations of the people, yet, scarcely was it over, when he was attacked by them in his palace, and was saved only by his soldiers, who lay without, scaling the walls, and becoming masters of the city of *Pavia*. *Henry* proceeded with no extraordinary rigor against the inhabitants, and even saved the city from being plundered by his soldiers; but he was forced to return to *Germany* without having done any thing effectual towards the establishment of his power in *Italy*.

Scarcely was *Lombardy* evacuated by the *Germans*, when *Ardoin* again took the field with an army, and ravaged the lands of all the imperial party in *Italy*. *Sergius IV.* was then pope, but upon his death, some of the sacred college elected one *Gregory*, in his room, while another party chose *John*, who took the name of *Benedict VIII.* but being expelled by the contrary faction, he fled to *Germany*, where he threw himself upon the protection of the emperor. The ravages of *Ardoin* in the *Milaneze*, obliged *Arnolph* archbishop of *Milan*, again to apply to *Henry* for relief, and that emperor, accordingly, again marched into *Italy*; where *Ardoin* offered to resign all pretensions to the crown, provided he was suffered to remain in possession of the marquisate of *Furca*. *Henry*, knew that *Ardoin* had by this time rendered himself odious to the *Italians* by his tyranny, and rejecting his terms, he carried his army into the plain of *Roncalia*, where almost all the nobles and states of *Lombardy* paid him homage; and where he promulgated several laws for preventing murders, and regulating successions. *Henry*, after this, carrying about with him his virgin empress *Cunigunda*, made a kind of progress through the *Italian* states, and received the imperial crown at *Rome* from pope *Benedict*, whose interest had prevailed in that city. Though his elevation was owing to the patronage and protection of *Henry*, yet he retained within him so much of the pontif, that before the emperor entered the church, he obliged him to promise that he would observe his fidelity towards him,

and

and his successors popes of *Rome*, without restriction. *Henry* submitted to this, as the word fidelity was somewhat ambiguous, and reached no farther than the good faith, which one prince or man, is obliged to observe towards another; he therefore asserted his claim to the sovereignty of *Rome*, and his civil jurisdiction over that city; but at the same time he confirmed all the grants of his predecessors in favour of the popedom.

While the pope and the emperor seemed to be thus in a perfect good understanding with each other, the *Romans*, obliged to who hated them both, obliged the latter to remove into retire from *Lombardy*, where his authority was more respected; and thence. from thence he marched to *Germany*. *Ardoin* seized that opportunity to ravage the *Milaneſe*. He surprized *Vercelli*, and took *Como*, but was checked by the joint forces of the archbishops of *Milan*, and *Ravenna*; and perceiving that his hopes were at an end, he retired to a monastery, where he died in three years after. The bishops were then the only military leaders in *Italy*, and the people served under them with greater alacrity, than under any other generals, or the popes themselves.

In 1016, the *Saracens* of *Sicily*, and *Calabria*, made a The Sa- descent at *Erici*, and threatened *Rome* itself; the pope sent racens de- a naval force to cut off their retreat, while the bishops raised feated. a strong army which defeated them by land, none escaping but their leader, with a few attendants; and his wife, who was made prisoner, lost her head by the pope's order. About this time, the *Apulians*, and *Calabrians*, revolted from the *Greek* governor, who subdued them, but some escaped, particularly two chiefs, *Melo* and *Datus*, who engaged certain northern *Europeans*, then called *Normans*, to assist them.

The history of the origin of those *Norman* adventurers, Confede- comes more properly under another head of this work than racy of under this. They were a brave people, but being undisci- the Lom- plined, and ill armed; they, at first, were not a match for the bards. *Greeks* and their *Saracen* auxiliaries, and the southern *Italians* again invited the *German* emperor to march to their deliverance. The *Lombards* however, were so jealous of the imperial power at this time, that they conspired together against the marquis of *Mantua*, and endeavoured to intercept his bride, only because she was the daughter of the imperial vicar, in *Lombardy*. The emperor *Henry*, thought this a proper season for invading *Italy*, which he did with an army, that marched in three divisions. The command of the strongest was given to *Pelegrine*, archbishop of *Cologne*, who marched to *Capua*, where its duke *Pandulph*, surrendered himself to be his prisoner. *Pandulph* was known to have been engaged in many schemes against the *German* authority, and a favourer of the *Greeks* in *Italy*. He therefore was tried and condemned to die, but through *Pelegrine's* intercession,

intercession he was banished to *Germany*. *Henry* then, with great difficulty, and a vast loss of men, reduced the greatest part of *Apulia*, and *Calabria*. The situation of his affairs in *Germany*, did not admit of his remaining long in *Italy*, where many of the *Norman* adventurers still remained. Before his departure, he gave the principality of *Capua*, to another *Pandulph*, a count of *Trane*, and after ennobling many of the *Italians*, who had shewed themselves the best disposed to his interest, he employed the *Normans*, whom he looked upon as his own subjects, in recovering *Bari* out of the hands of the *Greeks*, and the *Saracens*. *Henry* then was profuse of his presents to the abbey of *Casino*, but his army being now almost dwindled to nothing, he returned to *Germany*, where he died next year.

Affairs of
Milan.

About the same time died pope *Benedict*, and the *Tuscan* faction then prevailing, he was succeeded by his brother *John*, though a laic, who took the name of *John XX*. As soon as the death of *Henry*, and the election of *Conrad* to succeed him was known in *Italy*, *Herebert*, archbishop of *Milan*, who pretended to papal powers in *Lombardy*, called an assembly of the nobles in the plain of *Roncalia*, and proposed *Conrad* for their king; but the meeting being averse to all *German* government, *Herebert* went to *Germany*, where he took the oaths of allegiance to *Conrad*, as king of *Lombardy*, and declared him such. *Conrad* thought he could not sufficiently reward *Herebert*'s zeal, and gave him, amongst other privileges, that of nominating the bishop of *Lodi*. That bishop soon after dying, and the inhabitants refusing to accept of *Herebert*'s nomination, he reduced them by force of arms, and expelled out of *Milan* all the nobles who opposed him. They fortified a place between *Lodi* and *Milan*, and, by the assistance of their friends in the neighbouring country, they defeated *Herebert*, drove him into *Germany*, and offered the crown of *Lombardy*, with the dignity of emperor, to *Robert* king of *France*, or his son *Hugh*. Both those princes declining that honour, the nobles applied to *William* duke of *Guienne*, who accepted of it; and found means to raise a rebellion against *Conrad*, in *Lorraine*, to divert him from an expedition, which he was preparing for *Italy*. *Conrad*, however, had the good fortune to suppress the revolt of the *Lorrainers*, and having the pope, the archbishop of *Milan*, and a great party of the *Italians* on his side, the *Milanese* exiles, for the greatest part, declared for him likewise; and *William* gave over all thoughts of his expedition into *Italy*.

Arrival of
the em-
peror *Con-*
rad in
Italy.

Conrad arrived with his army, about *Easter* 1026, at *Ver-*
celli, and after reducing all opposition, he was crowned
king of *Italy* at *Monza*. He then held the usual assembly
of *Italian* nobles on the plain of *Roncalia*, where he pro-
mulgated regulations for the obedience and tranquility of
his new kingdom; and obliged the *Pavians*, who had re-
fused

refused to submit to his authority, to deliver up their city, and to take an oath of allegiance to his person. After passing the winter at *Ravenna*, he marched to *Rome*, where he and his empress received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope, with vast state and ceremony; but the *Romans*, as usual, disliking their *German* guests, rose against *Conrad*, and forced him to return with his army to *Lombardy*, where he granted some privileges to the bishoprick of *Verona*, and then returned to *Germany*. Soon after he was obliged to undertake another journey to *Rome*, where he reinstated the pope, who had been expelled by the inhabitants; but no sooner did he return to *Germany*, than the *Italian* states and princes formed a kind of a universal confederacy, for rendering themselves no longer dependent upon the emperor. This combination seems to have been continued for some years; the emperor, on account of the *German* troubles being in no condition to suppress it. The *Cremonese* laid hold of that opportunity to expel their bishop, who was of the *German* faction, and their example was followed by several other states.

It was the year 1037 before *Italy* was again visited by *Conrad*. Arriving at *Pavia*, he had some reason to suspect that arrival.

Herebert, his favourite, archbishop of *Milan*, was deeply concerned in the confederacies that had been formed against him; and ordered him to be summoned before an assembly of the nobles. *Herebert* disowned their authority, and was put under an arrest; but escaping from his guards he fled to *Milan*, which he began to fortify. In the mean while, *Conrad* ordered the bishops of *Vercelli*, *Cremona*, *Placentia*, and several others who had been concerned in the confederacies against him, to be seized and sent prisoners to *Germany*. He then made preparations for besieging *Milan*, razed many of the castles which had been fortified by the confederates; but at *Cremona* he was met by the pope, a boy of seventeen years of age, who interceded for many of the *Italians* obnoxious to *Conrad*, though they had always been attached to his interest. The emperor seemed to listen to this mediation, but insisted with his holiness, that he should deprive *Herebert* of his archbishopric, and confer it upon *Ambrose*, one of the cardinals.

He then laid siege to *Milan*, which baffled all his attempts; and, after setting fire to the suburbs, he distributed his army into quarters of refreshment, and went to spend the ensuing winter at *Parma*. Here the hatred of the *Italians* towards the *Germans*, notwithstanding all their chastizements, again broke out in a quarrel between the citizens and *Conrad's* soldiers, some of whose chief officers were killed; and, in revenge of their deaths, the *Germans* set fire to their city, and *Conrad* ordered their walls to be pulled down. From *Parma*, *Conrad* marched against *Pandolph*, his own prince of *Capua*; who, like the other *Italians*, hated the dominion of the
Germans,

Germans, had oppressed the monks of *Cassino*, the monastery that was so dear to the emperor. *Conrad* met with little resistance, and, as a mark of his sovereignty, he was again crowned at *Capua* with his empress.

History of *Apulia.* *Pandolph* knew that *Conrad* could not remain long in those parts, and purchased his peace with a sum of money ; but soon after retracting, *Conrad* conferred his principality upon *Guaimar*, prince of *Salerno*, and gave the county of *Aversa* to *Rainulph*, the *Norman*. He then set out for *Germany* ; but, during his march, he lost the greatest part of his army and many of the principal personages of his court. *Conrad* died soon after his return to *Germany* ; but *Herebert*, archbishop of *Milan*, lost no time in carrying on hostilities against his competitor *Ambrose* ; which he did so successfully, that he was taken into favour by *Henry III.* *Conrad's* successor, who sent him an embassy, requiring of him the crown of *Italy* ; but *Henry*, being involved in wars with *Germany*, could not enter *Italy* for several years.

It is now proper, for the regularity of history, to recount the progress which the *Norman* adventurers, whose successors are to form so capital a figure in the history of *Italy*, were making in *Apulia*.

History of the *Normans* there. Their second arrival in *Italy* was under *Mello*, the *Capuan*, about the year 1015 ; and their chief was one *Osmond Drengot*. We have already seen that they were, at this time, defeated by the *Greeks* and *Saracens* ; but not before they had done the most important services to the *Apulian* princes, and gained several bloody victories over their enemies. When *Mello* and his friend *Rodolph* fled to *Germany*, some of the *Normans* settled near *San Germano*, where they held their estates under a kind of military tenure from *Atenolph*, abbot of *Cassino*, on condition of their defending the lands of the monks against their enemies. Others of the *Normans* retired to *Datus*, the *Apulian*, to assist him in defending the citadel of *Garigliano* against *Bajanus*, the victorious *Greek* general, who had forced abbot *Atenolph*, and *Pandolph*, prince of *Capua*, to submit to his terms, and reduced *Garigliano*. The *Normans* who were made prisoners there were pardoned, but *Datus* was punished as a traitor ; and, as we have already seen, the *German* emperor, *Henry*, soon after recovered the greatest part of *Apulia* and *Calabria* from the *Greeks*. Both *Henry* and his son chose to trust the *Normans* before the *Italians* ; and recommended them to the *Beneventine*, and other *Apulian* princes ; who, on that very account, when the *Germans* were returned to their own country, disregarded and maltreated them in the most shocking manner.

Their ill treatment by the *Italians*. This ungrateful proceeding induced *Rodolph*, the chief of the *Normans*, to return to *France* ; and such of them as remained in *Italy*, unable any longer to bear their miseries, chose for their leader one *Turstin*, and made good their quarters

ters against the natives. On *Turstin's* death, they chose for their leader *Rainolph*, and made a distinguished figure in the civil-wars of that country. By their assistance, *Pandolph IV.* the banished prince of *Capua*, regained his principality; from whence he expelled the emperor's duke, *Pandolph*, of *Tiano*; and afterwards conquered *Naples*, where prince *Sergius* had given refuge to his rival, who soon afterwards died at *Rome*. *Pandolph IV.* like the other *Italian* princes, neglected to reward his *Norman* auxiliaries according to his engagements; and *Rainolph*, who was then building the city of *Aversa*, assisted *Sergius* in recovering his city of *Naples*; from whence they drove *Pandolph IV.* *Rainolph* and his countrymen, after this, came into great credit with the *Italian* princes. *Aversa*, as we have already seen, was erected into a principality; and *Sergius* married one of his near relations.

It was not long before the *Normans* flocked again into *Italy*, under three leaders, *William*, *Drogo*, and *Umbert*, or *Hubert*, the sons of *Tancred*, duke of *Hauteville*. The new adventurers settled at *Salerno*, where duke *Guaimar IV.* to whom they offered their services, received them with the greatest marks of affection. After this, *Pandolph*, of *Capua*, was dispossessed by the emperor; and his estates were given to *Guaimar*. This prince continued to avail himself of the assistance of the *Normans*. Through their means he became master of *Sorrento* and *Amalphi*, and took the title of duke of *Puglia* and *Calabria*.

The *Normans* were, by this time, become too powerful. They con- for the quiet of their protector, who dismissed them from his quer *Si-* service; and they entered into that of the *Greek* emperor *cily*. *Michael*, who had sent an army to *Sicily* to retake that island from the *Saracens*. Three hundred *Normans*, under their three leaders, joined the *Greeks* there; and, by their assistance, *Messina* was taken, and the *Saracens* were defeated near *Syracuse*, the governor of which was killed by *William* the *Norman*. *Maniaces*, the *Greek* general, afterwards reduced all *Sicily*; but he falling into disgrace, was succeeded by one *Doceanus*; who treated the *Normans* so ungratefully, that they left the *Greek* service and returned to *Italy*.

The long absence of the *German* emperors from that Affairs of country had been productive of many commotions, especi- *Milan*. ally in *Lombardy*, where the *Milaneſe* were divided into two factions, noble and plebeian, upon the right of succeeding to the estates of those who died intestate. The plebeians chose for their head one *Lanzo Curtius*, and drove the nobility out of the city; but the latter, being very rich, levied an army, with which they besieged *Milan*; and *Lanzo* was obliged to fly to *Germany*, where the emperor, *Henry*, promised him assistance, provided he would admit sixteen thousand *Germans* into the city. This powerful assistance effected

sected a reconciliation between the two parties ; but, on the death of *Herebert*, the nobles resumed their insolence ; passed a decree for the banishment of *Lanzo* and his family ; and ordained, that, if a nobleman should kill a plebeian, the murder should be atoned for by a small fine. Those injurious proceedings induced the people to chuse for their leader one *Landolph*, who, like *Lanzo*, was a nobleman ; and the emperor taking part with the nobles, in the election of one *Vido* for their archbishop, animosities rose to such a height as threatened the destruction of the city.

Revolu-
tions at
Rome.

Rome, at this time, exhibited a still more tumultuous scene. Pope *Benedict*, who was advanced by the *Tuscan* faction, had become infamous and contemptible through the profligacy of his life, and was expelled by the consul *Ptolemy*, who hated the *Tuscans*, and pretended to be descended from the emperor *Augustus*. *John*, bishop of *Sabino*, bribed the electors to chuse him pope, under the name of *Silvester III.* but *Benedict* being restored, sold his pretensions to the pontificate, for an annuity in money, to one *John*, a *Roman* arch-prefbyter ; and retired, for the more convenient indulgence of his vices, to his father's house. Being soon disgusted with a private life, *Rome*, all at once, saw within her precincts three pontiffs, each of them a disgrace to the human species. *Benedict* was in possession of the *Lateran* palace, *Silvester* of *St. Peter's*, and *John* of *St. Mary Major*. As it was plain that those three monsters valued the pontificate no farther than as its revenues contributed towards the gratification of their lusts, one *Gratian*, a priest, who likewise had an eye on the popedom, proposed that each should receive a stipend out of its revenues, and that all the three should renounce their pretensions to it. This compromise was accepted of, and *Gratian* was chosen pope under the name of *Gregory VI.*

A new
pope no-
minated
by the em-
peror *Hen-*
ry.

In 1046, the emperor *Henry* resolved to march into *Italy*, but previously summoned a meeting of the nobles on the plain of *Roncalia*. Having met with some hindrance on his march, he did not arrive on the spot till three days after the day prefixed by the summons ; and, in the mean time, the nobles separated, under a kind of a protest that they had performed their duties as feudatories. The emperor arriving at *Milan* received the iron crown from *Vido*, whom he established in that archbishopric ; and, after making a progress through *Lombardy*, where he replaced the exiles that had been driven from their respective habitations, and affected great popularity, he was met at *Sutri*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, by pope *Gregory* ; whom, in a few days after, he ordered to be deposed for simony, by an assembly of the bishops ; and he advanced to the papacy *Hedeger*, bishop of *Bamberg*, who took upon him the name of *Clement II.* This new pope crowned the emperor and his empress ; and, after sending pope *Gregory* into *Germany*, he marched to *Apulia* ;
and

and this introduces a review of the history of the *Normans* in that country.

Among the *Normans* who had leave from *Docceanus* to re- Sequel of
turn to *Italy*, was one *Ardouin*, a *Lombard* general, whom the history
that *Greek* had ordered to be publicly whipped. This noble- of the
man repaired secretly to *Rainolph*, count of *Aversa*, and per- *Normans*.
suaded him to attempt the conquest of all the *Greek* pro-
vinces in *Italy*; an undertaking which he represented to be
very practicable. The *Normans* soon reduced *Amalphi*, *Va-*
nosa, *Ascoli*, *Lavello*, with other places, and gave three signal
defeats to *Docceanus*, who was obliged to fly to *Bari*. After
those successes, the *Normans*, that they might conciliate to
themselves the good-will of the *Apulians*, chose for their
leader *Atenolph*, brother to the prince of *Benevento*. *Atenolph*
defeated the new *Greek* general who had been sent over in-
stead of *Docceanus*, near *Monte Piloso*; but having taken him
prisoner, he clandestinely gave him liberty for a sum of mo-
ney; for which the *Normans* deposed him from his command, The *Nor-*
and gave it to *Argyrus*, the son of their former commander *mans de-*
Mello, who had escaped from his confinement at *Constantino-* pose *At-*
ple, and now assumed the title of prince and duke of *Italy*. *nolph*,

Under this new leader, the *Normans* drove out of *Italy* the
Greek general *Maniaces*, who had returned thither, and had
behaved with the utmost barbarity towards the *Italians*. As
they had now obtained so firm a footing in *Italy*, they thought
it time to throw off their prudential conduct in chusing an
Italian for their head, and, assembling at *Matera*, they con-
ferred that dignity upon *William*, surnamed *Bracchio di Ferre*,
or *William with the iron arm*. After this, in a general assem-
bly, at which were present *Guaimar* and *Rainolph*, they
agreed upon a division of all their conquests among their se-
veral leaders; but reserved the city of *Amalphi* as a place of
rendezvous in common to them all. *Argyrus* having been
left out in this partition, took service under the *Greek* em-
peror, who bestowed upon him the city of *Bari* with its ter-
ritory, and created him prince and duke of *Puglia*, or *Apu-*
lia.

The *Normans* had no sooner thus acquired a degree of in- and be-
dependency, than, from being the protectors, they became come in-
the tyrants, of their neighbours. The subjects of *Rainolph*, dependent
count of *Aversa*, encroached upon the estates of the monas- and op-
tery of *Cassino*; and each *Norman* leader endeavoured to en- pressive.
large his own partition of territory; but, in the mean while,
Rainolph, and *William with the iron arm*, died. The former
was succeeded by *Aclitine*, his brother-in-law, as the latter
was by his brother *Drego*, whose territories were now ample
enough to provide for his other relations; and the estate of
St. Mark, in *Calabria*, in particular, was assigned to *Wil-*
liam, surnamed *de Guiscard*. Such was the state of affairs in
Apulia, when the emperor, attended by his pope, *Clement II.*
arrived at *Monte Cassino*. The *Normans* had always been up-
on

on good terms with the *German* emperors, nor did they yet think themselves strong enough to oppose them. The counts of *Puglia* and *Aversa* waited upon the emperor at *Cassino*; and there, by way of tribute, presented him with several fine horses, and with what was much more acceptable to him, a considerable sum of money; for which they received the investiture of all the conquests they had made in *Italy*, and likewise that of *Benevento*; whose duke, *Pandolph III.* had shut its gates against his approach. *Henry*, in resentment of this affront, bestowed upon the *Normans* the dukedom of *Benevento*, and returned to *Germany* with his army, carrying with him pope *Clement*, who died the same year, and the popedom was again seized upon by *Benedict II.*

Leo IX.
elected
pope.

Henry resolving to assert his prerogative to the full, nominated to the papacy, *Poppo* bishop of *Brescia*, who took the name of *Damasus II.* but he died in twenty three days after his nomination. *Benedict* again endeavoured to remount the papal throne; but he was become, by this time, so odious to the *Romans*, that they formally desired the emperor to give them a new pope; and he sent them *Bruno*, bishop of *Toul*, who took the name of *Leo IX.* Though he was unanimously received as pope, yet the famous *Hildebrand*, abbot of *Clugni*, had entirely the management of his conduct and conscience; and instilled into him several doubts, with regard to his nomination by the emperor, who was a layman. At this time the power of the *Normans* was formidable, both to the pope and the emperor; *Leo* attempted to break it, by making the imperial cities renew their oath of allegiance, to the emperor; and, by annulling the sentence of excommunication, that had been pronounced against the *Beneventines*. He afterwards had an interview with the emperor, at *Augsbourg*; and, upon his return to *Rome*, he deposed the bishop of *Vercelli*, for adultery and perjury.

Massacre
of the
Normans.

The *Normans* were now equally formidable to the *Greek*, as to the *German* emperor. *Argyrus*, whom we have already mentioned, was sent with a sum of money from *Constantinople*, with orders to apply it in the best manner he could, to remove them from *Apulia*, which the *Greek* emperor looked upon as his own inheritance. *Argyrus* employed the money in engaging the natives to join in a general conspiracy, to massacre the *Normans*; which they accordingly did wherever they had an opportunity, and among the others count *Drogo*, who was stabbed as he was going to church, and the conspirators took possession of his fort of *Montoglio*.

He was succeeded by his brother *Hunfred*, who retook the fort and defeated *Argyrus*. *Leo IX.* and the emperor *Henry*, were afraid that the *Normans* would conquer all *Italy*, and at the solicitation of *Argyrus*, *Leo* raised an army against them. This produced a brisk war between the *Normans*, and *Leo's* subjects, and *Henry* ordered an army to be levied for the pope's assistance. *Leo* had great reputation for

for sanctity, but *Henry* did not chuse to trust him too far; and therefore countermanded part of his troops from joining him; *Leo*, nevertheless, was at the head of so powerful an army, that the *Normans* thought proper to send him a deputation, offering to hold their possessions in homage to the holy see. *Leo*, apprehending that this offer proceeded entirely from their own fear, and their weakness, rejected their application, and refused to hear of any terms, unless they immediately consented to evacuate all their conquests, which he pretended belonged to the holy see. The *Normans*, exasperated by his haughtiness, ravaged his dominions, and expressed great contempt for the papal fulminations.

Nothing in those days was more common in *Europe*, than Customs for armies of adventurers to enlist in an expedition under a head, who was to reward them with the spoils of the conquered, in proportion to the power and numbers which they contributed to the service. Such was the *German* army commanded by the pope against the *Normans*, and consequently it was composed of the dregs of mankind; needy, dissolute, desperate *Germans*. This period seems to have rendered the practice of assassination common in *Italy*; for *Boniface*, marquis of *Mantua*, father to the famous *Matilda*, the benefactress of the church, and the greatest heiress in *Europe*, was about this time assassinated at *Spineto*.

The *Normans* finding the pope inexorable, resolved to die with their arms in their hands, rather than evacuate their conquests. *Leo* continued equally obstinate on the other hand, and marched against them at the head of his army, composed of *Italians*, and *Germans*. The chief dependence of the *Normans*, was upon three thousand cavalry; but the pope's army was, in all other respects, excepting that of discipline, greatly superior. The two armies meeting, the *Normans* upon the first charge pretended to retreat, and were so tumultuously pursued, that, upon their rallying, they obtained a complete victory, first over the *Italians*, and then over the *Germans*. *Leo* was besieged by the victors in the city of *Civitate*, which the *Normans* took; but, to the amazement of his holiness, they laid their necks under his feet, and they attended him to *Benevento*, which had been granted him by the emperor in exchange for the bishoprick of *Bamberg*, in *Germany*, and into which, as a conqueror, he made a triumphal entry. The *Normans* lost nothing by this politeness, for *Leo* absolved them from their sentence of excommunication, confirmed to them all their conquests in *Apulia*, and *Sicily*, and, after six days stay at *Benevento*, he died upon his return to *Rome*.

Pope *Benedict*, still continued to be abetted by the *Tuscan* *Viceroy* II. faction, who upon the death of *Leo*, once more attempted chosen to thrust him into the papal throne. The *Roman* clergy dreaded him so much, that they sent *Hildebrand* to *Germany* to lay their deplorable condition before the emperor. *Gebe-*
hard,

Great
power of
Godfrey
duke of
Lorrain.

hard, bishop of *Eichstet*, one of the most wise and virtuous men of that age, was chosen pope, and conducted to *Italy* by *Hildebrand*, where he was consecrated on Good Friday 1055, under the name of *Victor II.* *Gozelo*, a profest enemy to the imperial power in *Italy*, had by this time married *Beatrix*, widow to the marquis of *Mantua*, and her daughter *Matilda*, was married to his son, who was duke of *Spoletto*, and *Tuscany*. The family destinations in *Italy*, during the non-entity of the exercise of imperial power there, are extremely perplexed and difficult to be accounted for; but it is certain, that *Gozelo* was, at this time, by far the most powerful prince in *Italy*, and it was easy to foresee that his daughter-in-law *Matilda*, must become the inheritrix of the greatest part of that kingdom, exclusive of the *Norman Apulia*. The emperor, alarmed at the greatness of this family, marched an army into *Italy* against *Gozelo*, whom he found submissive; and, *Henry* well knowing, that if he should push him to extremities, he might throw himself into the arms of the *Normans*, received him into his alliance. *Gozelo*, or (as he is called by other authors) *Godfrey*, was likewise duke of *Lorrain*, and his brother *Baldwin* was earl of *Flanders*. Though he had made up matters with the emperor, yet he entertained so much resentment, that he was concerting measures with *Baldwin* to be revenged of the emperor, when the latter carried with him his wife *Beatrix* prisoner into *Germany*; but in the mean time her son-in-law *Boniface* dying, her daughter *Matilda* remained sole heiress of that vast family estate, the partition of which afterward made such great disturbances in *Italy*, and all over *Europe*.

A new
pope
elected.

On the death of the emperor *Henry* in 1056, his empress *Agnes*, who acted as regent for her infant son *Henry*, who had been recognized king of the *Romans*, effected an accommodation with *Godfrey*, and his brother *Baldwin*; and a podesta of *Parma* was made imperial vicar in *Italy*. *Victor II.* was then in *Germany*, and, upon his return to *Italy*, he excommunicated the count of *Tiano*, for some violences he had offerered to the abbot of *Cassino*, whom he had made a cardinal, chiefly because he was brother to *Godfrey*. The pope dying in the mean while, the new made cardinal was chosen to succeed him, and assuming the name of *Stephen IX.* he dispatched the ever active *Hildebrand* to *Germany*, to inform the empress regent of his election, and of the necessity of reforming the scandalous lives of the *Roman* clergy.

It is certain, that at this time, no kind of regard was paid by the *Italian* ecclesiastics, either to the constitutions of their church, or to common decency. *Vido*, the archbishop of *Milan*, protected his clergy in the most abandoned practices of simony, and all kind of irreligion. A kind of a schism had subsisted for about two hundred years, between the church of *Rome*, and that of *Milan*, whose priests

priests were allowed to marry. One *Cotta*, who was the præfect of the people at *Milan*, in vain endeavoured to introduce a reformation, but he was opposed by the archbishop *Vido*, who passed a public decree, allowing his clergy to marry. *Stephen IX.* notwithstanding his noble birth and high quality, strove, but to no purpose, to have stemmed this torrent of corruption in the church, and he is said to have diverted his thought to another object. His brother *Godfrey*, duke of *Lorrain*, by his marriage with *Beatrix*, already mentioned, was master of *Lucca*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Mantua*, with the territory now called *St. Peter's Patrimony*, and *Stephen* formed a design of placing on his head the imperial crown, but died at *Florence* before he who dies, could effect it, having enjoyed the papacy only eight and two months. The *Tuscan* interest then raised to the papacy, more are *John*, bishop of *Velitri*, who took the name of *Benedict the chosen*. *Tenth*, a man so ignorant that he could not read. This election was made without the consent of the cardinals or the bishops; but *Hildebrand*, upon his return from the *German* embassy, assembled them at *Sienna*, and they chose for pope, the bishop of *Florence*, *Nicholas the Second*, with the approbation of the emperor. *Benedict* was deposed, and a decree passed, in a full council of ecclesiastics, and *Italian* princes, at *Sutri*, that the election of the pope should thenceforth be vested in the cardinals.

The *Normans* continued still to be formidable to the pope, Progress and all the other states of *Italy*, and were then united under of the the government of *Robert Guiscard*. The short reigns of *Normans*, the late popes; the unsettled state of the church; but, above all, an inveterate hatred, which *Beatrix* and her daughter *Matilda*, bore towards the emperor *Henry* and his family, had contributed greatly to the aggrandizement of the popes. The *Greek* empire, whose chief concern it was to oppose them, was likewise miserably distracted, and *Guiscard*, having conquered *Reggio*, took upon himself the title of duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, while another branch of *Tancred's* family acquired the principality of *Capua*, and conquered *Campania*, from *Landolph V.* the last *Lombard* prince, whose family and children were reduced to a state of beggary. Pope *Nicholas* enjoying the papal throne without a competitor, excommunicated *Guiscard*, because he refused to restore certain portions of land which he had conquered belonging to the church. *Robert* knew the defects of his own title; that he was considered by the *Italians* in general, as being no better than a prosperous robber, and that he was hated even by many of his own nation. He applied to the pope for absolution, and *Nicholas* knowing it to be in vain to attempt to subdue him by force of arms, gave him the meeting at *Melphis*.

This period may be termed the triumphant æra of excom- Who munications. Never was there a time wherein so total a swears. Vol. X. E disregard

homage
to the
pope.

disregard of religious and civil duties, prevailed all over *Europe*, and yet the common people trembled at the thunders of the vatican, and thought certain damnation entailed upon all who should presume to invade, or detain the church's property. The *Normans*, haughty and violent as they were, easily foresaw that the popes would prove their best protectors in their new conquests, and *Guiscard*, with *Richard*, count of *Aversa*, offered not only to restore to *Nicholas* all he demanded, but to hold their possessions as fiefs of the holy see. *Nicholas* immediately closed with the proposal, and bestowed upon *Robert Guiscard* the investiture of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the *Italian Sicily*; and upon the count of *Aversa*, that of *Capua*. In return, they took an oath of fidelity to his holiness, and agreed to pay him twelve *Pavian* pence yearly for every yoke of oxen in their dominions. The first use *Nicholas* made of his new allies, was to employ them in ravaging the lands of his enemies, the *Tusculans*. The *Normans* having thus acquired as firm a footing as the papal sanction could give them in their conquests, resolved to complete them. *Roger*, brother to *Guiscard*, made a descent with an army into the island of *Sicily*, while *Robert* conquered from the *Greeks*, *Brindisi*, *Taranto*, *Matera*, and at last, after a blockade of three years, the great and opulent city of *Bari*.

Pope Alex-
ander II.
chosen:

In the mean while, a reconciliation was effected between the churches of *Rome* and *Milan*, and pope *Nicholas* dying, great confusion arose about chusing his successor. *Hildebrand*, from being a strenuous advocate for the imperial power, in the election of a pope, now thwarted it with all his interest, and endeavoured to persuade the cardinals to proceed to an election, without regarding the emperor. *Tuscany* and *Lombardy*, on the other hand, declared for the imperial power, as being their surest defence against the *Normans*; and were headed by the counts of *Tuscany*. *Hildebrand's* interest, however, being favoured by the marquis *Godfrey*, as he is called, prevailed; and *Anselm*, bishop of *Lucca*, was consecrated pope, under the name of *Alexander II.* without consulting the emperor. The latter was then at *Basil*, and by his own authority, he named, to the pope-dom, the bishop of *Parma*, who took the title of *Honorius II.* and at the head of a *German* army, marched towards *Rome*, and obliged *Alexander* to retire to *Tuscany*. The *Romans* were beaten in a sally by *Honorius*, but he himself was defeated in his turn, by the marquis *Godfrey*, and obliged to take shelter in *Parma*. Being rich, he employed his money in forming a faction in *Rome*, to which he was admitted by night, but the *Romans* obliged him to take refuge in the castle of *St. Angelo*, from whence escaping, he again fled to *Parma*, where he lived and died, despised, but without laying aside the papal ornaments. A revolution happening in the affairs of *Germany*, *Alexander* was there recognized pope, but

and re-
cognized.

but upon condition of calling a general council for replacing the imperial authority in the election of a pope. A council accordingly was called at *Mantua*, but nothing of consequence passed there, only *Alexander* cleared himself by oath, from a charge of simony, and sentence of deposition was pronounced against his antagonist, who was then alive.

Notwithstanding all the care taken by the popes for the reformation of the *Milanese* clergy, they still continued to keep wives and concubines. One *Erlembald*, who was then prefect of *Milan*, and one *Ariald*, a clergyman of noble birth, vigorously opposed those abuses, which continued to be encouraged by archbishop *Vido* and the body of the people. The reformers were favoured by the pope, and *Milan* became a scene of bloodshed between the two parties; *Ariald* was driven out of that city, and cruelly put to death by the servant maids of the archbishop's niece; but *Erlembald* at last prevailed, and obliged both the clergy and people to swear not to acknowledge any archbishop who was not previously approved of by the pope. *Vido*, upon this, sent his pastoral staff and ring, to the emperor, but not before he had made a private agreement with one *Godfrey*, a deacon, to succeed him. *Godfrey*, through the assistance of money, Commo- obtained from the emperor the investiture of the arch- tions at bishopric; but his nomination was opposed by the pope, *Milan*. and *Erlembald* denied him admission into the city. *Erlembald's* zeal and conduct on this occasion, was so agreeable to his holiness, that he created him standard-bearer of the holy *Roman* church, and one *Atto* was consecrated archbishop of *Milan*, without regard to the imperial authority. The pope's faction in that city proved inferior to that of the imperialists, who broke into the archiepiscopal palace, and beat *Atto* so severely, that they obliged him to abdicate his new dignity. Upon this the pope excommunicated *Godfrey*, but being supported by the emperor, he obtained possession of the temporalities of the archbishopric. The distractions of *Germany* always afforded resources to the popes, in their disputes with the emperors, and his holiness employed on this occasion, the archbishop of *Cologne*, and the bishop of *Bamberg*, to revenge his cause; and cited the emperor to appear before his tribunal at *Rome*, there to answer to a charge of simony.

The reader in the history of *Germany*, has seen the alter- Claim of cations that happened between the emperor and the famous the pope *Hildebrand*, who succeeded pope *Alexander*, under the title upon the of *Gregory VII*. This pontiff had the insolence, soon after crown of his election, to claim all the conquests that had been made *Spain*. by the crown of *Spain*, from the *Moors*, on pretence that 1074. *Spain* was formerly a fief, belonging to the holy see. He forced the dukes of *Benevento* and *Capua*, to pay him allegiance, and own themselves his tributaries. He claimed *Sar-*

dinia as a fief likewise, and he exercised the most unbounded authority over the emperor, the king of *France*, and all christian potentates. He sent legates to hold a council in *Germany*, but the spirit of the *German* princes would not suffer them. The princes were excommunicated, and in a lateran council it was decreed, that no ecclesiastic, under pain of excommunication, should accept of an investiture from a layman. By another decree, all married priests were to be deposed, unless they dismissed their wives, and this decree was rigorously put in force, though the *German* clergy, who were most of them married, urged the authority of scriptures against it.

His great
power,

1075.

Gregory's high claims were not unsupported by the secular arm. The person and possessions of the marchioness *Matilda*, as some have called her, the richest and most powerful sovereign in *Italy*, were at his devotion, and he exercised a despotic power over all the *Italian* clergy, many of whom were possessed of great temporary fiefs, and headed their own armies. *Gregory* denounced war against *Guiscard*, duke of *Apulia*, and against the *Saracens*, and brought thirty thousand men into the field, who obliged *Guiscard* to evacuate *Campania*, which *Gregory* claimed, as belonging to the holy see. In 1075, he called a council, in which the king of *France* was threatened with excommunication, and many powerful bishops were suspended or deposed, on account of their attachment to lay powers. He invited *Sweno*, king of *Denmark*, to take possession of, and hold under him, the lands of his enemies in *Italy*, and he encouraged *Erlembald*, of *Milan*, to renew his opposition to the imperial power. This, however, cost *Erlembald* his life, and the imperial party chose for their archbishop, *Theobald*, who was accordingly consecrated by the imperial prelates.

and arro-
gance.

Such was the ignorance and barbarity of the times, that in the many disputes which then prevailed in the remotest parts of *Europe*, the scale of war generally turned in favour of the party espoused by the pope, and *Gregory* was thereby enabled to set up a claim of superiority over *Hungary* and *Russia*, then torn by civil divisions. But *Gregory* met with great opposition in *Italy*, then the most enlightened part of *Christendom*, where the imperial party was numerous and powerful. *Cincius*, the prefect of *Rome*, a person of great distinction, conspired with *Gilbert*, arch-bishop of *Ravenna*, against the aspiring pontiff, whose person was actually seized and imprisoned for some hours, by *Cincius*. The people of *Rome* dreading the imperial, more than they did the papal, power, forced *Cincius* to set his holiness at liberty, upon promise of pardon; but he and his party were soon after banished from *Rome*, and *Gilbert* fled to *Ravenna*, where he formed new schemes with the imperial party, for humbling *Gregory*.

The

The *German* emperor *Henry*, no sooner had some respite He is de-
 from the wars he had been engaged in, than he assembled a posed by
 council of *German* bishops, who deposed *Gregory*. The the Ger-
 latter excommunicated *Henry*, and absolved his subjects from man bi-
 their allegiance, and calling a council at *Rome*, they not shops.
 only excommunicated all the prelates in *Christendom*, who
 had dared to oppose the pope, but passed a set of decrees,
 under the title of “*Dictatus Papæ*”, which screwed the
 papal power up to a higher pitch of despotism, than former
 popes had ever pretended to, and all this under the pretext of
 ascertaining the prerogatives of the holy see. Amongst the
 other ridiculous claims established by those decrees, one
 was, that the pope has the sole right to wear imperial
 habits and ornaments, and that all princes on the face of
 the earth were obliged to kiss his feet; that he has a power
 to annul their decrees, and that the *Roman* church never
 has erred, and never can err. These positions, equally ridi-
 culous as frantic, alarmed the bishops of *Lombardy*, where
 the imperial interest was very strong, and in a meeting they
 held at *Parma*, after impeaching *Gregory* of the most horrid
 crimes, by the advice of the archbishop of *Ravenna*, they
 deposed him. His safety lay in the divisions of *Germany*,
 and the reader has seen in that history, the absolute triumph
 which he obtained over the emperor, by the *German* bishops
 not daring to stand to their award of excommunication,
 against him. Nothing, after this, could withstand the
 haughtiness of *Gregory*; he created kings in distant regions;
 he subjected the greatest princes to public penances, and
 his fame reached even the infidels themselves, who sent em-
 bassadors to him, to conciliate his friendship. He extended
 his decrees against lay investitures, even to *Great Britain*
 and *France*. *Hubert* was then his legate in *England*, which
 had been some time before conquered by the *Normans*, and he
 threatened the conqueror himself with excommunication, if
 he continued to hinder his bishops from repairing to *Rome*,
 or to the council there, and at the same time he made a His de-
 demand of *England*, as holding of the see of *Rome*, and mand up-
 claimed the arrears of *Peter’s* pence, which had been paid on the
 his predecessors, by way of tribute. *William*, haughty, and king of
 impetuous as he was, thought proper to take off his inter- *England*.
 diction, as to the bishop’s going to *Rome*, and promised to
 send the arrear of *Peter’s* pence, but desired to be excused
 from paying any homage, which, he said, none of his pre-
 decessors ever had done, to the see of *Rome*. The reply
 which *Gregory* made to this refusal, is a strong indication of
 his character; “*I would rather,*” said he, “*have had the*
submission than the money.”

Among the northern crowns and principalities, *Gregory’s* His power
 bulls and letters were decisive. He created a king of *Dal-* in the
matia, and threatened his subjects with excommunication. north.
 He excommunicated a king of *Poland*, for consenting to the

death of a bishop; he threatened a duke of *Bohemia* with the same penalty, only for conversing with excommunicated persons, and he prohibited the use of the *Sclavonic* tongue, to the *Bohemians* in their religious worship. All those arbitrary acts received great sanction, from the pliancy of the councils held at *Rome*, who always confirmed the most despotic sentences of the pope. During the dispute between the emperor *Henry*, and *Rodolph* of *Suabia*, he was for some time moderate towards *Henry*, but when he heard that his affairs had took an untowardly turn, he excommunicated him a-fresh, and the reader in the history of *Germany*, will find an account of the quarrel. In the mean while, he saw himself under a necessity of compromising matters with duke *Robert Guiscard*, and other *Norman* leaders in *Italy*, that he might make use of them against the imperialists; and his menaces prevailed with *Alphonso* king of *Spain*, to lay aside the *Gothic* liturgy, and receive that of *Rome*. Sometimes his holiness preached up expeditions against the infidels; but when he had raised an army under those pretexts, it was always employed against the *German* emperor *Henry*. He demanded assistance from the king of *England*, who excused himself from taking any part in the quarrel, and who was indeed the only prince in *Europe*, at that time, who set at nought the thunders of the vatican.

See vol. 8.
p. 423.
ibid.

and in
Italy.

His war
with the
emperor.

The imperial bishops having pronounced sentence of deposition against *Gregory*, chose for his successor, *Gilbert*, archbishop of *Ravenna*, who took the name of *Clement III.* and when the emperor *Henry*, upon returning to *Italy*, had defeated the troops of *Matilda*, and, proving victorious over all his enemies, had besieged *Rome* itself; the behaviour of *Gregory* was great and intrepid. Though shut up in *Rome* for two years and a half, he acted with the same spirit as before, and his troops, or rather those of *Matilda*, obliged *Henry* more than once to abandon the siege. He prevailed with the kings of the *Visigoths*, and other barbarians, to receive the christian religion; he excommunicated the count of *Padua* for having joined the imperialists, and a count of *Provence* made him a surrender of all his large dominions, for the remission of his sins. *Henry* returning to the siege of *Rome*, was again repulsed by *Gregory*, who found means to persuade the *Saxons* to elect count *Herman*, king of the *Romans*. Though *Herman* was defeated, and *Henry* resumed the siege of *Rome*, yet he would gladly have made up all differences with *Gregory*, who continued still undaunted and inflexible; and when *Rome* was at last taken, by *Henry's* arms and money, *Gregory* retired to the castle of *St. Angelo*, which he bravely defended, and forced the emperor to agree to the convocation of a council. This council supported the pope, who was still in the castle of *St. Angelo*, and *Henry* found means to interrupt it. The *Roman* and *Italian* prelates,

prelates, however, and most of the *Roman* nobility, interceded with the pope, who suspended all further fulminations against *Henry*, and at last they prevailed with him (to satisfy the oaths they had taken that *Henry* should receive the imperial crown) to hand it down to him by a rope, from the castle of *St. Angelo*.

Henry very justly thought that this ridiculous proposal, He is be- was an insult upon his dignity, and he was crowned by his sieged in own pope *Clement*, in the Lateran church. *Gregory* all this the castle while continued shut up in the castle of *St. Angelo*, which of *St. An-* seems to have been the only part of *Rome* now remaining in *gelo*. his possession, and had prevailed with *Robert Guiscard*, to march to his assistance, with an army of his *Normans*. The news of *Guiscard's* approach obliged *Henry* to retire with his army, now greatly weakened by sickness, towards *Lombardy*, but the blockade of the castle of *St. Angelo*, was still continued by the *Roman* imperialists, who were defeated by *Robert*, and he brought the pope in triumph to the church of *St. John Lateran*. The emperor and his party were again excommunicated, but the pope was so unpopular at *Rome*, that he retired to *Salerno*. The imperial prelates made some efforts towards re-establishing the emperor's interest in *Lombardy*, but they were defeated by the troops of *Matilda*, armed with the thunders of the vatican. *Clement* ibid p. the antipope, however, took possession of *Rome*, but *Henry* 424. was obliged to return to *Germany*. The balance of power between the popish and imperial party, in *Italy*, was in the hands of the *Romans* at this period; and as they hated both, they disowned the authority of *Clement*, as well as of *Gregory*. The latter, tho' little better than an exile, at *Monte Cassino*, and *Salerno*, acted with the same spirit as if he had reigned without a rival. *William* of *England*, indeed, continued to disdain his interposition, when he offered it in favour of his brother *Odo*, bishop of *Bayeux*, but he governed the powerful count of *Flanders*, and other great princes on the continent, with an irresistible sway. In *Germany* he revived *Herman's* party; he assembled a council of his own prelates, who confirmed all he had done, and deposed *Henry* a-new, while *Henry's* prelates did the same by *Gregory*. While matters were in this situation, *Gregory* died at *Sal-* His death. *erno* the capital of *Robert Guiscard*, duke of *Apulia*, or *Puglia*.

A very extraordinary scene succeeded his death. The He is suc- cardinals and prelates elected *Desiderius*, abbot of *Cassino*. ceded by He refused to accept of the dignity, and they consulted with *Victor III.* *Jornandes*, prince of *Capua*, to compel him; so that, notwithstanding all his aversion, he was in a manner forced to accept of the popedom, and he took the name of *Victor III.* Whether his aversion to the popedom, was real, or fictitious, may be justly doubted. It is certain that the *Romans*, who hated all popes, and whose real view was to declare

some great native prince, king of *Italy*, were still very powerful in their own capital; and it was with some difficulty that *Matilda* gave him possession of the church of *St. Peter*, and the city of *Rome*. *Victor*, though still opposed by *Clement*, trod in the steps of his predecessor, and by the force of his pontifical power, we are told, that he sent over a great army to *Africa*, against the infidels, who were entirely defeated. While he was holding a council at *Benevento*, he was taken ill, being supposed to have been poisoned, and he died at *Monte Cassino*, in 1087. He was succeeded, according to his own desire, by *Otho*, bishop of *Ostia*, who took the name of *Urban II.* and began his reign by a public declaration, that he would make the example of *Gregory VII.* the rule of his conduct and government. By this time the antipope *Clement*, had regained his footing at *Rome*, where *Urban* with great difficulty, at last got admittance, and held a council, which proceeded in the usual form of anathemas, and excommunications against the imperial party and prelates. His great support, *Matilda*, though then forty-three years of age, married young *Guelf* of *Bavaria*, the ancestor of the present house of *Brunswick*, that she might the better oppose the emperor, who was once more making a great progress in *Italy*. *Urban* fulfilled his promise of treading in the steps of *Gregory VII.* for he multiplied councils in all parts of christendom, for confirming the dictates of that pontif, and excommunicating his adversaries.

Urban II.
pope.

ibid.

Clement
the anti-
pope.

The *Normans* of *Apulia* gave him shelter, while the emperor and *Clement* became masters of the rest of *Italy*. *Henry* took *Mantua* and *Ferrara*, while *Urban* was holding a council at *Benevento*. The impressions of *Gregory's* authority and conduct, remained still so strongly on the minds of distant princes, that all of them, particularly *Eric*, king of *Denmark*, applied to *Urban*, as his only successor, notwithstanding *Henry* had, by this time, beat the troops of *Matilda* (who headed them herself) in every quarter of *Lombardy*. Thus, this pope, tho' armed with power, was destitute of authority. *Urban*, by a firm perseverance in his maxims, found means to dissuade *Matilda* from a separate peace with *Henry*; *Clement* was by the *Romans* once more driven out of *Rome*; but still the *Romans* were so little reconciled to *Urban*, that he once more took refuge in *Apulia*. Finding the emperor every where superior in the field, he, and *Matilda*, joined with young *Conrade*, and the empress *Adelaide*, *Henry's* son and wife, and that prince was crowned king of *Italy*, by the archbishop of *Milan*. The events which this introduced have been already related; nor shall we particularize the various councils, and synods, held by both parties, which always tended to mutual excommunications.

ibid.

P. 425.

Urban
prevails.

The elevation of *Conrade* to the throne of *Italy*, was strengthened by his marriage with the daughter of the duke of

of *Apulia*, and gave a favourable turn to the affairs of *Urban*, who now re-entered into the possession of *Rome*, his mule being led by *Conrade*, who had promised to renounce all right of investitures. In a council which was held at *Placentia*, the cause of the empress *Adelaide*, who charged her husband with the most infamous treatment of her, was decided in her favour, and its authority was acknowledged by the ambassadors of most of the princes of *Europe*; but the king of *England* disowned *Urban*, as a pope, on account of his *Gregorian* ambition and claims. We have in another See vol. 7. part of this work, given a full but concise account, of the p. 44. et original of crusades, and therefore, shall not repeat it here. seq.

It is sufficient to say that *Urban* was their professed patron, and that they answered the most sanguine ends he could propose for the advancement of the papal power. For some and years before the famous council he held at *Clermont*, which preaches gave rise to the first crusade, the minds of the people all up the over christendom, had been infected through papal arts with crusade. a desire to rescue the *Holy Land* out of the hands of the infidels. The archbishopric of *Milan* alone, is said to have furnished fifty thousand adventurers, and the other *Italian* states in proportion, in men, ships, or money. *Urban* having compromised his differences with the king of *France*, who made his submissions, returned to *Rome*, where the imperialists had still possession of the castle of *St. Angelo*. He afterwards summoned a council to which he invited the *Greek* bishops at *Bari*, and assisted the *Norman* princes in reducing *Capua* to the allegiance of its duke, *Richard II.* *Anselm*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, is said to have obtained great credit by his learning and eloquence, in the council of *Bari*, the session of which was spent in religious ridiculous disputes, between the *Greek* and *Latin* bishops. *Urban* continued still to be opposed by *Clement*, but the progress which the crusaders were making, added so greatly to his character, that he regained the entire possession of the city of *Rome*, where he died, on the twenty-seventh of *July*, 1099.

Urban was succeeded in the pontificate, by pope *Paschal* He is succeeded by II. who, in imitation of his predecessor, was a great promoter of the crusades, and by the assistance of the money *Paschal* he received from the *Guiscard* family, he obliged the anti-II. pope, *Clement*, to fly to *Citta di Castello*, where he died in a few months. *Paschal* after this, was embroiled in disputes about the succession to the crown of *Jerusalem*, upon the death of its king; (*Godfrey*) and being of the same ambitious cast with his three immediate predecessors, he excommunicated the king of *France*, and refused to give up the right of ecclesiastical investitures, to *Henry*, king of *England*. The *French* king submitted, but the *English* continued to make a glorious stand against the papal usurpations, which seem never to have had a fixed or firm footing there, but under the weakest of their princes. Though the

Matilda
quarrels
with her
husband.
Vol. 8.
p. 425.

ibid.
p. 429.

ibid.

The Greek
emperor
befriends
the pope.

the antipope *Clement*, was dead, his party continued to elect others in his room; but the faction at last came to nothing, and *Paschal* was left without a rival. In 1102 he held a council at *Rome*, in which an oath was devised to be taken by all whom the pope should require, by which temporal princes were to observe unlimited obedience to the holy see, in every thing she approved of, or condemned. Some princes refused, and opposed this oath, on account of its novelty, and the king of *England* drove archbishop *Anselm* out of his dominions, for favouring the papal claims, particularly, against lay investitures. In all other parts of christendom, the pope was uncontrouled in the exercise of his arrogant authority. *Matilda* quarrelled with, and separated from, her husband, young *Guelph*, and their differences were productive of fresh grants which she made to the holy see. We have already considered the conduct of the pope, during the usurpation of the empire by young *Henry*, who dethroned his father, and who succeeded to the empire by the name of *Henry V*. In a council held at *Guaftalla*, the dispute about investitures, was renewed between him and *Henry*, the event of which the reader hath already seen. While it was depending, *Paschal* held a council at *Troyes*, in *France*, but it was overawed by the approach of an imperial army. He afterwards regulated some religious differences in the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and threatened *Alphonso*, king of *Arragon*, with excommunication, for having married the princess *Uracca*, who was related to him in the third degree of consanguinity.

After the humiliating blows which *Paschal* received from emperor *Henry*, (as we have already recounted) the cardinals and bishops disowned his conduct, for which he apologized, before the pope. the cause of the necessity he was under, and various councils were held, in which the treaty made with *Henry* was annulled, as having been extorted by force, and nothing was now heard in ecclesiastical assemblies and churches, but excommunications thundered out against the emperor. About this time, the *Greek* emperor, *Alexius*, offered his service to pope *Paschal*, and even to serve him in person; but though they were accepted of with great joy, by the pope and his party, he failed in the performance, to their great disappointment. The internal incidents of *Italy* at this time, are too uninteresting and trite for general history, as they relate chiefly to squabbles among prelates and petty princes. One of the best actions in this pontificate, was the pope establishing in a council at *Troja*, for three years, the act called the *Grace of God*, by which all persons were prohibited from acts of private hostilities on *Sundays*. After this, the emperor *Henry*, once more drove the pope out of *Rome* to *Apulia*, where he received a claim from *England*, that the archbishop of *Canterbury* should be the pope's perpetual legate in *England*. By this time his holiness, thro' the assistance of his *Norman* friends

friends, and vassals, had raised an army in *Apulia*; but as he was marching with it to *Rome*, he fell sick at *Anagni*, and soon after died.

The successor of *Paschal* in the see of *Rome*, was *Cajetan*, *ibid.* a noble *Italian*, who took the name of *Gelasius II.* whose p. 430. fate we have already seen. Though he was regularly elect- *Gelasius* ed, and consecrated, the emperor set up against him *Burdin*, II. pope. archbishop of *Braga*; and the history of the popes is for some years after this connected with that of *Germany*; excepting in the following particulars. During the popedom *ibid.* of *Gelasius*, the order of knights templars was founded at p. 431. *et Jerusalem*. *Calixtus*, who succeeded *Gelasius*, maintained *seq.* himself against the emperor's antipope, *Gregory*, whom he at last shut up in a monastery. *Calixtus* had a conference at *Gisors* in *Normandy*, with *Henry*, king of *England*, who nobly vindicated the right of the *Anglican* church, and asserted his right of admitting no legate into *England*, without his previous permission. *Calixtus* returned from *France* to *Italy*. In the year 1123, *Calixtus* having accommodated *ibid.* all differences with the emperor, gave a commission to the p. 432. bishop of *Bamberg*, to convert the *Pomeranians*, who were yet in a state of idolatry, and he died the next year with the reputation of being a wise and moderate prelate. He was suc- *Honorius* ceeded by *Honorius II.* formerly bishop of *Ostia*; and having II. pope. been named by *Frangepani* and other laics, he had some scruples about his retaining the papal ornaments; but he soon got over them, and made a short procession through his dominions, where he reformed some ecclesiastical abuses. Upon the death of *William*, duke of *Apulia*, *Roger*, count of *Sicily*, took possession of his estate and title, without receiving the investiture of them from *Honorius*, who refusing all terms of accommodation, formed a powerful association of *Norman* princes against him, and laid him under an excommunication. *Roger*, knowing that those princes had different views and interests, avoided coming to an engagement, by which he dissolved the confederacy. The pope was then obliged to receive the allegiance of *Roger* upon the terms he had before rejected, and having quarrelled with the *Beneventines*, he employed *Roger* to chastize them.

In 1129, *Honorius* was succeeded by *Innocent II.* but the *ibid.* Romans and their clergy chose *Anaclete*, and drove *Innocent* p. 434. into *France*. *Anaclete* pretending to be the real pope, inti- Succeeded- mated his election to the different powers of *Europe*; but ed by *In-* they supported *Innocent*, and brought him back in triumph *nocent II.* to *Rome*, from whence he expelled *Anaclete* and his party. The emperor *Lothair*, was then in *Italy*, and had conquered *Apulia*, from whence he drove duke *Roger*. Some disputes arose naturally between the emperor and the pope, about the right of bestowing the investiture of *Apulia*, but they were compromised in the manner the reader has seen in the *ibid.* history of *Germany*. When the emperor *Lothair* evacuated p. 435. *Italy*,

Italy, Roger recovered *Capua*, with great part of *Apulia*, and espoused the cause of *Anaclete*, against *Innocent*; but Roger was defeated by *Renaud*, who had obtained the investiture of *Apulia*. *Anaclete* soon after died, and one *Gregory*, who took the name of *Victor*, was elected by Roger's party among the cardinals; but soon after he resigned the papal honours and was reconciled to *Innocent*, who in a council, consisting (as is said) of a thousand prelates, assembled at *Rome*, excommunicated Roger, and made many useful regulations in the government of the church. During its session, *Renaud* of *Apulia* died, and Roger not only recovered it at the head of an army, but took the pope prisoner, and forced him to absolve him from his excommunication, and to give him the titles of king of *Sicily*, duke of *Apulia*, and prince of *Capua*, upon his paying to the holy see an annual tribute, and obliging himself and his successors to perform homage to the pope in all future times.

Abelard a reformer. Notwithstanding the ignorance of this age, some liberal spirits endeavoured to enlighten it, and among those was the famous *Abelard*, and his disciple *Arnold* of *Brescia*. Their doctrines were disagreeable to the pope, and the bigots of the times, and *Abelard* was excommunicated. The history of that famous professor is well known, and that after the signal misfortune he met with, he died an example of penitence for the sins of his youth, in the abbey of *Clugny*.
ibid. The doctrines of *Arnold* had a more important tendency than those of his master. He endeavoured to remind his countrymen, that they had been once masters of the world, though now slaves to ignorance and bigotry, and he had such success, that he raised a spirit of independency all over *Italy*. The *Tibertines* (for so the inhabitants of *Tivoli* were called) struggled for their liberty against the *Romans*; but *Innocent* reduced them. The *Romans* sought to shake off their dependency upon *Innocent*, and even *France* itself shewed some symptoms of being tired with the papal yoke; which had wantonly laid her under an excommunication. The disobedience of the *Romans* continuing, *Innocent* was so affected that he died on the 24th of *September* 1143.

Celestine II. pope. His successor, *Celestine* II. was distinguished for little or nothing but his taking off the interdict from the kingdom of *France*. *Lucius* II. who succeeded in 1144, had a difficult province to manage, as the reader has seen in the history of *Germany*. The spirit of independency encreased every day among the *Romans*, and the king of *Sicily* took advantage of the juncture to invade some of the papal possessions in *Campania*. *Lucius* being killed in besieging the capital, which was defended by the republican revolvers, *Eugene* III. succeeded him. The age had not virtue or public spirit enough to second the example of the *Romans*, and the emperor declared against them. They however kept possession

of Rome, so that *Eugene* was consecrated at the monastery of *Farfara*.

The republicans, in the mean while, by the assistance A new of *Arnold* of *Brescia*, endeavoured to complete their plan of crusade commonwealth, by reviving the equestrian order, and preached fortifying their city from the ruins of houses belonging to up. the papal party. *Eugene* was supported by almost all *Christendom* against his own subjects; and though in exile, he set on foot a new crusade, and having reconciled the states of *Italy* to each other, the spirit of the *Romans* subsided, and returned to the papal allegiance, after banishing *Arnold*. This part of the *Italian* history is very dark, because we know nothing of it, but through the relations of ecclesiastics, whose interest it was to disguise it.

It appears, as if the *Romans* had not been the only people Republic of *Italy*, who at this time aspired to independency upon the can spirit pope; but that their general concert was broken by the in *Rome*. disputes which raged between the *Guelphs* and *Gibilins*. The *Romans* were rather quieted than satisfied by the late compromise, and forced the pope to retire to the castle of *Saint Angelo*, because he would not suffer them to demolish *Tivoli*; the inhabitants of which they considered as their dependents. The history of the crusades form the greatest See part of that of *Italy* at this time. Their progress in *Egypt*, Vol. VII. *Palestine*, and other parts of *Asia*, has been already describ- p. 87. et ed. The madness of the age was such, that the princes of *Seq.* *Christendom* were willing to put themselves under the com- See mand of *Saint Bernard*, a *Frenchman*, whose chief virtues Vol. VIII. were those of a cloistered life. The pope, though still con- p. 438. fined in the castle of *Saint Angelo*, dissuaded *Saint Bernard* from accepting of the command, which was conferred upon *Lewis*, king of *France*; but while *Eugene's* nod was thus depopulating *Europe* and *Asia*, he was obliged by his subjects to fly from *Italy* to *France*, where he had an interview with king *Lewis*, and held a council at *Paris* for settling some religious differences.

From the complexion of the history of this period it appears, that the pope and his clergy had great difficulty in suppressing the spirit of reformation that then prevailed in *France*, in favour of many doctrines, which have since been adopted by the protestants. They called in the secular arm, to crush whatever was aimed against their own power. When doctrinal points, which they could not answer, occurred, they generally diverted the attention of the public from them by starting some religious absurdity, which they suffered to be canvassed for some time, and they sealed it by the sanction of a council composed of themselves and their confederates. *Eugene*, while in exile from *Italy*, held many such councils, whose proceedings may be termed the reproach of human reason; and met with as much flattery and

and adulation in *France* and *Germany*, as he had with mortification in *Rome* and *Italy*.

The pope
and the
emperor
agree.

We have in other parts of this work, recounted the bad success of the *German* crusades under *Conrade* the *German* emperor, at this time. Upon the emperor *Conrad's* return, *Eugene* complimented him with the title of catholic prince, and the defender of the *Romish* church; but he met with a strong opposition in preaching up another crusade in *France*, where *Bernard* was in danger of being assassinated, for having been the author of the last. When by the encouragement of the emperor his holiness returned to *Italy*, he found *Rome* still in possession of the republicans; and he was obliged to retire to *Ferentino*, to which all the potentates of *Europe* sent their ambassadors and deputies to receive his decisions. Upon the accession of *Frederic*, duke of *Suabia*, to the *German* empire, *Eugene* and he concluded a league, by which they mutually promised, that neither, without the consent of the other, should make peace with *Roger* king of *Sicily*; and the emperor promised to employ his best offices in restoring the pope to *Rome*. This good correspondence was soon broken off, by the emperor's having granted several ecclesiastical investitures in *Germany*. The pope sent two legates into that empire, where they deposed the archbishop of *Mentz*, and died in 1153, as he was on the point of excommunicating the emperor *Frederic*. He was succeeded by *Anastasius* IV. who entered into a negotiation with the emperor, but died before it was concluded.

Hadrian
IV. pope.

ibid.

p. 441.
et seq.

His successor was *Hadrian* IV. formerly bishop of *Albano*. This pontiff is said to have been an *Englishman*, and a native of *Saint Albans*. Under him, the disputes between the emperor and the holy see were renewed; the particulars of which we have given in the history of *Germany*. *Hadrian* embroiled himself with *William* king of *Sicily*; and this brings us to the history of the other *Italian* governments, during this, and the preceding periods.

History of
Naples.
The
history of
the *Guif-*
cards in
Naples.

We have already, more than once, mentioned the conquest of *Apulia*, by the *Normans*, and of their princes having received the investiture of it and of *Sicily* from the popes. The family of *Guiscard* were valiant, and protectors of the popes. The *Greek* emperors had a strong claim upon, and, as we have already seen, a considerable footing in the kingdom of *Naples*; so that perpetual wars were waged between them and the *Normans* in *Italy*. *Robert Guiscard*, the same who had delivered *Gregory* VII. had sent over his son *Boemund* with an army to *Greece*, where he had defeated that of the emperor *Alexius*. The latter was assisted by the *Venetians*, who were beat in a great sea fight by *Robert*. He afterwards landed in *Greece*, where a contagious distemper ruined most of his army, and he himself died, aged 60, in the year 1085. He was perhaps, the most extraordinary personage of his time. He raised himself from the station of a private gentleman, to be the terror of powerful emperors;

and

and like the caliphs of *Bagdad*, he was the patron of arts. At *Salerno* his capital, they settled after their expulsion from the caliphate; and the *Salernitan* school, which flourished under him, is now famous in the annals of medicine. Upon his death, his army returned hastily to *Italy*, and his two sons *Roger* and *Boemund*, quarrelled about his succession; but were reconciled by pope *Urban II.* The various alterations and revolutions of the *Guiscard* possessions, after this accommodation, are immaterial here. *Roger* married a daughter of a marquis of *Flanders*, but was defeated in attempting to reduce *Amalfi*. All his army being seized with the epidemical madness of the times, that of crusading, his brother *Boemund*, who was a famous *Holy Land* adventurer, with his cousin *Tancred*, put themselves at its head, and marched to *Palestine*. By this, *Roger* became possessed of *Boemund's* dominions in *Italy*, and he restored *Richard*, the exiled duke of *Capua*, to his estates. *Roger*, after this obtained from pope *Urban*, the famous bull, by which his successors claimed a spiritual as well as temporal power, as being the pope's perpetual legates in *Sicily*. About the year 1110, the great count *Roger* of *Sicily*, uncle to *Roger* and *Boemund*, died in the 70th year of his age, and he seems to have been succeeded in his dominions by his nephew *Roger II.* They claim a spiritual power in *Sicily*.

This prince, like his predecessors, was the friend of the popes, and was succeeded by his only son *William*, who followed the maxims of his forefathers in supporting the holy see. He died without any issue, and was succeeded by his uncle *Roger*, another count of *Sicily*, who was at the same time duke of *Apulia*, and *Calabria*. He quarrelled with *Honorius II.* as we have already seen, upon investitures, and conquering all opposition, he applied to the holy see, for the title of king, which he obtained, in 1130, from pope *Anaclete*. After his coronation, he reduced the powerful city and republic of *Amalfi*; and by the acquisition of *Capua*, and the dukedom of *Naples*, he became so formidable, that the *Apulians*, the *Beneventines*, and other states of *Italy* took arms, and defeating him, obliged him to fly to *Sicily*. Here he raised a strong army, chiefly composed of *Saracens*, with which he recovered *Apulia*; and punished many of the heads of the confederacy against him as traitors. In 1134, he returned to fight the *Pisans*, who assisted his rebel subjects, and he reduced *Novara*. He then defeated *Renaud*, to whom the pope had given his dominions, but with whom he was soon reconciled; and having conquered all his enemies, he returned triumphantly to *Salerno*. It was not long before the rebellion, being supported by the *Pisans*, broke out afresh, and was again extinguished by *Roger*. He seems to have been an overmatch for all his enemies, till the year 1137, when he was divested of his *Italian* estates by the emperor *Lothair*. No sooner had the emperor returned

turned to *Germany*, than *Roger* endeavoured to recover his dominions, but he was defeated by *Renaud*, who died in 1139. *Roger*, after this, regained most of his *Italian* possessions, and we have already seen his other successes.

His conquests.

Having subdued all opposition in *Italy*, he returned to *Sicily*; but employed his two sons *Roger* and *Anfusus*, in making conquests on the *Adriatic* coast. After this, he ruled his subjects with an iron rod. The particular constitutions of the kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, though united under *Roger*, are uncertain, but most probably, they were distinct, in the same manner as *England* and *Scotland*, were before the union.

He is made king;

About the year 1143, *Roger*, partly forced, and partly bribed pope *Lucius II.* to grant him several valuable privileges; and reduced *Tripoli*, and many other states on the coast of *Africa*. From thence he carried his arms into *Greece*, having been exasperated by some affronts he received from *Manuel*, the emperor of *Constantinople*. His fleet was commanded by one *George* of *Antioch*, who plundered all the rich coasts of the *Morea*; but the most valuable booty he brought home with him consisted in the silk workmen, whom *Roger* settled in his own dominions, and thereby established that manufacture. Next year he alarmed *Constantinople* itself, and his ships laid part of its suburbs in ashes. By this time he had associated his son *William* with himself in the government, and he died in 1154, with the character of being one of the wisest princes of his age, and the great patron of arts and learning.

his death.

He is succeeded by *William*;

His son *William*, degenerated from his ancestors; and now we return to the history of pope *Hadrian*. This pontif wrote a letter to *William*, in which he was only stiled lord of *Sicily*, and the cardinal who carried the letter was driven out of the territories of *William*; who at the same time ravaged the papal dominions, and was excommunicated by his holiness. This sentence excited a fresh rebellion among the *Apulian* states; but, in the mean time, the republican party at *Rome*, drove *Hadrian* himself out of that city, and murdered one of his cardinals. Upon the arrival of the emperor *Frederic* in *Italy*, the person of *Arnold* of *Brescia*, who had excited the republican spirit at *Rome*, and who had been taken prisoner by that emperor, was delivered up to *Hadrian*, who ordered him to be burnt alive. *Hadrian* was equally fortunate, in the emperor's being obliged to return to *Germany*, and in supporting the *Apulian* insurrection; but refused to absolve *William* from his excommunication.

ibid.

P. 441.

who quarrels with the pope.

The latter took arms, besieged *Hadrian* in *Benevento*, and obliged him to agree to a treaty upon his own terms; the chief of which was his asserting his legantine right in *Sicily*, from whence he would suffer no appeals to be brought to *Rome*. In return for *Hadrian's* granting him the investitures of *Sicily*, *Apulia*, and *Capua*, he swore allegiance to the holy

ibid.

P. 443.

holy see, and *Hadrian* returned to *Rome*. In 1157, he wrote a haughty letter to the *German* emperor, which he was obliged to recant. Soon after *Milan* was reduced by the imperial arms, and the disputes between him and the emperor were revived; when *Hadrian* died, at *Anagni*, on the first of *September*.

We have already related the incidents that happened upon the choice of *Alexander III.* *Hadrian's* successor, and his competitor, *Victor IV.* who supported his own election by force of arms, and besieged *Alexander* in the castle of Saint *Angelo*. *Victor* was favoured by the emperor, who was inclined to refer the dispute to a general council, to which *Alexander* would not submit, and appealed to the other powers of christendom. Notwithstanding this, the council of *Pavia* acknowledged *Victor* to be pope, and he was led to the altar by the emperor, who held the stirrup of his horse, and kissed his feet. *Alexander*, in the mean time, was acknowledged by the kings of *England* and *France*, to which last kingdom he removed from *Rome*. The reader has already seen the effects of the confederacy formed by *Alexander's* party against *Frederic* in *Germany*.

In 1163, *Alexander* held a council at *Tours*, in *France*, which excommunicated *Victor*, and all his adherents. Here he became acquainted with the celebrated *Thomas Becket*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, and encouraged him in his contumacy against his master *Henry II.* king of *England*. By this time the antipope *Victor* was dead, and was succeeded by *Paschal III.* who was acknowledged by the emperor. *Alexander* was then at *Sens*, where the archbishop of *York*, with the bishops of *London* and *Chester*, preferred a charge against *Becket*. The pope refused to receive it, or to let the matter go out of his own hands. He sent for *Becket*, tried, acquitted, and caressed him; and in 1165, *Alexander* was invited back to *Rome*, by the *Romans* themselves. He was all this while endeavouring to effect a reconciliation between *Henry* and *Becket*, two of the most haughty personages of their age; but all his expedients proved fruitless.

Upon his return to *Italy*, he was received with great splendor by *William* king of *Sicily*, who had by this time forced even the *Greek* emperor to acknowledge him king; and he was conducted by the *Romans*, with olive branches, to the *Lateran* palace. *William*, at this time, was governed entirely by one *Majone*, his minister; this man is said to have aspired to the crown, and to have bargained with *Alexander* to favour his claim. His insolence was so great, that the cities of *Apulia* confederated against him, and he was killed by one *Bonello*. *William*, at first, is said to have discovered great resentment against the murderers, but when he found that *Majone* had provided himself with a set of regalia for his coronation, he pardoned *Bonello*, and his accomplices, and recalled them to court. The inconstancy,

Conspira-
racy a-
gainst the
king of
Sicily.

Pope
Alexander
driven
from *Rome*
ibid.
p. 450.

both of the king and people was remarkable on this occasion. He returned to his kindness for *Majone*, who he believed had been wrongfully accused; and *Bonello*, with his confederates, formed a conspiracy for dethroning *William*, and substituting his son *Roger* in his room. *William* was accordingly seized and imprisoned, and the boy proclaimed king. *Bonello* not appearing at the head of the conspirators, the inhabitants of *Palermo* set the king at liberty, and young *Roger* was killed during the tumult. *William*, having recovered his throne, put *Bonello* to death, and reduced his rebels of *Apulia*. Upon his return to *Sicily*, he abandoned himself to an indolence, to which he was naturally disposed, and gave up the care of his government to his ministers; but died in the year 1166, after bequeathing 40,000 l. sterling, an immense sum in those days, to pope *Alexander*.

William, left a young son of the same name, who inherited his kingdom, but his queen acted as regent; and he bequeathed the principality of *Capua* to his younger son, *Henry*. The schism between the two popes still continued in *Italy*. The emperor espoused the part of pope *Paschal* III. against *Alexander*, and entered *Italy*, with a new army, to drive *Alexander* from his capital. He partly succeeded, and *Alexander* was forced to fly to *Benevento*, in the habit of a pilgrim. Notwithstanding this, such was the terror to the name of the true pope, that *Alexander* forced the emperor to fly, with the loss of almost all his army, to *Pavia*. *Alexander's* differences with the king of *England* continued, on account of *Becket*, whom he declared his *legate a letere*, in defiance of *Henry*. *Becket* was then in *France*; and being obnoxious to the *English* bishops, they were, by the pope, admonished to obey him. The force of gold at the court of *Rome*, was at this time incredible. *Henry* distributed his so bountifully, that he persuaded *Alexander* to appoint the cardinal of *Pavia*, who was the king's professed friend, and *Otho*, a cardinal deacon, to repair to *England*, as judges between the king and the archbishop. Soon after, having pocketed the money, *Alexander* recalled their commission, and ordered them to return to *Italy*. We have in the history of *Germany* specified the sequel of the pope's quarrel with *Frederic* on this occasion.

After the latter was driven out of *Italy*, his antipope was besieged in *Rome*, where the citizens were prodigiously exasperated against the emperor, though without admitting *Alexander* within their walls; they, in a manner, forced him to demolish the fortifications at *Tusculum*, but he rebuilt them, when they refused to admit him into *Rome*. In 1169, he sent two nuncios to mediate between the king of *England*, and the archbishop of *Canterbury*, and he threatened to lay the kingdom under an interdict, if *Henry* continued longer refractory. *Henry* paid no regard to this menace, and it is well known, that, in consequence of the quarrel

quarrel, *Becket* was killed at the altar of the cathedral at *Canterbury*.

In the mean while, *Alexander* rejected an application made to him from the *Greek* emperor, offering him vast triumphs and advantages, if he would bestow upon him the imperial crown of *Germany*. By this time, *Alexander*, by the death of the antipope *Paschal*, had gained so much the ascendancy in *Germany*, thro' the affection he had shewn for the liberties of *Italy*, that the *German* emperor, *Frederic*, sued to him for a reconciliation, but met with a repulse. He acted with equal haughtiness towards *Henry II.* of *England*, whose ambassadors he refused, for a long time, to see, on account of *Becket's* murder. At last, *Henry* purged himself from it by oath; and after making many shameful submissions, both with regard to himself and his people, he was absolved, and *Becket* was canonized. But though *Alexander* thus triumphed over the proudest monarchs in christendom, yet he was still an exile from his capital, to which the *Romans* still refused to readmit him. This obstinacy was dictated by policy, as they were always sure of the emperor's support in the absence of the pope, and that *Frederic* durst not offer to controul them in their liberties, which must be inevitably gone, should the pope again get possession of their city.

The reader has already seen in the history of *Germany*, the consequences of *Frederic's* resentment, and the complete victory which the pope, who was indeed at that time the patron of *Italian* liberty, and his allies, gained over the imperial power. A congress was appointed between *Frederic* and *Alexander*, at *Ferrara*, in order to settle a peace, which the cities of *Lombardy*, and the king of *Sicily* were to be comprehended; and in the mean while, a truce for six years was agreed upon. *Alexander* laid hold of that occasion to display his magnificence; he entered *Venice* with a most splendid retinue, and made a progress through other parts of *Italy*. The conferences being adjourned to *Venice*, the reader, in the page referred to, has seen the deplorable submission to which *Ferderic* was reduced, and other circumstances of the interview. He confirmed the six years truce; he concluded a peace for sixteen with the king of *Sicily*, and a perpetual one with the holy see. This accommodation was afterwards ratified in a council held at *Venice*. The glory of *Alexander*, at this time, was crowned by an embassy which he received from the emperor of *Abyssinia*, who was one of those *Prester Johns*, in which the eastern countries, at that time, and for some centuries after, so much abounded. It is certain that they professed *Christianity*, but so over-run with paganisms and absurdities, that it was in certain points scarcely discernible. This emperor had, it seems, an *European* physician, who was his ambassador on this occasion, and obtained from the pope

the use of Saint Stephen's church, for the abode of the *Abyssinians*, who should resort to *Rome*. *Alexander* returning to *Anagni*, through the plenitude of his pontifical power, appointed the bishop of *Roxchild*, in *Denmark*, to be likewise archbishop of *Lunden*.

A council at Rome. The accommodation between the pope and the emperor threw the *Romans* into the utmost consternation. *Calixtus*, the shadow of an antipope, submitted to him, and was humanely treated by *Alexander*, who made some difficulties in receiving the deputies who were sent from *Rome* to implore his favour; but at last he returned, and entered the *Lateran* palace in triumph. He then indicted a general council to be held next year, and he invited to it all the

ibid.

bishops throughout the *Christian* world. Three hundred of them actually assembled in the *Lateran* church, *March* the 5th, 1179; and here the famous regulation which now prevails was enacted, that no pope should be looked upon as duly elected, without having two thirds of the electors in his favour. In this council, plenty of fulminations were issued against heretics, and all the ecclesiastics who had been ordained by the antipopes. During the session of the council, *Alexander* conferred the title of king upon *Alphonfus*, duke of *Portugal*, for his brave exploits against the *Moors*; and besides his putting his dominions under the protection of the holy see, he promised to pay it annually four marks in gold. This council was likewise distinguished by the presence of *Laurence*, an *Irish* bishop, whom the pope made archbishop of *Dublin*, and who had been remarkably instrumental in reforming the scandalous lives of the clergy in that island.

The Scots resist the pope.

The only check which *Alexander* seems to have received in his unlimited, and now unrivalled, exercise of the pontifical dignity, proceeded from the king of *Scotland*, who drove out of his dominions a bishop of Saint *Andrew's*, notwithstanding the archbishop of *York*, as legate for *Scotland*, laid his kingdom under an interdict, and himself under excommunication.

Death of pope *Alexander*; succeeded by *Lucius III.*

This great pontiff, one of the most fortunate that ever sat on the papal throne, died in the year 1181, after having preached up a fresh crusade, and was succeeded by *Lucius III.* Among the first acts of this pontiff's reign, was his giving his native city of *Lucca*, the privilege of coinage, which was to be current in *Tuscany*, and the papal dominions. He took off the interdict from *William* king of *Scotland*; but though he sent two of his legates into that country, he could not prevail with the king to give up his point, or to place the pope's bishop in the see of Saint *Andrew's*; though *William* is said afterwards to have been softened. *Lucius*, not having the spirit or abilities of his predecessor, was by the *Romans* expelled that city, and driven to *Velitri*. This disgrace was far from diminishing his importance in other parts of christendom. He was applied

applied to by the king of *England*, in favour of the duke of *Saxony*, who had been put to the ban of the empire, and who had retired to *England*. He celebrated a council at *Verona*, where he had an interview with the emperor, in 1185; but they could not agree together, as to the succession of the countess *Matilda*. While those disputes continued at *Verona*, it is said that *Lucius*, through the money lent him by the emperor, and other *European* powers, was *ibid.* enabled to re-enter *Rome*, from whence he was expelled p. 453. once more by the senators, in a barbarous manner. This pope, before his death, which happened on the 24th of *November*, persuaded the king of *France* to take upon him the cross, and the king of *England* to allow his subjects to march to the *Holy Land*.

The disputes with the emperor, concerning the succession of the countess *Matilda*, and the revenues of vacant benefices, continued under the next pope, *Urban III.* notwithstanding the general pacification already mentioned. But *ibid. ibid.* it is now proper to attend the history of *Naples*.

William, king of *Sicily* had been long the great support of the papal see, and had contributed considerably to the crusades. He had afterwards rejected a match proposed by the emperor, between his daughter and *William's* son, who was married to a princess of *England*; and the same prince after this, defeated, and defied, all the efforts of the imperial power against his dominions. About the year 1177, *William* concluded a peace with the king of *Morocco*; and his admiral *Tancred* ravaged the *Greek* emperor's dominions, with so impolitic a barbarity, that the *Constantinopolitans*, out of despair, raised *Isaac Angelus* to the throne, who defeated the *Sicilians*. Though *William* had been nine years married, he had no lawful issue living, and the emperor *Frederic* demanded his aunt *Constantia* in marriage for his eldest son, *Henry*, king of the *Romans*. *William*, by the advice of the archbishop of *Palermo*, who was in the emperor's interest, consented to the match, notwithstanding the opposition made to it by the pope. She was daughter of *Roger II.* king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and grand daughter of *Roger I.* and her union with the king of the *Romans* bade fair to render the servitude of *Italy* perpetual, under the *German* emperors. It was therefore no wonder, if the pope, and many of the *Italian* princes opposed the match; but *William* knew how to make himself obeyed, and it took place. This marriage encreased the animosities that, on many other accounts, had already risen to a great height between the emperor and the pope; but the former was so hampered by his affairs in *Germany*, that he durst not shew his resentment, and *Urban* threatened to excommunicate him. In 1187, *Urban* sent a bull, with a crown of peacock's feathers interwoven with gold, to *Henry*, king of *England*, permitting

Death of
the pope.

permitting him to create his son king of *Ireland*; but the news of the melancholly state of the *Christians* in *Palestine* affected *Urban* so much, that he died of heartbreak, this year, and was succeeded by *Gregory VIII.* who, before he could do any thing to relieve the crusaders, died himself, after filling the pontifical chair only a month and twenty seven days.

Who is
succeeded
by
Clement
III.
ibid.
p. 456.

Gregory was succeeded by *Clement III.* who, like his predecessor, was then an exile from *Rome*, but zealous even to enthusiasm, for setting a-foot a new crusade, which was embraced by the emperor *Frederic* himself, and many other powerful princes of christendom. In the mean while, *Clement* having granted to the *Romans* their own terms, was admitted into that city; but as its pontiff, rather than its prince; and he granted a bull to the king of *Scotland*, by which that church was exempted from all spiritual foreign jurisdiction, but to the pope, and his *legate a latere*. His cares for promoting the crusade, into which we do not find however, that the *Scotch* ever entered, were incessant; but the zeal of the princes beginning to cool, gave him infinite disquiet. Upon the death of *William*, king of *Sicily*, in 1189, *Clement* claimed the whole of his succession, as being feudatory to the holy see. His pretensions were disregarded. The archbishop of *Palermo*, at the head of a great party, adhered to *Constantia*, but the chancellor of *Sicily* declared for *Tancred*, the natural son of duke *Roger*, eldest son of king *Roger*, and actually crowned him king of *Sicily*. *Clement*, perceiving that he had no chance for succeeding in his own claim, for obvious reasons, declared for *Tancred*, and gave him the investiture of the kingdom; upon which he was acknowledged by the greatest part of his subjects, and reduced almost all *Apulia*. *Constantia's* title was vigorously supported by *Roger*, count of *Andria*, who being joined by the *German* army, besieged *Richard*, *Tancred's* general, in *Ariano*; but an epidemical distemper, which attacked the *German* troops, obliged them to raise the siege. In the mean while, the kings of *England* and *France*, who had taken the cross, arrived at *Messina*. *Tancred*, at this time, was upon ill terms with the sister of the former, the queen dowager of *Sicily*, and he found himself, in fact, obliged to buy the departure of that impetuous prince, on pretence of a marriage portion, which never took place. After this, *Tancred* called a parliament in *Apulia*, and conquering all opposition, he married his son *Roger* to *Irene*, the *Greek* emperor's daughter, and the bridegroom was crowned king of *Sicily*. *Henry VI.* was now emperor of *Germany*, and he found that he never could succeed in his wife's right without the friendship of the holy see. He had made some advances towards obtaining that in the pontificate of *Clement*, who died in 1191, with the character of a virtuous pope, and got leave from his successor,

Tancred
king of
Sicily and
Naples.
Who
claims the
succession
to *Naples*
and *Sicily*.

cessor, *Celestine* III. to repair to *Rome*, where he, and *Constantia*, received the imperial crown from the hand of his holiness. As *Henry* was attended by a good army, he prepared, notwithstanding all the pope's menaces, to make good the rights of his wife upon *Naples* and *Sicily*, and reduced all *Apulia*, till he came to *Naples*, which was defended by *Richard*, count of *Cerra*. It was besieged by *Henry*, who, by the mortality of his troops, failed in his attempt, and was obliged to retire to *Germany*. *Tancred's* generals found no difficulty in recovering all *Apulia*, upon *Henry's* departure; but a reinforcement of *Germans* arriving under count *Berthold*, and the abbot of *Monte Cassino*, a powerful prince, standing firmly by *Constantia's* right, *Tancred* put himself at the head of a great army, and obliged *Berthold* to retire to *Molise*, where he was accidentally killed by a stone. *Tancred*, in the mean while, having reduced all the places of *Naples* which held out for *Henry*, returned to *Sicily*, where he died through grief, for the loss of his eldest son *Roger*, who died about the same time.

Celestine, in the mean while, interposed his authority in the affairs of *England*, which had run into disorder by the absence of the king, and excommunicated the king of *Castile* for not parting with his wife, who was related to the king him within the degree of prohibited consanguinity. Upon the return of *Philip*, king of *France*, from the *Holy Land*, through a quarrel between him, and *Richard*, king of *England*, he refused to absolve that prince from his oath of not attacking *Richard's* dominions during his absence. About the year 1192, he again intermeddled in the affairs of *England*, and published fresh bulls, and admonitions, in favour of another crusade. Two years after, his holiness created the archbishop of *Canterbury* his legate in *England*, for reforming abuses in that kingdom, and for trying the archbishop of *York*, for certain malversations. The reader has already seen the manner in which *Richard* was ransomed, and released from his chains, and the dreadful progress, attended with a number of cruel circumstances, which *Henry* made in his attempts to recover the rights of his wife *Constantia*, again in *Naples*, and *Sicily*. But preaching up the crusades was now the chief business of the court of *Rome*; it failed in *Germany*, but had great success in *England* and *France*, though in other respects their kings were at variance. In 1196, the bishop of *Beauvais* was taken prisoner in the field, by *Richard* king of *England*. The power of the pope was so high at this time, that every rebel or tyrant, if an ecclesiastic, when successful, enjoyed the fruits of his crimes in peace; and when unsuccessful, and threatened to be brought to justice, the pope interposed, and became his judge. The consequence was, that if the crime was too notorious to be palliated, it was punished by a slight fine, penance, or censure; and thus the parties, be they ever so guilty,

guilty, were, in fact, acquitted. The pope had no reason to believe that *Richard* would give him up the bishop of *Beauvais*; but the bishop applying to him, his holiness wrote a letter to the king, desiring that the bishop might, as his son, be set at liberty. *Richard* answered the pope by sending him the coat of mail which the bishop wore when he was taken prisoner, with the following label affixed to it, "Is this thy son's coat or not," and detained the bishop in prison.

ibid.

p. 265.

The pope prohibits the emperor's body to be buried.

Upon the death of the emperor *Henry* while he was under the sentence of excommunication, *Celestine* prohibited his body from being buried, unless the king of *England* would consent to it, on account of the ransom he had so injuriously extorted from him; he gave his son *Frederic*, who was then an infant, the investiture of the kingdom of *Sicily*, upon receiving a thousand marks of silver for himself, and as much for the conclave, besides the cession of many estates contiguous to those of the holy see. The perpetual disputes between the emperors and the popes had weakened the authority of the latter with the *Bohemian* clergy, most of whom were married, and all of them lived with women. *Celestine* endeavoured to persuade them to put away their wives, and concubines; but his legate, cardinal *Peter*, was driven out of *Prague*, with the danger of his life; though he met with better reception from the *Polish* clergy, who pursued the same practices. *Celestine's* health declining, he proposed to resign the popedom in favour of the cardinal of *St. Paul*; and his proposal not being accepted of, he died on the 10th of *January* 1198.

Innocent

III. pope.

His policy.

Lothair, a noble *Anagnian*, and no more than thirty-seven years of age, succeeded *Celestine*, by the title of *Innocent* III. He began his pontificate by asserting the papal rights over the cities and states of *Tuscany*, whom he sharply reprimanded, for having presumed to enter into a confederacy against the house of *Suabia*. As he was only a deacon when elected pope, he received priest's orders, and the affairs of *Germany* being then in the utmost disorder, he exacted an oath of fidelity and homage from the governor or præfect of *Rome*; which had always before belonged to the emperor. Being resolved to extend the pontifical rights as far as he could, he demanded homage in all places where he had any pretext for claiming property or superiority; and he gave the investiture of *Sicily*, *Apulia*, and *Capua*, to the empress *Constance*, and her son, upon her agreeing to yield up all the points that had been contested between her predecessors and the holy see. He then reclaimed all the *Italian* and *Sicilian* captives that had been made by the late emperor, and excommunicated two noblemen, *Marcoald*, and *Conrad*, who held *Ancona*, and *Spoleta*, and forced them, by the terror of his arms, spiritual and temporal, to yield him up their dominions. The duchy of *Spoleta* had been given

given by the emperor *Henry* to his brother *Philip*, who had bestowed it upon this *Conrad*. The policy of the pope, in the struggle that the states of *Italy* then had for independency on the house of *Suabia*, was to remain neutral, till he could sell his authority to the best advantage. Upon the death of *Constantia* he was left guardian of her son's person and dominions, during his minority. This destination was disputed by *Marcoald*, and both parties appealed to the sword. *Marcoald*, in fact, aspired to be king of *Naples*. He was supported by a great party of the *Apulians*; and pretended that he had been, by the late emperor, left governor and administrator of the kingdom, during young *Frederic's* nonage.

Innocent obliged him to raise the siege of *Monte Cassino*, History of
but could not prevent his becoming master of many strong *Naples*,
places in *Apulia*. The spirit, however, which *Innocent* raised, by repeated excommunications against *Marcoald*, rendered his success so precarious, that he applied to his holiness, by the archbishop of *Mentz*, offering to prove young *Frederic* to be a supposititious child, and to give him twenty thousand ounces of gold, if he would favour his claim upon the crown of *Sicily*, and, as much, after he was established on that throne. *Innocent* rejected this proposal, which was equally venal and flagitious. *Marcoald* found means to prevail with his holiness to send three cardinals to treat with him; and though the conferences proved ineffectual, he made use of that pretext to persuade the *Apulians* that *Innocent* had taken off his excommunication, and had recommended him to be their governor. This falsehood being detected by the vigilance and activity of the pope, *Marcoald*, securing his interest in *Apulia*, passed over with an army to *Sicily*, where he engaged the *Saracens*, and, at last, besieged *Palermo*. The guardians of young *Frederic* acquainted the pope of their danger, and he sent them a body of auxiliaries under the command of count *James*, one of his own relations, who being joined by the loyal party, obliged *Marcoald* to raise the siege, and, at last, totally defeated him; for which *James* was rewarded with the county of *Andria*. The ingratitude of the *Sicilians* towards their deliverer's troops, obliged him to return to *Apulia*, where *Marcoald's* German friends had obtained some advantages.

In the mean while *Albinia*, the eldest daughter of the late king *Tancred*, having with her mother escaped to *France*, and *Sicily*.
had been married to *Walter de Brienne*; and her brother, young *William*, being dead, this nobleman, in his wife's right, claimed the principality of *Taranto*, and the county of *Leece*, in virtue of a convention made with the late emperor *Henry*. This claim was moderate, as it only included *Tancred's* personal estates, and was admitted of by the pope, but rejected by the chancellor of *Sicily*, and all the enemies of *Tancred* there; upon which *de Brienne* returned to *France*,
intending

Intrigues
of the
pope ;

intending to establish his right by force of arms. The archbishop of *Palermo* dying, the chancellor prevailed with *Innocent's* legate to admit him as his successor in the archbishopric. *Innocent*, though enraged at his legate, offered to retain the chancellor as his procurator in the archbishopric ; but that condition was rejected with disdain and his holiness enabled *de Brienne*, who was by this time returned to *Rome*, to enter *Apulia* at the head of a respectable army, with which he reduced the most considerable place of what is now called the kingdom of *Naples*. The chancellor, who had governed with the most unbounded despotism, being alarmed at *de Brienne's* progress, united himself with *Marcoald* and his party, in *Apulia* ; but they were opposed by *de Brienne*, and the chancellor being excommunicated by the pope, he threw himself into the arms of *Diepold*, *Marcoald's* general, who was entirely defeated by *de Brienne*, upon, or near, the spot where the famous battle of *Cannæ* was fought. *Marcoald* all this while was making great progress in *Sicily*, and offered the pope and *de Brienne* their own terms, if they would consent to his enjoying that crown. They were rejected, and *Marcoald* soon after died, under an operation for the stone. The chancellor, upon this, received absolution from the pope, and went over to *Sicily* to oppose a *German*, one *Capparo*, who had seized the guardianship of that king and kingdom. The pope, pursuing his usual politics, sent thither his nephew, cardinal *Gerard*, who kept the balance even between both parties ; but while *Innocent* was disposing of kingdoms and provinces all over *Europe*, he was himself driven out of *Rome* to *Anagni*, by the *Romans* ; and *Gerard* being outwitted by *Capparo*, thought proper to leave *Palermo*.

The pope appointed *de Brienne*, and his cousin, count *James*, to be governors of *Apulia* and *Terra de Lavori*. A report of *Innocent's* death, at *Anagni*, produced a new revolt among that inconstant people, and *Brindisi*, *Otranto*, and several other considerable places, expelled, or massacred their garrisons. About the year 1204, *de Brienne* obliged the *German* party to shut themselves up in their castles. This threw him into a fatal security. He was surprized, defeated, and taken prisoner, by *Diepold*, and died in a few days of his wounds. His wife, who was brought to bed of a posthumous son, was afterwards married to the count of *Tricarico*. The death of *de Brienne* overthrew all that *Innocent* had so painfully and expensively laboured to effect, and he was forced to be reconciled to *Diepold* ; who prevailed with *Capparo* to fulfil the terms he had made with the chancellor of *Sicily*, and to put young *Frederic* into his hands, and those of the legate. *Innocent*, at the same time, obliged all the officers who acted as guardians or governors to the young king, to take an oath of fidelity to the holy see. *Diepold*, afterwards, fell at variance with the chan-

cellor ;

cellor, who threw him into prison, from whence he escaped, and defeated the *Neapolitans*, who had attacked the *Germans* in *Apulia*, where they had committed all manner of excesses, notwithstanding the admonitions, and even the arms, of the pope. We have brought this narrative down to the year 1208, that we might preserve, as entire as possible, so considerable a part of the *Italian* history, as that of *Naples*. We now return to that of the pope, and the other states, after informing the reader that we shall either entirely omit, or only slightly touch upon the transactions between the see of *Rome* and other states, to the particular histories of which they properly belong.

Innocent, one of the most active pontiffs that ever sat in who is that chair, sent his legates all over christendom, and even to zealous *Greece*. The vast zeal which he expressed for the reformation of ecclesiastical abuses, gave him credit with many forming princes who were otherwise jealous of the papal power, the and some of them made use of his authority for curbing church. their overgrown, or rebellious, subjects. He suspended many eminent prelates, particularly the patriarch of *Antioch*, and the archbishop of *Tours*; but he published rigorous orders against usury, simony, pluralities, and corruption in ecclesiastics; and he is said to have been so great a friend to population, that he offered indulgences to men who married strumpets. The most important part of his reformation, however, seems to have consisted in his ordering priests to lay aside the use of arms. He was rigorous towards heresies, or rather the doctrines so called; and we perceive that even at this time, the bible had been translated into *French*, and that the *Waldenses*, and *Albigenses*, detested the gross corruptions of popery, and were, in fact, the seminary from which the reformation afterwards sprang. Against them, *Innocent* proceeded with unrelenting severity, and suspended, deposed, or excommunicated, all whom he suspected to be their favourers. He sent his bulls and crosses even into *Armenia*, with a prohibition to the prince or king of the country, to intermeddle in ecclesiastical affairs. He ordered *John*, king of *England*, to pay to the emperor *Otho* IV. the sums that had been left him by his brother *Richard*, and to break off all the connections he had contracted with the king of *France*, who was then the enemy of the holy see.

Innocent interested himself in a particular manner, and *ibid.* with great zeal for the unfortunate *Christians*, who remained p. 467. still in the *Holy Land*; and we have, in the place referred to, See vol. 7. given an account of the measures he took for a new cru- p. 116. sade. The spirit he raised communicated itself to *France et seq.* and *Germany*. Many of the *French* were so zealous, that *ibid.* in order to obtain their passage, they served as soldiers for p. 209. the *Venetians*, who employed them against the king of *Hungary*, for which they were excommunicated by *Innocent*. The *Venetian*

his vast
power in
christen-
dom.

Venetian shipping, however, being the only means of transporting the adventurers to the *Holy Land*, *Innocent* thought proper to soften the rigours of the excommunication. A difference at this time subsisting between the king of *Armenia*, (as he is called) and the count of *Tripoli*, who was supported by the *Knight Templars*, *Innocent* interposed, and sent two legates to be arbitrators between the parties. The prince of the *Bulgarians*, many of whom were yet pagans, petitioned *Innocent* for a crown, and the title of king. *Innocent* sent him a pall for his archbishop, but took time to deliberate on his other requests. The *Scotch* historians pretend that he sent to their king a magnificent sword embellished with gold and diamonds, together with a hat and bulls of privileges. With regard to the hat and the bulls, we have no doubt of the pontiff's munificence; but the present of the sword is very questionable; and it is certain, that the sword of state now preserved among the regalia of that kingdom, is of a much later date, and was presented by pope *Julius II.* to *James IV.* of *Scotland*.

His difference with
the king
of *England*.

One of the most distinguished periods of *Innocent's* pontificate, was the application made to him on the part of *John*, king of *England*, for protection against the king of *France*. *Innocent* set his legates to mediate between them, whose authority gained *John* some respite; but *Philip* of *France*, lodged an appeal at the pope's tribunal, but without any effect. *John* being relieved from his distresses, quarrelled with *Innocent*, about the election of an archbishop of *Canterbury*. The monks had chosen the bishop of *Norwich*, at *John's* request, though they had previously elected their own superior. *Innocent* disallowed of both elections, and recommended *Stephen Langton*, a learned man, and a cardinal, who was elected likewise. *John* resented this strain of papal authority in so high terms, that *Innocent* laid his kingdom under a general interdict, and the king banished *Langton*, and all his adherents, out of *England*.

Remark-
able histo-
ry of the
crusade
against the
Albigenses

A monk, with some of his brethren, had undertaken on the part of *Innocent*, to be the apostles, or rather inquisitors, for the conversion of the *Waldenses*, and other heretics. They proceeded with such severity, that some soldiers belonging to *Remond*, count of *Tholouse*, put the chief monk (whose name was *Peter de Castro*) to death. *Innocent* had been long watching for an opportunity of exterminating both the *Waldenses* and the *Albigenses*, and had amused them with meetings and disputations, till he had disposed the king of *France*, and the neighbouring princes, to take arms against them, by granting to them and their soldiers the same indulgences that he and his predecessors had granted to the crusaders in the *Holy Land*; and in the mean while, he thunders out an excommunication against *Remond*. As we shall not have an opportunity of touching again upon this most important part of history, we shall here present the
reader

reader with a clause in the bull which he published against that unhappy people. "We therefore more strictly and earnestly admonish and exhort you, as being a matter of so vast importance and concern, that you would study and endeavour, by all the means which *God* shall put into your hands, to abolish and destroy the wicked heresy of the *Albigenses*, and its followers; and that with more rigour and severity than you would use towards the *Saracens* themselves, persecuting and impugning them with a strong hand, and a stretched out arm, because they are worse than they, driving them out of the land of the *Lord*, and depriving them of their lands and possessions, banishing them, and putting *Roman Catholics* in their room."

Remond saw the storm that threatened him, and endeavoured to deprecate the pope's wrath by his submissions, and offering to prove himself innocent of the friar's death, and that the homicide was fled out of his dominions. *Innocent* applied to *Philip*, king of *France*, whose quarrel with the king of *England* still continuing, he referred him to the neighbouring counts, who readily embraced this new crusade. These were the duke of *Burgundy*, the earls of *Nevers*, *St. Paul*, *Auxerre*, *Geneva*, *Poitiers*, *Forests*, *Simon of Monfort*, the *sieur de Bar*, *Guichard de Beaujeu*, and *Gauchier de Joigni*. Besides those lay princes, the archbishops of *Sens*, and *Rouen*, the bishops of *Clermont*, *Nevers*, *Lizieux*, *Bayeux*, *Chartres*, and several others joined this crusade, and every clergyman brought his quota of pilgrims to the general rendezvous; so that the number of the whole was incredible. Lest the reader should imagine that those heretics maintained some doctrines destructive of religion and society, we shall here give an extract of the tenets for which they were to be exterminated. "1. That the *Romish* church was not the holy church, and spouse of *Christ*, but that it was a church filled with the doctrine of devils; viz. that *Babylon*, which *St. John* described in the *Revelations*, the mother of fornications and abominations, gorged with the blood of the saints. 2. That the mass was not instituted either by *Christ*, or the apostles, but is the invention of men. 3. That the prayers of the living are unprofitable to the dead. 4. That purgatory held and maintained in the church of *Rome*, was an human invention, to serve the avarice of the priests. 5. That the saints ought not to be invoked. 6. That transubstantiation is an invention of men, a false and erroneous doctrine; and the adoration of the bread, a manifest and downright idolatry."

It must not be dissembled, and indeed it appears from the first of those propositions, that the *Albigenses* were not without a strong tincture of enthusiasm, but it was such as did no harm to society. *Remond* applied to *Milo*, a new legate, whom the pope had sent to those parts, to appease the fury of his enemies. *Milo* seemed to listen to his apology, but

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desired him to deliver into his hands seven of the best castles he held in *Provence*, and at the same time hinted to *Remond*, that he was a prisoner. *Remond* immediately complied, but requested that his subjects might suffer no hardships from the crusaders; and garrisons were immediately put into the impignorated castles. This did not satisfy the haughty pontiff. Though it was not now even pretended that *Remond* was accessory to the inquisitor's death, yet he was conveyed to St. *Giles's*, where he was reconciled to the pope and the church of *Rome*, with the following ceremonies, viz. The legate commanded him to strip himself stark naked, without the church of St. *Giles*, having nothing on, but a pair of linen drawers to cover his nakedness, his feet, head, and shoulders, bare. Then he put a coul which priests wear about his neck, and dragging him by the said coul, he caused him to go nine times about the grave of the late friar, *Peter de Castro*, who was buried in the said church, whipping him with rods, which he had in his hand, all the time that he went about the said grave.

His farther persecution.

When *Remond* complained of so severe a penance, for a crime of which he was innocent, the legate replied, that although he did neither slay him, nor cause him to be slain, yet because the murder was committed within his territories and jurisdiction, and he never made any pursuit or enquiry after the murderer, that murder was deservedly imputed to him, and that he must therefore make satisfaction to the pope, and the church, by that humble repentance, if he desired to be reconciled to either. Nay, that he must likewise be whipt before the earls, barons, marquisses, prelates, and a great number of other people. He made him also swear by the *corpus Domini*, (as they call it) and by certain other relics, which were brought for that purpose, that he would continue to his life's end to pay an universal obedience in all things to the pope, and the church of *Rome*, and that he would wage a perpetual, mortal, and irreconcilable war against the *Albigenses*, until they were either entirely extirpated, and destroyed, or else reduced to the obedience of the church of *Rome*.

Beziers besieged and taken.

This circumstantial account of a transaction, which the *Romanists* have ever endeavoured to bury in obscurity, strikes us with horror, and gives us a lively idea of the dreadful power of the church of *Rome* at that time. But the great scenes of blood are yet to come. It was not enough for *Remond* to undergo tortures and disgraces, if he did not head the army that was to exterminate his subjects, and depopulate his country. This was the task next imposed upon him by the legate, and *Remond* was obliged to obey. To the inexpressible consternation of the poor *Albigenses*, and the disquiet of his own conscience, he was put at the head of the army that was to besiege *Beziers*, a city belonging to his nephew. Before he marched, he thought

thought of an expedient to get rid of this unnatural command. He asked leave of the legate to throw himself at the feet of his holiness; which could not be denied him. The army of the cross proceeded then to the siege of *Beziers*, when the earl, a youth of about fifteen, came and throwing himself on his knees, embraced those of the legate, and with a flood of tears, implored mercy for his subjects; but it was refused in the most shocking manner. It was in vain for the earl, on his return, to endeavour to persuade the *Albigenses* to change their religion, and above one hundred thousand religious demons stormed the place, and put all they met with to the sword; after which they burned and razed the town. The army of the cross then marched to *Carcaffone*, where the young earl, who was himself a *Roman* catholic, (for even that religion gave no protection to his unhappy subjects) had taken refuge. Such was the fury of the times, that the legate's army, by fresh supplies, was now encreased to three hundred thousand men, who besieged *Carcaffone* with so undiscerning a fury, that they were repulsed with great slaughter by the young earl of *Beziers*, who informed the inhabitants that they were to expect no mercy. Next day the attack was renewed with such irresistible numbers, that one part of the town was carried, and all within it, as at *Beziers*, were put to the sword.

By this time *Remond* was returned to the camp, and was forced to command in the horrible massacre. In the mean while, the king of *Arragon*, who was nearly related to which is *Remond* and the earl, arrived in the legate's camp, and by the proceeding of the crusaders plainly perceived, that on the part of the pope, the war, was a war of ambition, as the swords of the crusaders, made no distinction between the *Roman* catholics and the *Albigenses*. Upon the intercession of the king, the legate offered to receive into close custody the earl of *Beziers*, and any twelve of his attendants, provided he would deliver up to him all his possessions, which were to be disposed of according to the award of his holiness; but that all besides, who were within *Carcaffone*, should submit to his mercy; and that women, as well as men, should present themselves before him naked, without either shifts, shirts, or any other covering. Those terms being rejected with indignation, the king left the legate's camp, not without menaces, and a fresh assault was given to the remaining part of the town, but the assailants were repulsed with such prodigious slaughter, that, furious as they were, their enthusiasm began to cool, and so many of them returned home, that the legate began to be apprehensive for the success of his expedition. He employed a traitor, who under colour of a parly, betrayed the earl into the crusaders camp, and though he offered to persuade even the *Albigenses* to submit to become papists, yet the legate told him

he

he was his prisoner, and that he would detain his person, as a pledge for the surrender of *Carcaffone*. He exclaimed in vain against the legate's perfidy; and was consigned to the custody of the duke of *Burgundy*. The despair which seized the inhabitants of *Carcaffone*, at hearing of their earl's imprisonment, was inconceivable, and the manner in which they are said to have avoided the fate of those of *Beziers*, must seem incredible to those who are strangers to the manner of constructing castles in those days; for a large subterraneous passage was discovered through the report of some old men, by which they escaped. Next day, the crusaders, to their amazement, found that the besieged were fled, and taking possession of the town they shut up the earl, prisoner, in one of its strongest towers.

Simon de Montfort made general of the crusade.

Innocent and his legates, perceived now the necessity of appointing an able lay commander to head the expedition. He called together the chiefs of his army, to chuse a general out of their own number. The duke of *Burgundy*, with the earls of *Nevers*, and *St. Paul*, declined the honour, and the choice being left to a committee of commanders, and ecclesiastics, it fell upon the famous *Simon de Montfort*, who with some difficulty was prevailed upon to accept it; and never was so infernal a charge more faithfully executed. When he arrived at *Carcaffone*, which he made his headquarters, he found the vast army of three hundred thousand crusaders, reduced to forty thousand; for the reader must understand, that a crusader enlisted only for forty days. *Remond*, at this time, was at the court of *France*, imploring that king's intercession for his subjects. From thence he went to *Rome*, where he received the pope's absolution for the murder of *Peter de Castro*; but the brave young earl of *Beziers* died in the mean while in prison, not without suspicion of poison. Upon his death, *Montfort* demanded from the king of *Aragon* the investiture of his estates, by virtue of the pope's donation; but the king refused it.

His inhumanities.

This iniquitous proceeding opened the eyes of other princes, which had hitherto been sealed up by zeal for religion. They knew not how soon the earl's fate might be their own, if the pope could thus dispose of principalities by his bulls. The duke of *Burgundy* exclaimed against this power, and the king of *Aragon* encouraged the people to oppose it, promising them speedy support. *Montfort* receiving new recruits, disciplined them, and proceeded with great severity against all who refused to acknowledge his rights to the earldom; but met with several repulses. The war was then carried on with unrelenting fury. The commanders of the *Albigenses* mutilated the prisoners they took of *Simon's* party; and he committed to the flames all the *Albigenses* who fell into his hands. It is credibly reported, that in one funeral pile, to which *Montfort* set fire with his own hand, one hundred and forty

of those unfortunate prisoners were consumed. The inhabitants of many places, daunted by those inhumanities, submitted to *Montfort*; but he met with such resistance from others, that he informed the pope he could not proceed without a fresh supply of crusaders. The encrease of indulgences, and new prospects of plunder, brought that supply in vast numbers, just as he was sinking under the despair, the *Albigenses* having besieged him in *Carcaffone*. It is remarkable, that the *Roman* catholics of the country took arms along with the *Albigenses*, as thinking themselves engaged in a common cause.

The fury of *Montfort*, if possible, was redoubled, He re- after the great reinforcement he had received from *France*, ceives re- commanded by his wife. He reduced the strongest places cruets, in the country, and his practice was, at the end of every siege, to kindle a large fire, into which he threw all his vulgar prisoners, and to erect gallows on which he hanged those of better note. Other particulars of his cruelty are too shocking, as well as too numerous, to be here related. While this horrible war was raging, *Remond* returned, and by letter to the legate, pleaded the pope's pardon. This and claims was opposed by *Montfort*, who laid claim to *Remond's* domi- *Remond's* nions likewise. A pretext was found for setting the effects domi- of the pardon aside, and *Montfort*, by treachery, surprized nions. the castle of *Nismes*, and put into it a strong garrison. But in the mean while the legate died, and *Montfort* made no secret that he was resolved to ruin *Remond*. A new legate called *Theodosius*, soon arrived, and under pretence that *Remond* had imposed upon the pope, and had not fulfilled his promise, in exterminating the *Albigenses*, he began *Remond's* process afresh; and at last actually excommunicated him, as being guilty of *Peter de Castro's* death, and as being a relapsed and impenitent person. *Remond* retired to *Tholouse*, from whence he drove the bishop and his clergy to *Montfort's* camp, because they refused to celebrate divine service while he remained in the city. *Montfort* and the legate employed all kinds of artifice to decoy him into their hands, but he was joined by the king of *Arragon*. A set of articles, by which *Remond* and his subjects were to be reduced to the lowest degree of slavery and beggary, were presented to him, as the terms of his peace, but rejected. The king shewed *Remond* the madness of shutting himself up in *Tholouse*, which must in a few days be besieged by *Montfort's* vast army; and both of them fled to *Arragon*. Upon this, *Montfort* besieged *Montferrand*, which was defended by *Baldwin*, *Remond's* brother, and other noblemen, who delivered it up in a cowardly manner.

The surrender of *Montferrand*, was attended with the loss His alli- of many other strong places, while the legate, and *Mont- ance with fort* tampered with the king of *Arragon* to abandon *Remond*, the king who was now obliged to take refuge in *Tholouse*. That city of *Arra- was gon.*

was soon invested by *Montfort's* troops, and bravely defended by *Remond*, who took prisoner *Aimeri*, *Montfort's* son. A number of skirmishes happened without the walls, in which the crusaders were generally beaten by the earl of *Foix*, and others of *Remond's* friends; and the other in revenge plundered and destroyed the country. The time of the crusading service being almost expired, *Montfort's* army grew weak, but he fell into the earl of *Foix's* country, where he renewed his ravages, and took several strong places; so that that earl was obliged to beg peace of *Montfort*. By this time, *Montfort's* daughter was married to the king of *Aragon's* son, and that prince had given him the investiture of *Beziers*, and *Carcassone*. *Montfort*, elated by this alliance, despised the earl of *Foix's* submissions, and proceeded with such arrogance and cruelty, that the king of *Aragon* repented of what he had done, and proposed an alliance with the earl of *Foix*, and *Remond*, for driving the crusaders out of their country. This proposition took place, and was cemented by a marriage between *Remond's* son, who was of his own name, and one of the king of *Aragon's* daughters; and then hostilities on all sides were openly proclaimed. This happened to be the weak season of *Montfort's* army, and he would gladly have had recourse to negotiations till he could recruit it. *Roger*, son to the earl of *Foix*, a brave active young prince, rejected all terms of accommodation, and taking the field, he made a vast havoc among the crusaders. *Castelnau d'Arri*, which was very strong, and in which *Montfort* had shut himself up, was besieged by the confederates, who soon made themselves masters of its suburbs, and likewise of several strong places in the neighbourhood. The numbers of the *Albigenses* seemed to increase with the persecutions they had suffered, and they were divided into small armies, for the conveniency of subsistence. *Montfort* made his escape out of *Castelnau*, by favour of a sally; and the affairs of the confederates were so ill managed, that they raised the siege. A body of the king of *England's* Gascon subjects, assisted the *Albigenses* on this occasion. *Montfort*, after his escape, repaired to *Paumiers*, and fortified all the places he had taken. He prevailed with the legate, and *Philip* king of *France*, to represent to the king of *Aragon*, the danger he underwent in taking part with *Remond*, and the *Albigenses*. Their applications staggered the king, and when he was called upon by his confederates to bring his troops into the field, he advised them to proceed by way of treaty, and said he would endeavour to serve them in a council which the legate was about to hold. He accordingly wrote to the council in favour of his confederates; but they returned him a haughty refusal, and referred him to the pope. The earl of *Foix*, by persuasion of his son, bravely refused to submit to the pope,

pope, and upbraided the king of *Arragon* for the proposals he had made in their names.

The king, provoked at seeing his mediation insulted and rejected, declared himself the head of the *Albigenses*, and threatened to proceed against *Montfort* as a traitor, if he did not appear immediately before him. *Montfort* sent the copies of this letter to all the friends of the holy see, as a fresh incentive for their sending him recruits. The king of *Arragon* made his appeal to the same powers, and represented *Montfort* as a tyrant, and a hypocrite; upon which the king of *France* declared for a neutrality. This encouraged the king of *Arragon* to repeat his summonses, and renew his menaces to *Montfort*; but notwithstanding the king of *France* did all he could to hinder the crusade from proceeding in his dominions, of which he considered himself as lord paramount, vast numbers of his subjects enlisted under *Montfort*, who, before the *Arragonian* king could bring his army to the field, took *Tudelle*, and put all within it to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. He proceeded in the same manner against other places, and made a most rapid progress before he met with any opposition. It was the 13th of *September* 1213, before the king of *Arragon*, and his confederates, the earls of *Tholouse*, *Foix*, *Comminge*, and the prince of *Bern*, took the field, with seven thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot. They amused themselves with forming sieges against places which *Montfort* had fortified so strongly, that they could not take them. *Montfort*, whose army was at this time reduced to twelve hundred horse and foot, shut himself up in the castle of *Moret*, but offered many advantageous terms to the confederates; all of which were haughtily rejected by the king of *Arragon*. Despair obliged *Montfort*, at last, to take the field, at the head of two thousand two hundred *Frenchmen*; but those we must suppose to have been regular veterans. When the king of *Arragon* saw him approaching at the head of this handful of men, he thought he was coming to throw himself at his feet, but he was fatally undeceived. *Simon* had placed four hundred of his best archers in ambuscade, near some ruins, and the vanity of the *Arragonian* king, having distinguished his person, he was killed from this ambuscade, while he was following a sham retreat, made by a part of *Montfort's* troops. His death, which happened in sight of his whole army, dispirited his soldiers, who, perhaps, had the horrors of excommunication hanging on their minds; they immediately betook themselves to flight, and were pursued by the crusaders towards *Tholouse*, with so prodigious a carnage, that it is said to have touched the heart even of the inhuman *Montfort*.

He is defeated and killed by *Montfort*.

Though their defeat at *Moret*, besides the death of the king of *Arragon*, cost the confederates fifteen thousand of their best men, yet they were not discouraged, and perhaps

who re-
duces
Tholouse.

the true reason why *Montfort* ordered the pursuit to be discontinued, was, least his enemies should find their safety in despair. *Roman* catholic biggots have magnified *Montfort's* victory with incredible circumstances; for they make the king's army to consist of one hundred thousand men; nor are some miracles forgot for the honour of the cause. *Montfort*, after his victory, summoned the confederates, upon their allegiance to the pope, to surrender up all their forts and dominions. *Reinoud* went to *Montauban*, from whence he desired the people of *Tholouse* to make the best terms they could with the conqueror, while he, and the earl of *Foix*, with his other confederates, were determined to keep the field, and harraßs their enemies. It appears as if *Montfort* distrusted his own good fortune; for though the *Tholousans* sent him six deputies, and offered to surrender their city upon a capitulation, he applied to *Philip Augustus*, king of *France*, to send his son prince *Lewis* to countenance him in his proceedings, as he intended to dismantle *Tholouse*; against the articles, as we are told, of the capitulation. *Philip*, now that the king of *Arragon* was dead, sent his son accordingly, the city was dismantled, and the inhabitants plundered.

Prince
Lewis of
France
com-
mands the
crusaders.

About this time, the pope sent a new legate, one *Bonaventure*, to have a watchful eye over prince *Lewis*, who now took upon him the command of the crusaders. Lest *Lewis* should take possession, for his father or himself, of any of the *Albigensian* forts, or towns, he put them all under the protection of the pope, which they pleaded, and at the same time they produced a full absolution from all penalties, which exempted them from the power of *Lewis*. The forty days service being expired, *Montfort's* army again disbanded. Prince *Lewis* returned home, after having dismantled the strong fortrefs of *Narbonne*. The indefatigable pope soon recruited *Montfort's* army, and he besieged the castle of *Foix*, but was, as yet, too weak to take it. He himself was defeated, his brother was killed, and the *Arragonians* made an irruption into *Montfort's* new conquests, in the county of *Beziers*, and put all his adherents to the sword. *Montfort* flew to their assistance, but his army was cut off on its march, in an ambuscade, by the earl of *Foix*, and he himself fled to *Carcassone*. The treatment which the prince of *France* met with from the nuncio, had disgusted his father, and numbers of the *French* feudatories, struck with horror at *Montfort's* cruelty, associated themselves in *Dauphiny*, and other countries, and intercepted his recruits, which were again flocking to him from all quarters. The *Arragonians* again invaded his conquests, and he was again beaten, and obliged to shut himself up in *Carcassone*. In this distress he applied to *Bonaventure*, who, under promise of getting the pope's pardon for the earl of *Foix*, persuaded him to surrender his capital of *Foix* into his

his hands, and to go to *Rome* for absolution. *Bonaventure*, at the same time, informed the pope, that the earl was the greatest foe the holy see had; and the event was, that the earl, by his own folly was stript of his dominions, which were held by *Montfort*.

Bonaventure was equally successful in the arts he practised Treach- upon *Remond*. The latter had been taxed with the death of ery of the his brother *Baldwin*, who was of the papal party; and by legate. the legate's instigation, he thought himself obliged in honour and conscience to go to *Rome*, and clear himself from the charge, that he might receive absolution. *Remond* was the more encouraged to this, as his son, who had been bred in *England*, had brought him that king's letters to the pope, recommending his cause in the strongest manner, to his favour. The earl met with many friends at the court of *Rome*. *Montfort*'s cruelties were proved without dispute, and the pope found himself, in a manner under a necessity to order *Remond*'s estates to be restored to himself and his son, on condition of their proving themselves to be dutiful sons to the see of *Rome*. Upon their return, the legate laid hold of that condition, to evade their demand of restitution; upon which they again took up arms. Young *Remond* besieged and took *Beaucaire*, and his father's dominions were again laid waste by *Montfort*. The people of *Tholouse* shook off their yoke, and expelled *Montfort*'s garrison, but they were betrayed by their bishop, and the crusaders were again admitted into that city, where the inhabitants were disarmed, and the chief of them sent in exile to other places, but all of them treated with the utmost barbarity. The other subjects of *Remond* met with the same fate, and in a council held at *Montpellier*, *Montfort* was declared to be the lawful lord of all the *Albigensian* country that had been conquered; and he received his investiture from the pope accordingly. While this ceremony was performing in *Montpellier*, he was driven out of that city by the indignation of the inhabitants, but so sollicitous was the pope to heap favours upon him, that in a progress he made through *France*, he received all the honours that could have been paid to a divinity; and the people, when they went out to meet him, saluted him with these words, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." So great was the veneration then annexed to the practice of religious butchery and murder.

No fewer than a hundred bishops were employed upon The earl the continent of *Europe*, in recruiting *Montfort*'s army, of *Tholouse* which, upon his return to the county of *Tholouse*, was irre- louse resistible by its numbers. He had given one of his daughters covers his in marriage to the son of *Aimar de Poitiers*; one of his sons domini- was married to the daughter of the dauphin of *Vienne*, and ons. another to the countess of *Bigorre*; alliances which prodigiously strengthened his interest in that country. His ra- vages

Montfort
again de-
feated.

vages were redoubled with more fury than ever, and when he became master of a place, he gave no quarter even to women and children. The earl of *Tholouse* had now raised a great army, and had besieged *Montfort's* wife in the castle of *Narbonne*. He was received by the inhabitants of *Tholouse*, with the greatest unanimity and affection, and his progress was so considerable, while *Montfort* was spending his time in a pompous display of his greatness, that the crusaders began to diminish in their numbers, and many of them returned home. He, however, with the forces that were left him, flew to his wife's assistance; but the *Albigenses* had by this time learned to retaliate the barbarities of *Montfort*, and, in their turn, put his adherents to the sword. *Remond*, who was joined by some experienced commanders, reformed his city, and when *Montfort* prepared to lay siege to it, he was attacked more than once, and beaten by *Remond*. The legate did all he could to encourage *Montfort*, who was preparing for a general assault, when he was attacked and entirely defeated by the earl of *Foix*, who pursued his men to the *Garonne*, where numbers of them were drowned.

Remond then resumed the siege of the castle of *Narbonne*, and battered it with all the engines and machines then used, but without effect. *Montfort*, who had narrowly escaped being drowned, was then at *Montlieu*, with the legate, and in great dejection of spirit. He was comforted by the legate with the hopes of receiving fresh recruits of crusaders, which he accordingly did, to the number of one hundred thousand; and in the beginning of the year 1218, he resumed the siege of *Tholouse*, and relieved *Narbonne*. *Montfort* thinking to avail himself of his numbers, employed the legate to promise crowns of martyrdom to those who should fall in the expedition, and plenary indulgences and remissions, to all who should fight bravely. Animated by those promises, they immediately attempted to scale the walls of the city, but *Remond* having likewise received powerful reinforcements, the assailants were beaten off with vast loss, and pursued with great slaughter. Some of *Montfort's* friends advised him to compromise matters with *Remond*. On the twenty-fourth of June, *Remond* made another sally, while *Montfort* was assisting at mass, from which it was with difficulty he could be drawn to face his enemies. Being mounted on horseback, he was first wounded in the and killed thigh, and then his head was struck off by a stone discharged from one of the engines on the walls; and thus died that monster of human nature.

Farther
progress
of the cru-
sade.

The command of the crusade then devolved by the legate's nomination, upon his son *Aimery*, who was obliged to retire to *Carcaffone*, but lost the greatest part of his army in a sally made by *Remond*. The latter, on his return, became at last master of *Narbonne*, and by degrees he and the earl of *Foix*, recovered all they had lost, the crusading spirit being

being entirely sunk by the death of the elder *Montfort*. *Aimery*, however, continued the war, but his command was suspended for a while, by prince *Lewis*, who pretended to dispose of the remaining part of *Montfort's* conquests, and to mitigate the cruelties of the crusaders. He found that he was not master in *Aimery's* camp; for though he had granted a favourable capitulation to the inhabitants of *Marmande*, which *Aimery* had besieged, yet the latter put every person within the place to the sword; upon which, the prince hearing that his father was dead, returned to *Paris*; and thus ended this cruel, inhuman crusade. But we are now to resume the history of *Italy*.

Innocent, about the year 1210, found himself embroiled Power and with the *Greek* emperor, *Henry*, who had succeeded to that haughti- throne, after *Constantinople* had been taken by the *Venetians*, nefs of and other crusaders. He had made a law against any person pope *In-* leaving immoveable estates to the church, and *Innocent* com- *nocent*. manded him to repeal it; and *Henry* complied with this in- junction. We find *Innocent*, at the same time, acting in every respect as the supreme lord of *Bohemia*, and ordering that king and his family to appear before his tribunal at *Rome*; and he sent the like command to the kings of *Eng-* land, *Portugal*, and *France*, who paid less deference to his authority. *Innocent* particularly resented the contumacy of *John* king of *England*, and not only recalled his legates from thence, but laid that king under an interdict, freed his sub- jects from their allegiance, and gave his crown to the king of *France*. His pretext for these severities was, because *John* had refused to make good some losses the priests had suffered, and to recal certain ecclesiastics whom he had sent into banishment. The reader, in the history of *Germany*, Vol. 3. will find a detail of the transactions between the emperors *Otho* and *Frederic*, with *Innocent*. About the year 1212, his p. 470. holiness preached up a crusade against the *Moors* in *Spain*, et seq. who are said to have lost one hundred thousand men in one Fresh cru- battle with the crusaders and the *Spaniards*, headed by *Al-* phonso, king of *Arragon*. The numbers of people that then filled *Europe*, are next to incredible, since, besides the milli- ons which had already been destroyed in religious expedi- tions, we are told that one hundred and ten thousand cru- saders marched into *Spain* against the *Moors*, and sixty-thou- sand boys took the cross for the *Holy Land*; but the greatest part of them were seized by pirates, who sold them to the *Saracens*, or were starved to death in their march through deserts.

The city of *Milan* refusing to renounce its allegiance to the emperor *Otho*, *Innocent* threatened it and other cities of *Lombardy* with excommunication. This menace, perhaps, would have had no great effect, had they not been the greatest manufacturers in *Europe*, and they carried on a vast trade in *England*, *France*, and *Germany*. *Innocent* threatened

A *Lateran* council.

to prevail with those princes (for *John*, king of *England*, had by this time shamefully resigned his crown into the hands of his legate *Pandolph*, and received absolution) not only to stop this trade, but all the debts due to the *Lombards*. He then sent *Pelagius*, a *Spaniard*, as his legate, or rather his inquisitor, to *Constantinople*, to force the *Greeks* to submit themselves to the *Romish* church ; but though *Pelagius* employed all kind of cruelties for that purpose, yet the people were so tenacious of their old religion, that he was obliged to forego his design. *Innocent* stretched his authority so far as even to command the sultan of *Damascus* to resign the *Holy Land* to the crusaders ; but that prince treated his command with vast contempt. *Innocent's* pride, in the year 1215, received some mortification from the barons of *England*, who paid no regard to his fulminations ; nor could he prevail even with the archbishop of *Canterbury* to publish his bulls. It is to be lamented that we know little of the history of the papacy at this time, but what we have from ecclesiastics. We learn, however, from them, that the doctrines of the *Albigenses*, and other fore-runners of the reformation, had penetrated into *Germany*, where *Innocent's* inquisitors most barbarously put many of them to death. This year was opened a famous *Lateran* council, at which four hundred and twelve archbishops and bishops, *Greek* and *Latin*, assisted, with eight hundred abbots and priors, besides the patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Jerusalem*, and ambassadors from almost all the crowned heads in *Europe*. The archbishop of *Milan* presented himself as ambassador from the dethroned emperor *Otho* ; but *Innocent* refused to admit him. This council proved extremely pliable to the pope ; it established transubstantiation, anathematized heretics ; and prince *Lewis*, who had invaded the kingdom of *England* at the invitation of the barons, and confirmed the election of the emperor *Frederic*, upon his dismembering the kingdom of *Sicily* from the empire, besides enacting a number of other ecclesiastical regulations. At this council appeared the two founders of the *Dominican* and *Franciscan* orders, *St. Dominic* and *St. Francis*. The latter received from *Innocent* a confirmation of his order, and *St. Dominic* was promised the same as soon as he could fix a rule for his votaries. *Innocent*, towards the latter end of his life, was greatly embarrassed by the state of affairs in *Italy*. *Milan*, and other cities in *Lombardy*, continued to refuse obedience to his admonitions, upon which they were laid under an interdict. They revenged themselves severely upon the adherents of the pope, who attempted to end a war that had broke out between the *Genese* and the *Pisans*, that he might unite them to the *Milanese* ; but he died on the fourteenth of *July*, 1215.

Honorius *Innocent*, whose long popedom was a scourge to the christian world, was succeeded by *Honorius III.* a noble *Roman*. Among

Among the first acts of his pontificate, was his confirming the order of *St. Dominic*, and requiring the emperor *Frederic*, to submit the kingdom of *Sicily* wholly to the *Roman* see, and at the same time, pressing him to accomplish his expedition to the *Holy Land*, which he studied to evade. In *April*, 1217, *Honorius* had the glory to give the imperial crown of *Constantinople* to *Peter*, the *Greek* emperor; but he did it with so much caution, that the ceremony was performed without the walls of *Rome*, lest the claim of the *Greek* emperors should be revived upon the western empire. In almost all other respects, *Honorius* trod in the footsteps of his predecessor, *Innocent*. He commanded *Alexander*, king of *Scotland*, to break his connections with *Lewis*, king of *France*. He claimed the disposal of the crown of *Hungary*, and would not allow the agreement between the emperor *Frederic*, and *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, to be valid, till it received his ratification. He censured the king of *Bohemia* for suffering priests in his dominions to be amenable to lay jurisdictions, and launched his excommunications against all the states who did not follow his directions. Notwithstanding all this assumed power, he was, like his predecessor, driven out of his capital by the *Romans*.

Honorius hearing of *Montfort's* death, laid his commands His pro-
on the king of *France*, that he would assist the crusaders, ceedings.
and upon the king of *Arragon*, that he would not support
the *Albigenses*. He took several princes, particularly *Alex-*
ander king of *Scotland*, and the two queen dowagers of *Eng-*
land, into his immediate protection, that they might be ex-
empted from the jurisdiction of the *English* crown; and at
last, he had the glory of absolving the *Milaneze* from ecclesi-
astical censures; and by means of *Hugolin*, one of his car-
dinals, he restored tranquility to the cities and states of *Italy*.
The reader, in a former part of this work, has a full account See vol. 7.
of the crusades at this time, in *Asia* and *Africa*, which p. 209.
makes so great a part of the papal history; and likewise the et seq.
various disputes and transactions between *Honorius* and *Fre-* Vol. 8.
deric, the *German* emperor, who refused to fulfil his vow of p. 474.
marching with an army against the infidels in the *Holy Land*.
The *Albigenses* were all this while multiplying, but split
into various sects. *Honorius* thought it so much for his in-
terest that they should be abolished, that he prevailed with
the king of *France* to send his son *Lewis* against them, and
he laid siege to *Tbolouse*, but was forced to raise it. In the
year 1220, *Honorius* gave the imperial crown to *Frederic*, and
his empress *Constantia*, and published several salutary bulls
for the security of travellers, and encouragement of agricul-
ture, in opposition to the *German* soldiers, whose licentious-
ness, at this time, desolated *Italy*. He could not prevail upon
Frederic to undertake the crusade, and the popular bulls
issued by *Honorius*, gave so much strength to the papal inter-
est, that *Frederic* was obliged to wink at the private support
which

An Italian
parlia-
ment,

which his *Neapolitan* rebels received from the holy see. *Honorius* likewise, underhand, encouraged the *Milaneſe*, and the other ſtates of *Italy*, in their oppoſition to the holy ſee. *Frederic* held a parliament (for ſo it is called in original records) at *Capua*, where he paſſed many excellent acts, and eſtabliſhed a court for examining the titles of great barons and corporations to their eſtates. The ſeverity of thoſe proceedings, and his diſpoſſeſſing many of the great landholders, endangered his intereſt in *Naples*; but being backed with a great army, he obliged the diſcontented, either to ſubmit, or to fly to the pope, who protected them. *Honorius*, ſenſible that *Frederic* hated him, and aſpired to be independent of the holy ſee, again laid upon him his injunctions to join the cruſade, and he actually ſent forty three galleys to *Damietta*, which was then beſieged by the infidels. This did not ſatisfy *Honorius*; for *Frederic* now renewed all the claims of the former kings of *Sicily*, of immunity from all papal juriſdiction, which (as he complained) had been violated by pope *Innocent*, during his minority.

In conſequence of thoſe pretentions, *Frederic* baniſhed all the diſaffected eccleſiaſtics, as well as laics, out of his dominions, and in ſhort, in all church matters, he acted as deſpotically as the pope himſelf could have done. *Honorius*, however, was conſidered by the *Italians* of thoſe days, as the patron of their liberty, and *Frederic* was obliged to make many concessions to his holineſs. He puniſhed his chancellor, and the count of *Malta*, for their miſbehaviour in the command of the galleys he ſent to *Damietta*. He likewiſe beſtowed the kingdom of *Sicily* on his ſon *Henry*, and renounced his claim upon the eſtates of the marquieſs, or counteſs *Matilda*. Thoſe ſubmiſſions were mortifying, and the more ſo, as the pope's menaces of excommunication obliged him, on all occaſions, to take the law from his holineſs, and ſometimes to proſecute his own ſolicitations in perſon.

In the year 1222, after ſeveral conferences between *Frederic* and *Honorius*, the former obtained a new reſpite for a few months, from his holy expedition; but in the mean while, an aſſembly of all the *Chriſtian* princes was ſummoned to *Verona*, to concert new meaſures for the relief of the *Holy Land*. *Honorius*, likewiſe, obliged *Frederic* to publiſh the moſt inhuman orders againſt heretics, and it was thought that he ſecretly favoured the *Sicilian Saracens*, with whom that emperor was perpetually at war. His queen *Conſtantia* was now dead, and the count of *Celano* was in rebellion, and had over-run great part of the imperial territories in *Naples*.

Affairs of
Naples.

The emperor proving victorious over the *Sicilians*, returned to *Apulia*, and renewed his engagements to take upon him the croſs in two years; but in the mean time, he be-
haved

saved with so much firmness, that the pope was obliged to apply to him with submissions, by which he prevailed upon him to marry *Iolanta*, the daughter and heiress of the titular king of *Jerusalem*. *Frederic* then returned to *Naples*, and *Honorius* applied himself intirely in preaching up the crusade to all the princes of christendom. The *Albigenses*, about this time, were so much divided among themselves, that many of their heads began to be ashamed of their cause. *Aimeric*, the son and heir of the famous *Montfort*, had succeeded to the dominions his father had conquered from the confederated heads of that sect; but as he aimed at being independent, he met with very little support, either from the pope, or the king of *France*, *Lewis VIII*. The latter had undoubtedly a better right to those conquests, than either the pope, or *Montfort*, and *Aimeric* resigned into his hands all the right he had to the conquered countries, upon his being made constable of *France*. The young earl of *Tholouse* sought, by his compliances with the pope, to regain what his father had lost, and taking advantage of the minority of *Lewis IX*. he armed himself, but was defeated by *Imbert de Beaujeu*, who had laid siege to, and took, a castle near *Tholouse*, and burnt every heretic who fell into his hands. This inhumanity was of infinite service to earl *Remond*, by encreasing the number of the pope's enemies; but *Imbert* being reinforced by a large army of crusaders, obliged *Remond* to shut himself up in *Tholouse*. Here was offered terms from the pope's legate, but with the insidious view of separating the *Albigenses* from his standard. The and *Tholouse*. miseries which the *Tholosans* suffered, inclined them to accept of the nuncio's proposal, and the abbot of *Grandseigne*, persuaded *Remond* to repair to *Meaux*, that he might treat with the queen mother. When he arrived at that city, he found himself a prisoner, and obliged to beg pardon of the court of *France*, and the holy church, in his shirt, barefooted, and bareheaded, with a torch in his hand, and to submit to all the other terms imposed upon him by the court, and the legate, even to the giving up all the strong holds of his dominions, and making war upon his father's and his own confederate the earl of *Foix*. In short, there was no circumstance of mortification, or loss to himself and his subjects, to which he was not obliged to submit. At an assembly called at *Tholouse*, where the *French* prelates assisted, the following article was published. "We forbid and prohibit the books of the *Old* and *New Testament* to the laity, unless they will have the *Psalter*, or some breviary for divine service, or the *Prayer book of the blessed Virgin Mary*, for their devotion; most expressly forbidding them to have the said books translated in the vulgar tongue." During the imprisonment of *Remond*, the king of *France* made himself master of *Tholouse*, and his young daughter, who

who was to inherit his dominions, was carried to the *French* court to be married to the king's brother.

The pope driven from *Rome* About the year 1224, a *Roman* senator, one *Parentius*, drove *Honorius* out of *Rome*, to *Tivoli*, where *Frederic* applied to him to have the time for his taking the cross prolonged, and likewise laid before him the particulars of a confederacy which had been formed against him by the *Italian* states, with a copy of the truce made between the *Christian* princes, and the sultan of *Egypt*, which as he very justly observed, tied him up from acting against the infidels for eight years. *Honorius* was in no condition to oblige the emperor to fulfil his vow, and therefore he was satisfied with making him swear to undertake the expedition in two years; but he could not prevail with *Frederic* to admit to their sees five bishops, whom he had nominated to five *Sicilian* churches without that emperor's knowledge. *Honorius*, at this time, rose to such a pitch of insolence as to demand the tythe of all the ecclesiastical revenues throughout christendom for the holy war; and according to *Matthew Paris*, two prebendaries in every cathedral, and two cells in every monastery, for the perpetual use of himself and his successors. Never was there known a more infamous period than this in the *Christian* world. The unbounded avarice of the pope was supported by the most profound hypocrisy. His zeal against the infidels, was no other, than a pretence for sending the great *Christian* princes out of *Europe*, that the papal chair might meet with no opposition. The vast indulgences and privileges that were given to all who assumed the cross, by absolving them from their sins, filled *Europe*, and *Germany* in particular, with the most horrid murders, which none were solicitous either to prevent or punish. *Frederic* found that the confederacy of the *Italian* states against him gathered strength every day, so that he was obliged to apply to the pope, who effected an accommodation; but still on the condition of *Frederic's* marching to the *Holy Land*. The latter, in right of his wife, had now taken upon himself the title of king of *Jerusalem*, and seemed well disposed towards the enterprise, when *Honorius* died in the year 1226. He was succeeded by *Gregory IX.* who, upon his accession to the pontifical throne, required *Frederic*, under pain of being excommunicated, to repair to the *Holy Land*. *Frederic* seemed to obey, and even set sail, but, upon some frivolous pretext, he returned to *Italy*, was excommunicated, and came to a thorough breach with his holiness. Having a great party in *Rome*, the vindication which he had drawn up for himself, was publicly read in the capital, and *Gregory* was driven out of *Rome* to *Perugia*.

See
Vol. VIII.
p. 478.

Gregory
IX. pope.

Frederic keeping his army on foot, and encreasing it with a number of *Sicilian* and *Neapolitan* *Saracens*, in fact threw off

of the papal yoke; but *Gregory* was revenged upon him, by exciting the confederate states of *Italy* to resume their arms, and encouraging the late king of *Jerusalem* to put himself at the head of a body of crusaders, to act against the emperor. The latter, at last found himself obliged to *ibid.* to set sail for the *Holy Land*, but left orders with his deputy, p. 479. *Rainald*, to treat with his holiness, together with a strong army, to give his negociation success. The pope paid no regard to *Rainald*, and excommunicated the emperor. The patriarch of *Jerusalem* had orders to intimate the excommunication to the crusaders, who refused to obey him, and *Frederic* having made a peace with the infidels, returned to *Italy*, where he found that the pope had become master of almost all his dominions. *Frederic* being at the head of a strong army, soon recovered them, and obliged his holiness to make peace, and to grant him absolution; upon which, he was invited back to *Rome*.

This pacification was insincere on all hands; for *Gregory* An insin- and *Frederic* agreed upon nothing burning heretics. The cere paci- imperial generals and nobility in *Lombardy* expelled the fication. papal ministers from all their estates and cities, and the pope himself was again driven out of *Rome*. Soon after, *Frederic* seized upon the property of all the *Knights Templars*, and *Hospitallers*, in his dominions, and his example was followed by the other princes of *Europe*, to the great mortification of the pope; who pretended that these estates belonged to the holy church. The *English* despised his interposition so much, that they seized upon the effects of all the *Roman* and *Italian* clergy, and drove them out of the kingdom, notwithstanding all the menaces of his holiness. The latter found, that whatever advantages he reaped by his accommodation with *Frederic*, the *Guelphs* were resolved not to part with their liberties, and they refused to accept of the terms which obliged the pope to purchase his peace with the *Romans*. *Gregory*, to preserve his authority from contempt, affected vast concern for the interest of religion, and the propagation of *Christianity*. He endeavoured to reconcile the emperor with the *Italian* states. Out of zeal to suppress heresy, he established the inquisition at *Tholouse*; he dissolved the marriage of the king of *Arragon*, on account of consanguinity, but without prejudice to the rights of the issue. He recommended reformation of manners to the clergy of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and every day saw a number of heretics burnt. His cares even extended to *Russia*, where he settled his bishops, and abbots. The patriarch of the *Greek* church acknowledged his supremacy. He sent friars to *Bithynia*, and *Franciscans* to convert the sultan of *Egypt*, the *Georgians*, the *Babylonians*, and the *Africans*. Those friars, by their zeal and preaching, were of infinite service to his holiness, among the common people, even of *Italy*. They persuaded them to submit all differences

differences, either with the emperor, or among themselves; and one friar *John* reconciled the *Bolognese* with their bishop, after a long variance had subsisted between them.

Alliance
between
the *Vene-*
tians

The same friar and his brethren made processions throughout all the cities belonging to the holy see, as well as the states of *Lombardy*, and were so successful in accommodating differences, that the year 1233, was called that of general devotion. *Frederic*, all this while, was proceeding with the most unrelenting fury against the *Italian* states, many of whom, the *Florentines* in particular, refused to recognize either him, or the pope as their master. *Gregory*, being too weak to resist him, applied to the *Venetians*, then one of the most powerful states in *Europe*, for assistance, and they sent him forty sail of ships, besides a body of land troops, not so much from any regard they had to him, as from their hatred of *Frederic*, who had put to death their doge's son. About the same time, the *Pisans*, who were then a considerable naval power, being joined by *Frederic's* shipping, had one hundred sail at sea, and had attacked the *Genoese*. *Gregory* brought about a confederacy between the latter and the *Venetians*. He omitted no ties of religion to cement this alliance, which he was in hopes would prove an overmatch for the imperial interest in *Italy*. The *Venetians*, however, before they could join their new allies, were obliged to raise the siege of *Constantinople*. Upon their return, and joining the *Genoese* fleet, so many acts of mutual jealousy broke out between those rival commercial nations, that nothing effectual was done towards the pope's favourite scheme, farther than that the imperialists durst not venture to attack his allies. The emperor revenged himself on the inland parts of *Italy*. He subjugated and tyrannized over *Padua*, where the maritime power of *Venice* was of no effect; and quarrels daily increasing between the *Venetians* and the *Genoese*, they sacrificed all his views to their mutual jealousies, and revenge. Notwithstanding this, his holiness was still formidable to him, and all the *Christian* powers. The friends of liberty in *Italy* joined his banners. A king of *Hungary*, having dispossessed a duke of *Bosnia*, who had embraced the papal religion, revered the admonitions of the vatican so much, that he restored him to his dominions, under his auspices, assisted by the arms of the *Teutonic* knights. The greatest part of *Prussia*, and the other *Germanic* provinces, were converted to the *Christian* religion; and so much veneration was paid to his character, that the emperor courted his good offices with the cities of *Lombardy*, while his preachers and agents again kindled in *Europe* the religious rage of delivering the *Holy Land*. In this, he made use of the *Franciscans*, and *Dominicans*, between whom he artfully fomented an emulation, which being kept up by his successors, was of infinite service to the see of *Rome*.

and *Ge-*
noese.

Tyranny
of *Fre-*
deric.

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Notwith-

Notwithstanding all this pretended zeal for the interest New of religion, never was it more abused than at this time. crusades The priests and ecclesiastics in the extreme parts of chrif- preached tendom, particularly towards the north of *Germany*, were up and guilty of every fraud that avarice could suggest; and when under- the natives, who had been but newly converted, took up taken. arms against their insolence and oppressions, the *Christian* princes of the empire cut nine thousand of them in pieces, and again reduced them to the ecclesiastical yoke. A duke of *Brabant*, a count of *Flanders*, and an archbishop of *Bremen*, were at the head of this inhuman expedition, which was called a crusade, a name not now appropriated to the *Holy Land* enterprizes, but adopted by the popes against all *European* heretics, that is, against all who durst venture to oppose their absurdities, blasphemy, and tyranny. It is almost incredible, that, amidst this universal degeneracy of the *Christian* world, which was divided between the tyranny of the pope, and that of the secular power; the inhabitants of *Rome*, with those of some other newly erected *Italian* states, retained a spirit of independency. The *Romans* demanded that none of their fellow citizens should be subjected to excommunication, and that even the pontiff should be the tributary of their senate. Their demands threw all *Italy* again into a flame. The pope, driven out of *Rome*, retired to *Perugia*, and was joined by a body of imperialists. The free *Italian* states then saw that the pacification between the pope and the emperor had been brought about only to oppress them, and war was renewed in every quarter. The *Romans* were beaten, and their villas destroyed by the papal imperialists; but in return they made themselves masters of *Viterbo*.

In other parts of *Italy*, the sword of *Frederic* raged with Mistaken unresisted fury. He had unaccountably imagined, that he conduct of could realize his nominal kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and had, *Frederic*. like the other princes of *Europe*, seized upon the possessions of the *Knights Templars*, and *Hospitallers*, which he offered to restore, provided the pope could persuade them to under- See take the management of the war in the *Holy Land*. While Vol.VIII. this negotiation was in dependence, *Frederic* ordered all the p. 480. places he held in *Campania* to be put in a strong posture of See defence, but he received advice that his army was defeated in Vol.VII. *Palestine*, and that *Messina*, and other places in *Sicily*, had p. 249. revolted from his allegiance. *Frederic* soon reduced *Messina*, and punished the heads of the revolt, with whom he suspected the pope had been tampering. A considerable number of *Saracens* were still settled in *Italy*, and were, what may be called, soldiers of fortune. The califat of *Bagdad*, which was the seat of their religion and monarchy, was now on the brink of ruin. They were neglected by their countrymen in *Africa*, who were divided among themselves, and the *Moslems* of *Spain* could not assist them. Being thus

Defola-
tion of
Italy.

thus circumstanced, the emperor took them into his pay, and they served him with great success and fidelity. As a reward, he gave them immunities, and he is said to have connived at certain insolences they committed against the holy see. This encreased the misunderstanding between him and the pope, and his introducing into *Italy* new systems of agriculture, commerce, and legislation, widened the breach. Those innovations, it is true, particularly that of regularly holding courts of justice twice a year, and of admitting appeals from the ordinary judges to the royal deputy, were very greatly beneficial to the country; but as they all terminated in establishing the imperial power, they were detested by the *Italians*.

See
Vol. VIII.
p. 481.
War in
Naples.

ibid.
p. 474.

The em-
peror
takes ten
thousand
Saracens
into his
pay.

As the pope was, with great reason, thought to support the imperial rebels, *Frederic*, to be revenged of him, entered into a close correspondence with the *Romans*, and other opposers of his holiness, before he returned to *Germany*, in the year 1235. His absence gave *Gregory* a breathing time, and he made use of it in completing his cruel and detestable schemes of inquisition against heretics, and of remaining the arbiter of *Europe*, by persuading its princes and great men to renew their frantic expeditions into the *Holy Land*. *Frederic* was too quick sighted not to see his intention, and he complained of his having encouraged the cities of *Lombardy*, in abetting the rebellion of his son *Henry*. The pope, conscious of the truth of this charge, promised to bring back the *Lombards* to their duty, provided *Frederic* would not return with his army to *Italy*. *Henry's* rebellion not being extinguished, *Frederic* appeared to listen to *Gregory's* proposal, and sent the grand master of the *Teutonic* order to co-operate with the legate of *Lombardy*, in the pacification. The pope was either insincere, or unable to do what he pretended. The *Lombard* cities refused to stand by his award, and *Frederic*, took and burned *Vicenza*. His activity and success obliged the confederates to apply to his holiness for his mediation. *Gregory* wanted to steer a middle course, and advised the emperor to confirm those cities and states in the privileges that had been granted them by his predecessors. *Frederic*, with great qualities, as a prince, a hero, and a legislator, was despotic in his principles, and proceeded by force. Taking into his pay ten thousand *Saracens*, he engaged and defeated the confederates, of whom he killed ten thousand; but without subduing them. The *Italians* once more considered *Gregory* as the protector of their liberties, and the *Romans* recalled him to their city, where he was received in great triumph. The inhabitants of *Milan* again applied to him for his mediation, and offered to send ten thousand troops to the relief of the *Holy Land*, provided they could obtain a confirmation of their privileges. *Frederic* refused to hear of any terms, but an implicit surrender. The pope condemn-

ed his ambition, and invited the king of *Arragon* to the assistance of the associated cities; but that prince being then engaged in a war with the *Moors* or *Saracens*, could not interfere in the quarrel, though *Gregory* offered him all the quit-rents, or, as they are called, tribute, paid to the emperor by the confederates.

The *Scots* of those days had the same sentiments as the *The Scots Romans*, with regard to the papal power. *Gregory* had sent refuse to cardinal *Otho*, as his legate, to *England*, to act as a medi- admit a ator between the two kingdoms, and the cardinal was or- legate in- dered to proceed to *Scotland*; which he accordingly did. to their That king, before *Otho* crossed the *Tweed*, had behaved to- country. wards him with great politeness, but he no sooner heard of his journey to *Scotland*, than he sent him a letter, informing him, that however agreeable his presence might be to himself, as the king of the country, yet that his subjects were determined not to admit any papal legate into their country; nor could he promise him protection from their resentment, if he should proceed farther. The legate, intimidated by this message, returned to *London*, where he held a council. During those transactions, *Baldwin*, the *Latin* emperor, as he is called, of *Constantinople*, was backed by the pope, in his applications to the kings of *France* and *England*, for assistance against the *Greeks*, who befriended the dethroned family of their emperors. The pope was in hopes that if *Baldwin* succeeded, he would be a check upon the power of the *German* emperor in *Italy*; but the latter grew daily more formidable, both by the terror of his arms and the punishments he inflicted on all the *Guelph* party, whom he considered as rebels. He invaded and set at nought the assumed jurisdiction of the popedom, by ordering his temporal courts to proceed capitally against all ecclesiastics; and he determined in his own favour, the celebrated case of the investitures. He was at last excommunicated by *Gregory*, and the reader will find the particular *ibid.* consequences of this excommunication in the history of p. 483. *Germany*.

Gregory had recourse to his expedient of forming a league The pope between the *Venetians* and the *Genese*, which greatly re- forms a animated his party in *Italy*; but he was unsuccessful in his new endeavours to bring the kings of *England* and *France* to act league hostilely against *Frederic*. On the other hand, he raised such against a detestation of the emperor, among the *Romans*, and other *Frederic*. *Italian* states, that he saw *Rome* guarded by an army of sixty thousand crusaders, all of them zealous in his service. He made a procession at their head, with the skull of *St. Peter* in one hand, and that of *St. Paul* in the other, and poured forth a flood of tears in exhorting the people to defend their city against the emperor, who was marching to attack it. *Frederic*, being thus overmatched, marched to *Apulia*, where he understood his affairs were in the ut-

most disorder all over *Italy*. This was partly occasioned by his own cruelty. He put to death, by tortures, all his *Guelph* prisoners, and by way of derision of the pope, he sometimes branded them in the forehead, with the sign of the cross, and sometimes ordered their heads to be sawed asunder, cross-ways. The pope found great benefit from the indignation which those cruelties raised against *Frederic* over all christendom; and he summoned a general council at *Rome*. It was convenient for the affairs of *Frederic*, who, by this time had been beaten at sea, by the *Venetians*, and at land, by the *Milanese*, to consent to the holding this council, and he concluded a truce with the pope, though he still continued the war in *Lombardy*, where the *Milanese* had taken *Ferrara*, as *Frederic* had *Ravenna*; after which he laid siege to *Faenza*, and finding the pope to be insincere in his pacific intentions, he desired the christian princes not to send their prelates or ministers to the council that had been indicted. It is probable that his letters had some effect in *France* and *England*; for an embargo was laid on the money that had been collected for the use of his holiness, in the former, and, in the latter, kingdom, his legate *Otho* met with a strong opposition. *Gregory* continued to load *Frederic* with the blame of retarding the progress of all the crusades he was daily preaching up against the *Tartars*, *Mahometans*, and other infidels; and the *Pisans*, on the other hand, who were allies of the emperor, entirely defeated the *Genoese* fleet, which had on board, a number of prelates who intended to assist at the council, and who were sent prisoners to *Naples*. This misfortune broke the heart of the pope, who died, aged almost one hundred years, on the twenty first of *September*, 1241. His pontificate, though long and active, is justly considered as having been fatal to *Italy*, by his provoking the emperor to the executions and cruelties he committed.

Death of
pope Gre-
gory.

Celestine
IV. chof-
en pope.

He is suc-
ceeded by
Innocent
IV.

After a vacancy of the pontificate for thirty days, a noble *Milanese*, who took the name of *Celestine* IV. was chosen pope. He shewed dispositions the reverse of those of his predecessor, by offering terms to the emperor; but died on the eighteenth day after his election. The pontificate continued vacant for twenty months after this; or rather, it was filled by the cardinals, who refused to elect a pope till their brethren the prelates were released from their imprisonment. *Frederic* endeavoured to force them to an election, by ravaging the neighbourhood of *Rome*, particularly the estates of the cardinals; who, at last, meeting at *Anagni*, chose *Innocent* IV. for pope. This pontiff, though, before, the friend of *Frederic*, renewed all the high claims of the most arrogant of his predecessors. *Frederic*, that he might gain some friends by his moderation, offered to refer their differences to the arbitration of the kings of *England* and *France*, and affected great earnestness for an accommoda-
tion.

tion. His advances were disregarded by the pope, who demanded that he should previously satisfy the holy church, for the damage he had done her, and set the imprisoned prelates at liberty. The emperor rejecting those preliminaries, and being in possession of all the strong places near *Rome*, the pope went on board some *Genoese* galleys, and, after being received with vast splendor in that city, he went to *Lyons*, which he reached on the second of *December*, 1244, and he there indicted a general council.

The state of *Italy* was, at this time, truly deplorable; State of
Milan, Brescia, Mantua, Fidenza, Padua, Trevigi; Fer- parties in
rara, and the cities of *Romania*, were of the *Guelph* interest, *Italy*.

or rather, they submitted to a nominal dependance upon the pope, that they might be freed from the *German* yoke. On the other hand, *Cremona, Bergamo, Modena, Parma, Reggio, and Trent*, were imperialists; while the rest of *Italy* was divided, each state and city within itself, between the two factions. *Florence*, which afterwards became so eminent for its constitution, and improvement of the fine arts, was then a city of little note; but to preserve its liberties, they inclined to the *Guelphs*, for which its principal citizens, and numbers of the *Tuscan* nobility in its neighbourhood, were put to death by *Frederic*. *Innocent* summoned *Frederic* to appear before the council at *Lyons*, which consisted of Council
one hundred and forty archbishops and bishops, three patri- at *Lyons*.
archs, and numbers of inferior clergy. The emperor of *Constantinople* assisted there in person, as did the counts of *Tholouse* and *Provence*, now reconciled to the holy see, and ministers from almost all the other princes of *Europe*. The pope here shone with greater lustre, than he had ever done in *Italy*. He filled *Germany* and *Russia* with his legates, and endeavoured to persuade the *Russians* into an union with the *Latin* church. He sent missionaries among the *Tartars*, who were then the greatest conquerors the world had ever known, to convert them to christianity; and he threatened a duke of *Pomerania* with excommunication, for assisting the pagan *Prussians*, against the knights of the *Teutonic* order. We have already seen the event of the summons sent to *Frederic*, to appear at the council at *Lyons*, where he was *ibid.*
excommunicated and deposed, notwithstanding all the p. 484.
charges brought by the *English* ambassador against the inso- Haughti-
lence and avarice of the holy see. *Frederic* offered to make nefs of the
Lewis the Saint, king of *France*, arbitrator between them; but pope.
nothing less than the entire ruin of *Frederic* would satisfy the haughty pontiff.

While matters were in this situation, *Innocent* received in *Portu-*
applications from the *Portuguese*, to give them a king, the gal
prince upon the throne being too indolent for government;
upon which he appointed *Alphonso*, the king's brother, to be
regent. The pontiff likewise sent letters to the caliph of *Bag-*
dad, and other *Saracen* princes, exhorting them to favour the
H 2 christians,

and *Spain*. christians, and excommunicated a king of *Arragon*, for ordering a bishop's tongue to be cut out; but the king submitting to kneel before the pope, and to implore his pardon, the excommunication was taken off. *Italy* was now in a manner uncultivated, so wholly was the people engrossed by the prosecution of their religious wars. *Innocent* seemed to leave them to their own fate, that he might gratify his hatred of *Frederic*. Each mutually accused the other, with the blackest designs of assassination and poisoning. *Oslavian*, the papal legate, was defeated by the count of *Savoy*, in attempting to carry a body of troops over the *Alps*, to the assistance of the *Italian Guelphs*, but he himself escaped, with a considerable sum of money, for their use.

ibid. *Frederic's* defeat at *Parma*, and the capture of his son *Enzo*,
 p. 485. by the *Bolognese*, completed that emperor's misfortunes,
 Death of and he was obliged to retire with his army towards *Naples*,
Frederic. where he died, at the end of the year 1251. He was succeeded by *Conrade*, who was as averse to the papal dominion, as his father had been, and protected the *Circumcelliones*, who rejected the authority of the holy see.

Affairs of *Naples*, When the ridiculous, but fatal, expedition of *St. Lewis*, to the *Holy Land*, took place, *Innocent*, after blessing his person and arms, appointed two legates to attend him; and when that prince was defeated and taken prisoner, he sent him letters of spiritual consolation. Upon the accession of *Conrade* to the imperial throne he renewed the claims of his see upon the two *Sicilies*, and laid *Conrade* under an excommunication. *Frederic II.* by his last will, had given to *Mainfroi*, his bastard son, the principality of *Taranto*, and other great estates in *Italy*, and at the same time, he was made regent of the *Two Sicilies*, in *Conrade's* absence. His abilities and artifices proved thorns in the side of the pope; for having continued in his pay a large body of warlike *Saracens*, brought over by *Frederic*, and who gave no deference to the papal authority, he preserved many places firm for *Conrade*. *Naples*, however, and some other cities, disgusted with *German* tyranny, declared for the pope, and soon after *Conrade* arrived in person in *Italy*. He had quickly reason to be jealous of the great capacity of his natural brother. He had held a diet of his party near *Mantua*, and he revoked most of the ordinances of *Mainfroi*, whom he obliged to give up *Brindisi*, with many other possessions. *Mainfroi* concealed his disgust at these proceedings, and behaved with the same zeal and spirit as before. *Conrade* reduced *Naples*, and the pope's revenge carried him so far as to offer that crown to *Charles* of *Anjou*, brother to the *French* king. Soon after the reduction of *Naples*, *Conrade* ordered a parliament to be held at *Melphis*, where he laid heavy taxes on all the *Guelph* party. His young brother, *Henry*, who, when of age, was to have succeeded to the crown of the *Two Sicilies*, coming there to visit him, died, as *Conrade* himself

which
Mainfroi,
 his natu-
 ral son,
 makes

himself did soon after, of poison, as was thought, administered to him by *Mainfroi*. *Conrade* left a young son, master of *Conradin*; and *Berthold de Honebruch*, at first acted as regent of *Sicily* and *Naples*.

The pope renewed his claims upon both, and was preparing to make them good, when *Berthold* resigned his regency, in which he was succeeded by *Mainfroi*. The latter, having himself an eye on the sovereignty of *Sicily*, acted with great address. He was unwilling to yield too much to his holiness, for fear of hurting his own interest, and therefore at first he refused to obey the order of the pontiff and was excommunicated. Pretending afterwards to be touched with remorse, he invited *Innocent* to take upon himself the regency, but with a saving to the young prince's rights. *Innocent*, who had now returned to *Rome*, really thought it practicable to reannex *Naples* and *Sicily* to the holy see, and without regard either to *Conradin* or *Mainfroi*, he began to strip them both of what they held in *Italy*. *Innocent* was then at *Naples*, and he had published orders for all the barons and landholders of that kingdom, to take an oath of allegiance to the holy church. *Mainfroi* saw his intention, and, escaping from *Naples*, he killed, in his flight to *Lucera*, an *Italian* nobleman, who, he pretended, had waylaid him by the pope's order. He was received by the *Saracens* and *Germans*, at *Lucera*, with great joy, and he cut in pieces part of the pope's army at *Foggia*, after which he reduced almost all the kingdom of *Naples*, excepting a few castles in the territory of *Otranto*. *Mainfroi* was greatly assisted in his successes by the death of pope *Innocent*, at *Naples*, which threw the *Guelph* party into disorder. He was succeeded by *Alexander IV.* who renewed *Mainfroi's* excommunication, and gave the command of the papal army to cardinal *Octavian*. After some operations in the field, a peace was concluded between them, but *Alexander* refused to confirm it, and offered the investiture of *Naples*, to prince *Edmund* of *England*, son to *Henry III.* This gave *Mainfroi* no disquiet. The *Neapolitans*, because of the insufficiency of his title, were fonder of him, than of *Conradin*, or the pope; and about the years 1255, and 1256, he acted, in every respect, as the undoubted sovereign of the kingdom of *Naples*, where he settled the government, by the advice of a parliament regularly summoned, and behaved with great generosity and clemency towards all who had appeared in arms against him.

A peace rejected by the pope.

We are now to consider *Florence* as a city and state of great importance in *Italy*. The inhabitants, upon the death of *Frederic II.* had erected themselves into a republic, which they regulated with admirable wisdom and prudence, but carried on an inveterate war with the *Pistoians*, and their other *Gibelin* neighbours, in which they proceeded with great success, by making an alliance with the *Geno-*

The Flo-
rentines
defeated.

ese. The *Pisans*, their enemies, were in their turn, overthrown in the field, by the *Florentines*, who took *Volterra*, and defeated the *Siennese*. They next forced the *Pisans* to make peace with them, but it did not long continue, and they were in fact subdued by the *Florentines*. *Mainfroi* thereby gained a great ascendancy among the *Tuscan* states; but while the *Florentines* were thus exerting themselves abroad, the *Gibelin* faction within their city began to cabal against the government, and were driven to *Sienna*, by the magistrates. This produced a war between the *Florentines* and the *Siennese*, who refused to deliver up the exiles. The latter were befriended by *Mainfroi*, who supported them, at first, by a small handful of *Germans*, who were cut in pieces. After this, upon some particular insults that had been offered to his standard, *Mainfroi* sent one thousand five hundred of his best cavalry, to the assistance of the exiles. This reinforcement gave fresh spirit to the *Gibelin* cause in *Tuscany*, and the *Siennese* declaring war against the *Florentine Guelphs*, the *Gibelins* obtained a complete victory, by taking the great standard of *Florence*, killing three thousand, and making four thousand *Florentine* prisoners. The consequence of this victory was, that the popular government which had been lately erected at *Florence*, was abolished, the *Gibelins* took possession of that city, and public justice was there administered in *Mainfroi's* name. From this detail it appears, contrary to the common histories of *Italy*, that *Mainfroi's* power was far from being confined to the *Two Sicilies*; but it is generally thought, that he beheld the revolution with great indifference, because the *Florentine Gibelins*, had a warmer side towards his nephew *Conradin*, than himself.

Their
Guelphs fly
to Lucca.

ibid.
p. 488.

The *Guelph* faction in *Florence*, being driven out of that city, retired to *Lucca*, and implored the protection of young *Conradin*, but without effect; and *Mainfroi* remained master of *Florence*. This period brings us back to the history of *Rome* and *Naples*. *Alexander*, in bestowing the investiture of *Sicily*, on prince *Edmund* of *England*, had reserved to himself an annuity of two thousand ounces of gold, and the disposal of all the *Sicilian* ecclesiastical livings. He had already excommunicated the *Piedmontese*, who had imprisoned their sovereign count *Thomas* of *Savoy*. *Ezzolino*, a soldier of fortune, but an excellent officer, having made himself master of *Verona* and *Padua*, and affecting an independency, both on the pope and the emperor, was likewise excommunicated, and a crusade was preached up against him. *Alexander* made the bishop of *Ravenna* his general, and he took *Padua*. Affairs, by this time, had run into great disorder at *Rome*, where *Brancaleo*, a senator of great distinction, had been imprisoned, and his wife flying to *Bologna*, *Alexander* threatened to lay that city under an interdict, for protecting her. The *Bolognese* despised his menace, but in all the other departments of his pontificate

pontificate he proceeded with great spirit and dignity. He laboured for an effectual reunion of the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, and even the *Persian* monarch sent him an embassy, with some hints of his inclination to become a christian.

In *Germany*, *Alexander* gave an exclusion to young *Conradin*, from the imperial throne, but *Ezzolino* declared himself head of the *Gibelin* faction in *Italy*, and pretended to hold the great fiefs there, in trust for the empire, which imperial throne was then disputed for between *Richard*, duke of *Cornwall*, brother to *Henry III.* of *England*, and *Alphonso*, king of *Castile*. All this time *Alexander* preserved an indifference between the two parties, chiefly on account of the vast sums which he received from the *English* candidate; but though his holiness could thus dispose of empires and kingdoms, he remained still the shadow of a sovereign in his own capital. *Brancaleo* was a *Bolognese*, and had been chosen for his high reputation as a magistrate, the *podesta*, or governor, of *Rome*, for three years; the *Romans* sending to *Bologna* thirty of their chief citizens, as pledges for their obedience. Upon *Brancaleo's* imprisonment, those hostages were in danger of being put to death; but *Brancaleo's* successor proving still more unpopular than himself, he was set at liberty, and resumed his magistracy. He was far from making a moderate use of his prosperity. To revenge himself of the pope, who had excommunicated him, and of the *Roman* nobility, who had imprisoned him, he drove the former out of *Rome*, and hanged two of the latter, and declared himself, at the same time, in favour of *Mainfroi*. It is said, he carried his resentment so far, as to destroy one hundred and forty castles or villas, belonging to the *Roman Guelphs*; and when he died in 1258, the *Romans* chose his uncle *Catellanus*, for his successor.

Ezzolino still continued to act in *Lombardy*, as the imperial vicar; and he had taken prisoner, the pope's legate, *Philip*, after defeating him in the field. He then took possession of *Brescia*, and the *Lombard Guelphs* applied to the pope, for another legate to protect them from *Ezzolino's* cruelty; but his holiness, who was then in a manner a prisoner, at *Viterbo*, could only assist them by the bulls and privileges he granted to the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, who have been very properly termed the disciplined troops of the holy see. Not unmindful of his temporal interest, he sent a notary to *England*, for the subsidies that king had promised him; but when it was demanded from the *English* parliament, the members generously disclaimed all connections with the pope, and rejected the king's request, not without some contumelious expressions of his meanness, in contracting such engagements. *Alexander*, like his predecessors, whenever he found his authority in danger of falling into contempt, affected infinite zeal for the honour of church discipline,

discipline, and published a bull against ecclesiastical fornication, prohibiting all persons from being present at any maïs, celebrated by a priest who kept a concubine. The Romans, tho' the pope was still at *Anagni*, again quarrelled among themselves, and killed *Brancaleo's* uncle in his house. *Ezzolino* was defeated and taken prisoner, by the marquis of *Este*, in attempting to make himself master of *Milan*; and the pope, by those and other successes, having regained his credit, settled the affairs of *Germany*, deposed the bishop of *Ratisbon* for espousing the *Gibelin* interest there, and ap-

The madness of
crusading
continues.

See vol. 7.
p. 249.

pointed the famous *Albertus Magnus* in his room. The madness of the christians at this time, for the recovery of the *Holy Land*, had involved those in *Syria* in inexpressible miseries. Experience had not cured them of their rage for expeditions against infidels, and their misfortune was, that every attempt they made to relieve their distresses, plunged them into greater. *Alexander*, hearing of the conquests of the *Tartars*, who were now on the point of putting an end to the *Bagdad* caliphate, published orders for councils to be held through all christendom, for a crusade against them; but though large armies were raised for that purpose, when transported to *Syria*, and other *Asiatic* provinces, in which the christians had an unhappy footing, they proved only food for slaughter, under the well disciplined barbarians.

The king of *England* not being supported in his ridiculous projects, by his parliament, had now renounced, for his son, the kingdom of *Sicily*; and *Alexander* finding thereby that he could have no dependence upon *England*, began to listen to proposals for an accommodation with *Mainfroi*. He insisted upon the noblemen and others, of his party, being restored to their estates; but that condition was rejected by *Mainfroi*, who threatened to send for a reinforcement of *Saracens*. *Alexander*, at this time, unable to regain possession of *Rome*, remained at *Anagni*, where he laid an interdict upon the *Bolognese*, and ordered a council to be held at *Viterbo*, for effecting a reconciliation, between the *Venetians* and the *Ge-*

Death of
pope

Alexand-

er, who is

succeeded

by *Urban*

IV.

noese; but he died before it could be opened, on the twenty-fourth of *May*, 1261. He was succeeded by *Urban IV.* who had been patriarch of *Jerusalem*. At this time, the college of cardinals was dwindled down to eight members, so that *Urban* was obliged to supply it with fourteen more. The power of *Mainfroi* was every day encreasing in *Italy*, and very serious deliberations were held at the *French* court, whether *Charles* of *Anjou* should accept of the crown of *Sicily*, which was again offered him by the pope. In the mean while, *Mainfroi* took upon himself the title of king, and, as such, was crowned at *Palermo*, in *Sicily*. His right being acknowledged by the great landholders of *Apulia*, he distributed rewards and honours to such of them as had been faithful to his party, and as soon as he had brought his kingdom to some degree of tranquility, he imitated the

Guiscard's,

Guiscard, by endeavouring to polish it. His court was magnificent, and his revenues were immense; as the distracted state of the *Greek* empire made his dominions the readiest refuge for its moneyed subjects; who, at that time, divided the trade of *Europe* and *Asia* with the *Venetians*.

The prosperous state of *Mainfroi's* affairs, and the vast Prosperity power he had in *Lombardy*, where he chose the marquis of *Main-Pallevicini* his general, stung the pope to the quick. In *froi*. vain he called for assistance, to *England*, and thundered out his excommunications against *Mainfroi*, who disregarded them, and rejected all the applications from young *Conradin's* party, that he would resign the royal authority. He made it no secret that he looked upon himself as reigning by right of conquest over the popes. He told the *German* ambassador, that if he should abdicate his royalty, all *Italy* must submit to *Conradin* and his family, but that if his mother would send him to be educated in *Sicily*, he would bequeath him his kingdom. His firmness, and the magnanimity he expressed on all occasions, together with his encouragement of commerce and the neighbouring arts, gained him respect and esteem all over *Europe*. His illegitimacy was overlooked in a multitude of virtues. The prince of *Arragon* married one of his daughters, as the marquis of *Monferrat*, a respected sovereign in *Italy*, did another. *Urban*, who was a *Frenchman*, published a crusade against *Mainfroi*, who continuing to disregard all the papal menaces, was again excommunicated. By this time, however, *Charles* of *Anjou*, who was sovereign of all *Provence* and *Languedoc*, with a part of *Piedmont*, and his brother, *St. Lewis*, had resolved to accept the pope's offer of the *Sicilian* crown. A body of *French Crusade* adventurers was soon raised, and penetrating into *Italy*, of the they had defeated the marquis of *Pallavicini*, in *Lombardy*. *French Mainfroi* put himself at the head of his troops; and an in- against surrection at *Rome*, against the pope, checked for some time his domi- the progress of the *French* in *Italy*. *Mainfroi* watched his nions. opportunity, the pope fled to *Civita Vecchia*, and the *French* crusaders or adventurers, receiving no pay, disbanded themselves, or returned to their own country. About this time, pope *Urban* died, and was succeeded by another *Frenchman*, who took the name of *Clement IV*. Though he was equally attached, as his predecessor had been, to the *French* interest, yet he inserted in the bull of investiture which he gave to *Charles*, many clauses which rendered the possession of the crown of the *Two Sicilies* little better than a precarious dependence on the holy see, and obliged him to pay a large quit-rent, besides a tribute, and a white palfrey, as memorials of his and his successor's subordinancy to the popes. *Charles* was too far embarked to recede from his engagements, and in *May*, 1265, he arrived at *Rome*, where he waited some time for his army.

Through

They de- Through the natural inconstancy of the *Italians*, the *Romans* especially, *Charles* soon gained a great party in *Italy*,
 feat and *mans* especially, *Charles* soon gained a great party in *Italy*,
 kill *Main-* which encreased by the aversion the natives had to the *German*
froi. government. He was created a senator of *Rome*, where the
 pope had, at this time, no authority. He was joined by a
 numerous body of *Florentine* exiles, who were then the best
 of all the *Italian* troops, and the number of the *French* in
 his army, though in a miserable plight, is said to have
 amounted to sixty thousand. *Mainfroi* omitted nothing that
 a brave and an able general could perform to oppose him. But
 he soon experienced how deceitful his late tranquility had
 been. Though he had governed his people by parliaments,
 and in the strictest constitutional manner, he found he could
 not depend on them for support, and he was obliged to send
 for *German* cavalry, which farther disgusted the *Italians*.
Charles, in fact, at this time gave law to the pope, the
Tuscans, and the *Lombards*. He obliged them to raise vast
 sums for the payment of his army; but all was insufficient
 for the subsistence of so numerous and needy a multitude;
 so that he was resolved to put his fate, as quickly as he
 could, upon a decisive battle. Having, with his wife, been
 solemnly crowned at *Rome*, he entered the kingdom of *Na-*
ples, where he put the garrison of *St. Germano*, which he
 stormed, to the sword, and other important passes were be-
 trayed to him by *Mainfroi's* generals. At *Benevento*, the
 country of the ancient *Samnites*, the decisive battle was
 fought. The *Neapolitans* basely deserted *Mainfroi*, who
 was entirely defeated and killed on the field, on the twenty-
 sixth of *February*, 1266.

Barbarity The behaviour of *Charles*, after this decisive victory, was
 of *Charles* brutal and barbarous, and such as even disgusted the pope,
 of *Anjou.* who advised him to moderation. He plundered *Benevento*,
 and put its inhabitants to the sword. *Mainfroi*, whose vir-
 tues equalled those of a *Titus*, was now forgotten, and the
Italians embraced the *French* yoke. *Charles*, at last, entered
Naples, and published an indemnity to all who would own
 his authority; but his new subjects were fatally undeceived,
 in the ideas they entertained of his government. His sol-
 diers lived as robbers and plunderers; his own exactions
 were intollerable, and he acted, in all respects, as the con-
 queror of a rebellious country. The pope had himself, no
 safety but in supporting *Charles*, who, in his turn, strength-
 ened himself by alliances with the *Greek* emperor, and other
 foreign powers, and became the peaceable possessor of *Sicily*,
 as well as *Naples*. The *Sicilians* and *Neapolitans*, thinking
 they could find ease in a change of masters, applied for re-
 lief to young *Conradin*, their natural prince, and he pro-
 mised to assist them; but the pope issued out mandates,
 excommunicating all who should acknowledge him as king
 of *Sicily*. A new phenomenon at this time, appeared in
Rome, in the person of *Henry*, brother to the king of *Cas-*
tile,

tile, who became so popular there, that he was in a manner, sovereign of the city. As he was a kind of a knight errant in the service of a king of *Tunis*, and had, at the same time, been driven from his own country, by his brother, he considered himself as having no connections but what he acquired by his sword, or his money, of which he had vast plenty. He had for some time, been in treaty with his holiness for the kingdom of *Sardinia*, and he had lent considerable sums to *Charles* of *Anjou*, as well as the pope, which they sought to discharge by quarrelling with him. *Henry* perceived their drift, and secretly embraced the party of *Conradin*, who, in the month of *October*, 1267, arrived with twelve thousand horse at *Verona*. Besides that city, *Pavia*, *Sienna*, *Pisa*, and other states, declared for him, and he had great hopes in the growing discontents among the *Neapolitans* and *Sicilians*.

Pope *Clement*, partly through policy, and partly through Conduct and compulsion, affected a kind of neutrality, between *Conradin* of the and *Charles*, whom he had created vicar of the empire in pope. *Italy*. This was an unheard of, and unconstitutional, post; but *Clement* pretended that it could last no longer than the vacancy of the imperial throne. *Henry*, however, availed himself of it, for strengthening his power, especially at *Florence*, and among the *Lombard* states, that had formerly confederated against the house of *Suabia*, of which *Conradin* was now the only representative. *Conradin*, on his arrival in *Italy*, was excommunicated by the pope; but the greatest part of *Sicily* had declared for him, as did the *Neapolitan* *Saracens*, and *Henry* of *Castile* now openly erected his standard. *Charles* ordered his new subjects to take arms in his defence, but *Conradin* beat the *Guelphs* near *Arezzo*, and was received at *Rome* as a conqueror, with even imperial honours, by *Henry* of *Castile*. The *Pisans*, who were of the *Gibelin* faction, defeated the fleet of *Charles*, and *Conradin's* affairs now wore an appearance of success. Some authors, with great shew of probability, tell us that *Henry* of *Castile*, secretly leagued with the *Romans* and *Neapolitans*, who were equally the enemies of the *French* and *Germans*, to destroy *Charles* first, and then *Conradin*, and to advance himself to the throne of the *Two Sicilies*. He attended *Conradin* when he entered *Naples*, but, by this time, *Charles* had received a reinforcement of veteran troops, from *France*. He knew *Conradin's* weakness, and that, though his army was numerous, it contained but few soldiers, excepting the *Germans*, and the *Florentine* exiles. Both parties came to a general engagement, at *Aquila*, or *Alva*, in *Abruzzo*. *Conradin's* army at first bore down that of *Charles*; but the latter, by a well placed ambush, proved victorious. *Conradin* was entirely defeated, *Henry* of *Castile*, was taken prisoner, and put into the pope's hands. *Conradin*, and his friend the duke of *Austria*, at first escaped, but they were taken

at *Astura*, by the *Frangipani* of *Rome*, who delivered them up, or rather, sold them, to *Charles*.

ibid.

P. 493.

Gregory
X. pope

The latter was at first in some doubt how he could proceed criminally against those two sovereign princes; but the pope, who was then on his death-bed, soon determined him to execute them, after a sham trial, upon a public scaffold; which he actually did in the manner already related. The barbarous *Frenchman*, after this, gave a loose to his insatiable thirst for blood. He murdered the widow and son of *Mainfroi*, and desolated the possessions of all the *Italian Gibelins*, many of whom he put to the most cruel deaths. Pope *Clement* having died in 1268, the pontificate remained vacant for almost three years, because the cardinals could not agree upon his successor. *Charles*, in the mean while, was peopling his *Neapolitan* dominions with *French* subjects, to replace the great number of *Italians* whom he had barbarously murdered. He then made peace with the *Pisans*; and the servile *Italians* were so much humbled by his cruelties, that he thought himself safe in undertaking an expedition against the *African Saracens*, with his brother, who died at *Tunis*. *Charles* concluded a peace with that king, who became his tributary, and he and his nephew *Philip*, the young king of *France*, returned to *Sicily*. At their pressing request, the cardinals chose the archdeacon of *Liege*, who was then in the *Holy Land*, to fill the papal chair. The new pope, who took the name of *Gregory X.* arrived at *Baindisi*, in the beginning of the year 1272. Like his predecessors, he pressed the departure of fresh crusades for the *Holy Land*, and endeavoured to unite the *Greek* with the *Latin* church. Those two were the most plausible and popular employments of the popes in those days, though the establishment of their temporal dominions in *Italy* was their real aim. Their authority was so low at *Rome*, that the late pope *Clement* had never set his foot in that city, into which *Gregory's* venerable character for his zeal in the crusades procured him a ready admittance. He published orders for a general council. He endeavoured to recall the *English* to their fervility under the papal yoke; he suspended for some time an interdict which had been laid upon the king of *Portugal*, and he received the prince, then, king of *England*, at *Orvieto*, in his return from the *Holy Land*.

The council of
Lyons.

Lyons was the place appointed for holding the council, but in the mean while, his holiness repaired to *Florence*, pretending to reconcile all differences in *Tuscany*, tho' with the real view of weakening the interest of *Charles* there. He was the first pope, perhaps, that ever pleaded the cause of the *Gibelins*, before a popular assembly. The *Florentines* at first opposed their return to that city, and though the pope forced them to comply with his will, yet he laid them under an interdict, which lasted three years. The *Pisans* expelled the *Guelphs*, who took refuge in *Florence*, and *Lucca*.

The

The *Bolognese* went to war with their neighbours, but were so jealous of their liberty, that they refused to admit into their city their allies the *Florentines*. The latter, together with the *Lucquese*, chose count *Ugolini* for their general, and he laid waste the territory of the *Pisans*. When *Gregory* left *Florence*, he proceeded to *Milan*, that he might heal the intestine divisions of that city. The *Milanese*, like the other *Italian* states, rejected his mediation, which they considered as a prelude to his tyranny; and laying them, as well as the *Florentines*, under an interdict, he went to *Lyons* to hold the council. While he was there, *Rodolph*, the founder of the present house of *Austria*, was chosen emperor of *Germany*, after a long vacancy of that throne; and *Philip*, king of *France*, paid a visit to his holiness at *Lyons*, where he left a strong guard to protect the council. It consisted of a greater number of prelates and ecclesiastics than ever had been known assembled in a body. As Vol. IX. *Rodolph* had no claims upon *Sicily*, in right of the house of *Suabia*, the pope had no interest in opposing him, and he even obliged *Alphonso* king of *Arragon*, who had a claim upon the empire, to relinquish it in his favour. It is said a *Tartar* general assisted in this assembly, the chief end of which was to send supplies to the *Holy Land*, and thereby strengthen the papal power. But some subordinate reasons were necessary, and accordingly, the pope, and the other members, affected great zeal for the discipline and worship of the church, and for reforming ecclesiastical abuses. The pope never having lost sight of the union of the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, it was here effected; but in a manner, that evidently proved it never would be confirmed by the *Greeks*, though the pope sent an ambassador to felicitate the *Greek* emperor upon the union. p. 2.

The elevation of the house of *Hapsburg* to the imperial throne, gave a new cast to the affairs of *Italy*, as the house of *Suabia*, the formidable opponent to the popes, was now in a manner extinct. It did not, however, quiet the animosities of the *Italian* states and cities. The fatal divisions between the *Guelphs*, and *Gibelins*, still continued, and each subordinate party endeavoured to establish its own greatness, or liberties, on the ruin of its antagonist. The *Florentines* continued to butcher the *Siennese*, and the *Pisans*, but the latter were taken under the protection of *Charles*. That prince, upon his return to *Sicily*, from his *African* expedition, had opened a trade between the *Barbary* states, and his own dominions; and the year after he had an interview with the pope, at *Florence*. The latter's jealousy of the *Anjouvine* greatness disgusted *Charles*, and he returned to *Naples*; so that the *Gibelins* regained their ascendancy in *Lombardy*, and *Tuscany*. His whole attention seemed to be employed in embellishing and fortifying his capital, and in completing the noble designs which *Frederic II.* had formed for its aggrandizement. In proportion as *Charles* succeeded in

Death of
pope Gre-
gory.

in this favourite scheme, the rest of his *Italian* dominions were oppressed to such a degree, that the archbishop of *Capua* formed a party against him in the council of *Lyons*. *Gregory* was upon the point of concluding a general confederacy against him, of which the emperor *Rodolph* was to have been the head, when he died at *Arezzo*, in 1276. It was thought, with great reason, that if *Gregory* had lived, he would have excommunicated *Charles*, or have forced him to relinquish the office of imperial general, and vicar in *Lombardy*; which, after the choice of *Rodolph*, he had now no pretext for exercising.

Innocent
V. pope.

Gregory was succeeded by *Innocent V.* a *Frenchman*; and during his short pontificate, *Charles* prevailed with *Mary*, daughter to the prince of *Antioch*, who had some pretensions to the title of king of *Jerusalem*, to cede it in his favour; and upon the death of *Innocent V.* who reigned but six months, he exercised, as patrician of *Rome*, a despotic power over that city. By a decree of the council of *Lyons*, the cardinals were to be shut up by the præfect of *Rome*, and fed upon plain victuals till they could agree upon a successor. It is said, that *Charles* endeavoured to turn this decree to his own advantage, by ordering the cardinals of his own faction, a sumptuous diet, while the others were fed

succeeded
by *Adrian*
V.

with bread and water. *Adrian V.* a *Genoese*, was elected, and he is said to have employed the short time, in which he reigned, and which was no more than thirty eight days, in forming secret connections with *Rodolph* against *Charles*. He was succeeded by *John XXI.* who confirmed to *Charles* the cession of the title of king of *Jerusalem*. His reign continued only eight months, being killed by the falling in of his chamber at *Viterbo*; and, like his predecessors, he was a great promoter of crusades to the *Holy Land*. Four

and he by
Nicholas
III.

popes thus dying in three years time, *Nicholas III.* an *Italian*, was raised to the pontificate, there being then no more than seven cardinal electors, four of whom were *Italians*.

Great
power of
Charles of
Anjou.

The power of *Charles* of *Anjou* was now almost equal to his ambition. He was possessed of the *Two Sicilies*, *Provence*, and *Anjou*. He gave law to *Florence*, where he continued to act as vicar of *Tuscany*. He had a strong party in *Lombardy*, and possessed some of the *Mediterranean* islands; his title of king of *Jerusalem* rendered his name respectable, and he had on foot great armies. All those were more than motives sufficient for engaging a less spirited pope than *Nicholas III.* to endeavour to reduce his power in *Italy*. *Charles* had many curbs upon his ambition. The *Sicilians* hated him for his tyranny, and the pope, besides his political motives, was disgusted with him for refusing a match between his daughter, or grand-daughter, and one of the *Ursini* family, which was that of his holiness. He obliged him to renounce the vicariate of *Tuscany*, and his patrician dignity

dignity of *Rome*. He would not have agreed to this, had he not been on the point of setting out on an expedition against *Constantinople*, in consequence of his being king of *Jerusalem*, with an immense fleet, and an army. *Palæologus*, the *Greek* emperor, intrigued against him in *Sicily*, by means of the famous *John de Procida*, a *Sicilian* lawyer and physician, and one who hated the *French*, on account of their tyranny over his country. *Charles*, who was ignorant of this conspiracy, thought himself secure, provided he could keep the pope quiet. *Procida* had an interview with *Peter* king of *Arragon*, who had married *Constance*, the daughter of *Mainfroi*, and whom he persuaded to enter into his views of massacring all the *French* in *Sicily*; a design which likewise was favoured by the pope. In the mean while *Nicholas* died at *Viterbo*, and was succeeded by a *Frenchman*, who took the name of *Nicholas IV.* and restored the patrician dignity to *Charles*. *Peter* king of *Arragon*, in expectation of *Procida's* success, had, under the pretence of making war against the *Mohometans* of *Africa*, equipped a grand fleet and an army, that he might be in readiness to support the *Sicilian* revolt; and so artfully was the design laid, that *Charles* even supplied *Peter* with money for his expedition. Though the preparations of *Peter* were alarming to the friends of *Charles*, yet the latter was so infatuated with his *Constantinopolitan* expedition, that he gave no heed to their remonstrances, and on the third day of *Easter*, 1282, all the *French* and *Provencials*, who had been the instruments of *Charles's* cruelty in *Sicily*, were then massacred in one hour. Other massacres ensued, and only a few of the *French* were saved from the general destruction, which has been since so famous by the name of the *Sicilian Vespers*.

Charles was now negotiating with the pope in *Tuscany*, about the success of his *Greek* expedition, and hurrying back to *Sicily*, he besieged *Messina*, the inhabitants of which at first had refused to join in the revolt. By this time, the king of *Arragon* was in readiness to support the *Sicilians* with the fleet and army that had been destined for the crusade against the *Africans*. Some of his crusaders made it a matter of conscience not to engage in any service but that for which they had been raised, and returned to *Spain*, but the greatest part of them being persuaded of *Constantia's* right to the *Two Sicilies*, served against *Charles*, who had a prodigious army, but was defeated in all his attempts against *Messina*; and after plundering the churches and lands in that neighbourhood, he returned with great loss of his fleet and army to *Calabria*, in *Italy*, while *Peter* was crowned king of *Sicily*, at *Palermo*.

Charles now saw the errors of his cruel and tyrannical government, and in vain endeavoured to decide the difference with *Peter* by a single combat. *Peter* introduced his wife,

wife, and sons, who were the natural heirs of *Sicily*, into that island, where they met with a ready submission from the inhabitants; but *Naples* still remained in the possession of the *French*. *Charles* however applied to the king of *England*, and insisted on a personal duel with *Peter*, which the pope had prohibited under pain of excommunication, and he actually pronounced sentence of deposition against *Peter*. The ridiculous scenes that followed between the two kings on the point of honour, which in those days was held so sacred, are too uncertain to be inserted here; and it is sufficient to say, that the pope not only deposed, but excommunicated *Peter*, preached up a crusade against him, and even conferred his kingdom of *Arragon* upon *Charles* of *Valois*, second son to the king of *France*, on his consenting to hold it as a fief of the holy see. In the mean while, don *James*, the son of *Peter*, not only completed the reduction of *Sicily*, but insulted the *French* in the harbour of *Naples*, where he took prisoner prince *Charles*, son to the king of that name, by a stratagem of his admiral *Loria*, a *Calabrian*. The *Neapolitans* were contained in their duty only by the arrival of king *Charles*, who ordered one hundred and fifty of their ringleaders to be hanged. The *Sicilians* were very eager for having prince *Charles* tried and executed, in revenge of *Conradin*, and the duke of *Austria*; but his life, with equal generosity and policy, was saved by the interposition of queen *Constance*. *Peter* laid hold of this opportunity to take *Reggio*; and king *Charles* made a fresh descent upon *Sicily* with a very powerful armament.

and *Sicily*. The *Sicilians* threatened to put his son to death, if he landed; but he besieged *Reggio*, and was not only baffled in his attempt, but lost the greatest part of his fleet in a storm, while *Loria* committed vast devastations upon the sea coasts of *Calabria*. Notwithstanding those great losses and discouragements, *Charles* had resources sufficient for equipping another powerful armament against the *Sicilians*, but died at *Foggia*, in *January* 1285. Some say, that his despair and remorse was such, as induced him to make use of a halter to finish his life; and others, that he expressed great penitence for the cruelty and inhumanity of his past life. On his death bed he appointed his cousin, the count of *Artois*, to be regent of his dominions during his son's captivity, but pope *Martin*, pretending that he had a prior right, which the widow and friends of the captive prince durst not contest, exercised that office. In the mean while, *Loria* ravaged the *Neapolitan* coasts, where he took several places of importance. The king of *France*, in revenge, invaded *Spain* with a large armament. He took *Perpignan*, and a few other places; but a pestilential disease attacking his army, he returned with great loss to *France*, where *Loria* burnt his fleet in the harbour of *Roses*, and committed many depredations on his subjects. On the 11th of *November*,

Death of
Charles of
Anjou.

ember, *Peter* died, and left his kingdom of *Arragon* to his eldest son *Alphonso*, as he did that of *Sicily*, to his second son, don *James*, who was crowned at *Palermo*, with vast magnificence.

Pope *Martin* died in 1285, and was succeeded by *Honorius IV.* an *Italian*. One of the first of this pontiff's acts of authority, was his refusing to grant to *Edward*, king of *England*, the crusade tythes, given by the council of *Lyons*, that he might employ them in an expedition against *Scotland*. He continued his predecessor's system for recovering the crown of *Sicily* to the *Anjouvine* family; and he even taxed some of the *German* livings for that purpose. He ordered schools to be founded at *Paris*, for teaching the *Arabic* language, that missionaries might be sent to convert the subjects of the caliphate; and he excommunicated the two kings of *Arragon*. and *Sicily*. As the emperor *Rodolph* was far less powerful than his predecessors of the house of *Suabia*, *Honorius* would have gladly given him the imperial crown, provided he would have accepted of it as a vassal to the holy see. *Rodolph* was unwilling to forfeit any of the rights which, as emperor of *Germany*, he might have over the *Italian* states; but at the same time, he was resolved not to hazard the aggrandizement of his own family to establish them. He therefore took a middle way. Perceiving that since the death of *Frederic II.* they were become fond of power and independency, he sent into *Italy* certain vicars, or deputies, who sold to the inhabitants of *Lucca*, *Florence*, *Genoa*, *Bologna*, and other places willing to be purchasers, a confirmation of all the privileges that had been granted them by his predecessors, and which they generally bought at a very moderate expence, upon his assuring them of the imperial protection. The pope did not foresee the tendency of those purchases, and had, by means of one *Montfort*, a descendant from the famous *English* rebel of that name, become master of *Romania*, while *Rodolph* consigned to him the nominal rights he had to the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and *Honorius* created the imperial chancellor and minister in *Italy*, archbishop of *Mentz*, and sent him, together with the bishop of *Tusculum*, as his legates to *Germany*. Their instructions were to hold a council at *Wurtzburg*, where they were to preach up another crusade, and to demand for his holiness the fourth of all the ecclesiastical revenues in *Germany* for six years. This rapacity of the holy see exasperated the members of the council so much, that it was thought the legates would have been torn in pieces, had they not been rescued by an imperial guard sent by *Rodolph* to protect them. About the year 1287, *Edward I.* king of *England*, endeavoured to procure the liberty of *Charles the lame*, eldest son of *Charles* of *Anjou*, upon a cession being made to *James* of the crown of *Sicily*. The pope, though he appeared zealous for the freedom of the young prince, disapproved

disapproved of *Edward's* interposing in an affair which concerned a fief of the holy see, as he pretended *Sicily* was. Soon after *Honorius* died at *Rome*, and an epidemical distemper breaking out in *Italy*, the pontifical chair remained vacant for near eleven months.

Treaty concluded for the recovery of the liberty of the king of *Naples* In 1288, it was filled by pope *Nicholas IV.* The war was all this while raging between the houses of *Arragon*, and *Anjou*, or rather between the former and the pope, who exercised an uncontrouled authority over *Naples*, in the name of the imprisoned king. *Loria*, the *Sicilian* admiral, had again and again defeated the *Neapolitans*, and ravaged their coasts, but at length he gave them a total overthrow, and took forty two of their gallies, with above five thousand men on board. This produced a two years truce between the *Neapolitans*, and the *Sicilians*. It did not however extend to *Calabria*, which was invaded by the king of *Sicily*, who, for fifteen months, is said to have besieged *Gaeta*. The negotiations for the liberation of *Charles the lame*, were still going on, and the pope being afraid they would be concluded without him, pretended great forwardness in the treaty; and sent ambassadors all over *Europe*, but more particularly to the kings of *England* and *France*, exhorting them to lend their assistance to the good work. A treaty was accordingly held in 1289, near a village of the *Pyrenees*, under king *Edward's* mediation, and *Charles* obtained his liberty. The terms were of a pretty extraordinary nature. *Charles*, engaged to persuade *Charles of Valois*, to relinquish his claim upon the crown of *Arragon*; to bring about a peace between that king and the king of *France*, and to prevail with the pope to relieve the king and kingdom of *Arragon* from their interdict. *Charles* engaged farther, if he should fail in the performance of these articles, that he should in three years time again deliver himself up to his captivity, and in the mean while, he gave his second son, his two brothers, and sixty *Provencial* knights as hostages for the execution.

But is of no effect. *Charles*, on recovering his liberty, found himself unable to make good the articles of the treaty to which he owed it. The house of *Valois* rejected all proposals of accommodation with that of *Arragon*, and the pope preached up a new crusade against the reigning king of *Sicily*, whose crown he bestowed on *Charles*, as well as that of *Naples*, absolving him, at the same time, from the oath that bound him to the performance of the treaty. The king of *Sicily* was still employed in the siege of *Gaeta*, and found himself, by this recruit of crusaders, together with an army of *Neapolitans* brought against him by *Charles*, in danger of having his retreat cut off. *Edward I.* of *England*, interposed. He accused the pope of being the firebrand of *Europe*, and threatened, if he did not restore peace to *Spain*, and *Italy*, he would oblige him by force of arms. His menaces

menaces had the desired effect; for, to the great disgust of the *French*, a truce for two years was concluded between the parties. The rest of the reign of *Nicholas*, was employed partly in vindicating the right of ecclesiastics from the encroachments of laics, (especially in *France* and *Portugal*;) and partly in receiving and answering ridiculous embassies from the *Tartars*, and other barbarians, who pretended to have an inclination to become *Christians*.

The king of *Portugal*, finding some inconveniencies arising from his remaining under the interdict, prevailed with the pope to take it off, upon his submitting himself to his holiness. The king of *Arragon* felt the like inconveniencies, from the like cause, he never having been absolved from the sentence of excommunication and deposition, and applied to have it taken off. We shall reserve the particulars to the histories of *France*, and *Spain*. It is sufficient to say, that *Alphonso* died before he could perform the terms. While *Nicholas* was busied in thus confirming his own power, by raising dissensions among the princes of *Europe*, and in endeavouring to send fresh millions of *Christians* to be butchered in the *Holy Land*, where the infidels now carried all before them, he was overtaken by death in the year 1292. Conduct of the pope. His death.

The families of *Ursini*, and *Colonna*, being the chief at *Rome*, held in suspense the election of a new pope for above two years. Their choice at length fell upon one *Peter di Murro*, who led the life of a hermit, in a cell, near *Salerno*, but was celebrated for his sanctity. A deputation being sent to notify to him his election, and the king of *Naples*, with his son, the king of *Hungary*, and other sovereign princes, pressing him to accept of the papal dignity, he consented, and took the name of *Celestine V.* He entered *Aquila* on an ass, and was there consecrated. Being the founder of the order of the *Celestines*, he confirmed it, and created twelve cardinals, most of whom were friends to the *French*, and the *Anjouvine* interest. As he was ignorant even of the common modes of life, he was quickly found to be incapable of the papal functions, and expressing a willingness to resign his dignity, he was encouraged in it so effectually by cardinal *Cajetan*, who expected to succeed him, that he read the decree of his own abdication in the said college, and divested himself of the pontifical robes. Succeeded by Celestine V.

An incident happened during the pontificate of *Celestine*, which we should not have introduced into this history, had it not, ridiculous as it was, proved to be the foundation of immense wealth to the holy see, and fully demonstrated the inconceivable credulity of the times. The *Christians* being then expelled out of the *Holy Land*, it is possible, that the infidels, many of whom were as unreasonable enthusiasts as the *Christians*, demolished their monuments of piety, particularly the famous chapel at *Nazareth*, said to have History of the chapel of Loretta.

have been the house of the *Virgin Mary*. So far back as the year 1291, it was thought to have been carried by angels in the night time, during the month of *May*, through the air, from *Galilee* to *Terfato*, in *Dalmatia*. While it stood on a little eminence near the shore, a curate in the neighbourhood pretended he had a revelation discovering it to be the true house of the mother of *God*; and the governor of *Dalmatia* was so weak, as to send four persons to enquire whether it was still standing at *Nazareth*, where they found no vestiges of it. On the 10th of *December*, 1294, it was set down in a wood, in the district of *Recanati*, about a thousand paces from the sea. The votaries of *Rome*, who relate those miracles, are absurd enough to say, that the trees and shrubs in the wood where it was seated, bowed their heads in reverence, and remained in that posture till they withered and decayed. The owner of the spot was a pious lady, one *Loretta*, by whose name the house is now distinguished; but the troubles of *Italy* having rendered the access of the pilgrims to the house dangerous, the angels again removed it to a hill about a thousand paces nearer to *Recanati*, on an estate belonging to two brothers. At first they received the miraculous present with infinite satisfaction, but the vast profits accruing from the votaries who visited it, occasioned the two brothers to quarrel, and they fought a duel, in which both of them were killed. The neighbourhood being thus polluted with blood, the angels, by command of the holy virgin, carried the house a bow-shot farther up the country, to the place where it now stands, about two thousand geometrical paces from the sea. We shall not enlarge upon the monstrous fictions to which this holy house has given rise. It is certain, that it has been often the occasion of the greatest dangers to *Italy*, on account of the immense wealth it contains, and therefore some account of it claimed a place here.

Boniface
VIII.
pope.

Upon the abdication of pope *Celestine IV.* the cardinal *Cajetan*, who took the name of *Boniface VIII.* was chosen to succeed him, and one of the first acts of his government, was his abolishing, or reversing, all that had been done by his two immediate predecessors. The ill will that this created him, obliged him to purge himself by a solemn declaration of his conduct, and upon his return from *St. Peter's* church, where he was consecrated, the kings of *Hungary*, and *Sicily*, on foot, held the reins of his horse. Being conscious of the indirect practices he had made use of for to attain the papal dignity, and that many were dissatisfied with the validity of his election, he employed a number of his creatures, who seized *Celestine*, as he was endeavouring to escape to *Dalmatia*, and after obliging him to renew the act of his abdication, he shut him up in a strong castle, where he died. *Boniface* then applied himself to reconcile the differences that were then raging among the

the princes of *Europe*, particularly between the *French*, and the *Arragonians*; and this brings us back to the history of the *Two Sicilies*.

Upon the death of *Alphonso*, king of *Arragon*, his brother *James*, king of *Sicily*, had succeeded to that throne, but had left his brother *Frederic*, his lieutenant in *Sicily*. *Frederic* had the prudence to divert the *Genoese* from taking part with the *French*, and *Loria*, the *Sicilian* admiral, reduced the islands of *Corfu*, *Malvasia*, and *Chios*, and preserved his superiority over the *French* by sea. The latter were at this time involved in disputes, and king *James* refused to confirm the treaty which his brother had made with the *French*. *Charles the lame*, willing to close the war between the houses of *Anjou*, and *Arragon*, entered upon terms of accommodation with *James*. The abdication of *Celestine*, and the elevation of *Boniface VIII.* who was an enemy to *James*, and to the papal throne, broke off the negociation, by his ordering *James* to resign to *Charles* the kingdom of *Sicily*, under the pain even of excommunication and deposition. *James* would have despised his menaces; but to prevent a new confederacy, formed by the *French* against him, from taking place, he sent ambassadors to *Rome*, where a peace was concluded, by which *James* consented to restore *Sicily* to *Charles of Valois*, whose daughter he was to marry, upon the dissolution of his marriage with the princess of *Castile*.

The consent of the *Sicilians*, who were headed by don *Frederic Frederic*, *Loria*, and *John Procida*, were wanting to this accommodation. The pope endeavoured to bring *Frederic* over by the magnificent, but empty, title of emperor of *Constantinople*. *Frederic* found the *Sicilians* so averse to the late treaty, that he endeavoured to prevail on *James* to renounce it. Instead of that, *James* renounced the crown of *Sicily*; upon which, the inhabitants unanimously declared *Frederic* their king, who was crowned on the 25th of *March*, 1295. It is said, that the reason why *James* abandoned the protection of the *Sicilians* was, his having obtained a grant of the islands of *Corfica*, and *Sardinia*. The dowager queen *Constance*, in whose right the crown of *Sicily* was held by the house of *Arragon*, approved of *Frederic's* elevation, and so determined were the *Sicilians* to support him, that, when the pope offered to give them their own terms, if they would resume their allegiance to the house of *Anjou*, his messengers were obliged to fly out of *Sicily* for fear of their lives. After this, all hopes of an accommodation vanishing, *Loria* carried *Frederic* over to *Calabria*, where he reduced many important places; but hearing that his brother *James* had declared himself the champion of the pope, and the *Anjouvine* family, he returned to *Sicily*, while *Loria* reduced *Lecce*, and *Otranto*, which he fortified. Some differences, about this time, fell out between *Frederic* and *Loria*, and the latter declared himself for

Charles, who immediately raised him to a great estate, and created him admiral of both *Sicilies*. *Blasco de Alagona*, was then general for *Frederic*, in *Calabria*, where he checked the progress of *Loria's* arms, by the latter being entirely defeated, wounded, and obliged to fly. *Frederic* replaced the loss of *Loria*, by giving *Conrade Doria*, a *Genoese*, the command of his fleet. The king of *Arragon* invaded *Sicily* with a powerful armament, and many places either were reduced by him, or yielded to him; but he lost eighteen thousand men in the siege of *Syracuse*; which obliged him to return to *Naples*. During his absence, *Frederic* recovered all that had been taken from him. *James* equipped a new fleet, and beat that of *Frederic*, who behaved very gallantly in the engagement, but lost twenty two galleys, the officers of which were put to death by *Loria*, out of private revenge. *James*, instead of pursuing this blow, returned to *Arragon*, by which he saved his brother from ruin.

Frederic escaping from this defeat, found the *Sicilians* more attached than ever to his fortunes; and when the duke of *Calabria*, son to *Charles*, attended by *Loria*, landed on this island, they at first found a vigorous resistance. All the *Sicilians* not being equally zealous for *Frederic*, they afterwards reduced a great part of the island, which saved their army from perishing for want of provisions. The pope hearing of their good success, endeavoured by his legate *Gerard* of *Parma*, to detach the remaining *Sicilians* from *Frederic*; but in vain, and the latter defeated and took prisoner the prince of *Tarento*, who had arrived with a reinforcement to the duke of *Calabria* from *Naples*. The war in *Sicily*, after this, became very hot. *Frederic* defeated the duke of *Calabria* by land; but *Loria* beat *Doria's* fleet, and the duke of *Calabria*, who was married to *Frederic's* sister, agreed, by her influence, to a conference at *Syracuse*, where a truce for six months was concluded. The duke returned to *Naples*, and there being no appearance of an accommodation, both parties prepared to renew the war with redoubled vigour.

During those transactions, the pope had artfully engaged *Charles of Valois*, by feeding him with the hopes of placing him on the imperial thrones of *Germany*, and *Greece*, to take upon him the chief weight of the war against *Frederic*. To encourage him in this, he created him vicar of the empire in *Italy*, the pacificator of *Tuscany*, and governor of the ecclesiastical states; and he accordingly went, with an armed force, to *Florence*, where he behaved so absurdly, that the *Florentines*, in a manner drove him out of their city.

While dispositions were making against the *Sicilians*, *Boniface*, who affected to be the temporal, as well as spiritual, master of *Europe*, interposed in the quarrels between *Edward*, of *England*, and the people of *Scotland*, and between the same *Edward*, and the king of *France*; but without success.

success. *Edward* despised him, when he could no longer serve him; and the king of *France* prohibited all foreign ecclesiastics to enter his kingdom, and all *Frenchmen* to leave it, without his allowance. As to *Edward*, he in a manner threw off all regard to the pope, and obliged his churchmen to pay whatever taxes he was pleased to impose. The like spirit of independency manifesting itself among the other powers of *Europe*, *Boniface* thought it was high time to check them. Possessed of all the spirit that had filled the most arrogant of his predecessors, he issued a bull, mutually prohibiting all princes from taxing ecclesiastics, and all ecclesiastics from paying such taxes, though required; and this under pain of excommunication to both parties, if they acted without permission from his holiness. He afterwards softened that bull, by allowing that sovereigns, in extreme exigencies of state, might tax their ecclesiastics.

The family of *Colonna*, having opposed the elevation of Who in his holiness to the popedom, and still refusing to acknowledge him as the true pope, he deprived the two cardinals in the of that family of their dignity, and ordered a crusade to be preached up against them, and discovered a most unchristian and inveterate acrimony against all who gave them protection. To qualify this severity against two cardinals, he published other bulls in favour of the sacred college, and such as tended to make the persons of those who did not oppose him, sacred. In 1298, after the emperor *Adolph*, of *German Nassau*, had been dethroned by the *Germans*, and killed by affairs his competitor *Albert*, of *Austria*, *Boniface* declared the See latter a traitor to the holy see, and refused to confirm his Vol. IX. election to the imperial throne; but both he and the king p. 8. of *France*, united out of hatred to *Boniface*, and confirmed *et seq.* their union by mutual marriages. This did not daunt the haughty pontiff, who even ordered *Edward*, of *England*, to appear by his ambassadors at *Rome*, to justify himself for invading the rights of the crown of *Scotland*, which he pretended to be subject to the holy see.

It is almost incredible, that this pope should find support, General as he did, after so many instances of a frantic conduct; reflection, but he had many resources. Though the princes and states of *Italy* began, at this time to have some dawn of a liberal way of thinking; though the kings of *England*, *France*, and *Arragon*, detested the usurpations of the popedom, and the princes of the empire hated him, yet he founded his greatness on the prepossessions of the middling and lower ranks of people in favour of the holy see, and the successor of *St. Peter*. They had seen him and his predecessors, disposing of crowns and empires, and they had heard of the proudest temporal princes crawling before their tribunal, which they attributed to a divine right inherent in the popedom. But those prepossessions were not his only sup-
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ports,

ports. The *Roman* see had almost invariably reserved to itself a right to judge of the titles to sovereignty, and this right had been so often successfully (though arbitrarily and wickedly) exercised, that uninformed as the common people of those times were, they could consider it only as a mark of divinity stamped upon the character of *St. Peter's* successor. Their leaders, however they might despise those weaknesses, still found it their interest to adopt them, according to their various views; so that a papal votary, though, in his claim without the least shadow of justice, if authorized by the holy see, was always sure of finding followers, and abettors. The subsequent part of our history will justify those observations.

The jubilee instituted.

The year 1300 afforded a plausible handle for *Boniface* to extend his empire over the heads of the *Christians*. Every one knows that, in the times of heathenism, the *Romans*, and *Italians*, celebrated the return of a new century with secular games, celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence. Notwithstanding the introduction of christianity into *Italy*, the people there still retained many vestiges of antient idolatry and usages, as may be easily discerned by those who are conversant in their history, and theology. The renewal of the secular games, though under another denomination, was of infinite service to *Boniface*, who this year instituted the celebration of a jubilee, in imitation of the *Romans*. On this occasion he published a bull, remitting the sins of all who should, upon confession and penitence, visit the churches of *St. Peter*, and *St. Paul*, at *Rome*; a devise, palpably calculated by him to bring immense profit to his own dominions, which are said to have been then visited by two hundred thousand strangers. He excepted however, out of his bull of indulgence, all who traded with the *Saracens*, *Frederic* king of *Sicily*, and the cardinals of *Colonna*. Notwithstanding this unusual resort of strangers to *Rome*, all provisions there were found in great plenty, and cheap. This jubilee has been, by the successors of *Boniface*, observed at the end of every fifty years. The zeal of *Boniface* for crusaders, seems to have fallen short of that of his predecessors, on account of his earnestness to advance his own power in *Italy*, and the coldness, with which the princes of *Europe* now entertained such projects. He joined however with the king of *Naples*, in obliging the *Saracens*, who were settled at *Lucera*, either to be baptized, or leave the country; but only a few of them chose the former, and these were called *Marrani*.

Insolence of the pope.

When the emperor *Albert* of *Germany*, desired the pope to confirm his election, the insolent pontiff, when he gave audience to the ambassadors, appeared with a sword by his side, and rejecting their suit, he told them that he was *Cæsar* as well as pope. *Philip the Fair*, of *France*, having, in imitation of the king of *England*, taxed his clergy without leave

leave from *Boniface*, and even employed for his own use the money that had been raised for a crusade; the pope, by way of punishment, enjoined him to undertake an expedition into *Syria*, and sent the bishop of *Pamieres*, a native of *France*, but who had been driven out of it for seditious practices, to be his legate there, and to threaten *Philip* with excommunication if he proceeded in collecting the tythes, or revenues of the church. The bishop discharged his commission in so indecent a manner, by disclaiming all allegiance to *Philip*, that the latter accused him of treason, before an assembly of his nobles, and prelates, and he was committed prisoner to the custody of his metropolitan, the archbishop of *Narbonne*. *Boniface* was indubitably enraged at the imprisonment of his legate, and issued a bull, declaring himself to be sovereign, both in spirituals and temporals, over all the states and kings in the world. He issued, at the same time, summonses for all the *French* bishops to appear before him at *Rome*; and if the king of *France* did not immediately set his legate at liberty, he threatened him with excommunication and deposition. When the nuntio, who was likewise a *Frenchman* born, presented his bull, and credentials, the count of *Artois* threw them into the fire, and both he and the imprisoned legate were sent out of the kingdom. *Philip* then called a parliament to vindicate the rights of his crown from the encroachments of the holy see. But he and the other princes of those days, were capitally mistaken in admitting the authority of the church of *Rome*, while, at the same time, they disputed the power of the pope, and in respecting his pontifical, while they rejected his personal authority. Those distinctions, which perhaps, were in some measure necessary for the temper of the age, obliged *Philip* to proceed with great moderation, and laid him under many difficulties. He guarded his frontiers indeed against all communication with the pope's agents; but he sent one of his counsellors to plead his cause at *Rome*, which he did with so much freedom, that *Boniface* was more exasperated than ever. He suspended the king, and kingdom of *France* from the benefit of all the favours and indulgences that had been granted them by his predecessors; he prohibited all ecclesiastics from making payments of any kind to the temporal power; he summoned the *French* clergy to a general council, and forty of them actually went to *Rome*, whose temporalities the king seized. In 1302, the *French* king and nation were weak enough to send a fresh deputation of three bishops to plead their cause before the pope. His holiness was at this time in treaty with the emperor *Albert*, about confirming his election, and not having it as yet in his power to employ the temporal sword with sufficient efficacy, he behaved towards the king of *France* with unusual moderation; offering, if he would send him a deputation

See
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p. 12.

tation of noblemen, he would retract all he had done to his prejudice. This proposition not being agreed to, *Boniface* came to an accommodation with the emperor *Albert*, and at the same time sent to *Philip* a new set of claims for establishing his own power over ecclesiastics, independently of the temporal, or any other; with several other insolent demands besides. Those articles were rejected by *Philip*, and he was excommunicated by the pope. *Philip*, upon this, again called his parliament together, and an accusation was there preferred by the nobles against *Boniface*, of simony, sacrilege, magic, and other enormities. At the same time they had the weakness to profess an entire submission to the holy church, and the authority of the future pope, to whom they appealed. The pope answered *Philip* by renewing his excommunications, absolving his subjects from their allegiance, giving his kingdom to the emperor *Albert*, and exhorting all the neighbouring princes to attack him. The cardinals of the *Colonna* family had fled to *France*, where they laid a scheme with one *Nogaret*, a *Frenchman*, for carrying off his holiness from *Anagni*, where he then resided. They set out for *Italy*, where they privately engaged about three hundred *French* horse, who had been in the retinue of *Charles* of *Valois*, and they proceeded with such secrecy, that they surprized the pope in his palace. The watch word given was "Let the pope die and the *French* live." *Boniface*, though surprized, was undaunted, and kept up his dignity to the full. Perceiving that he was a prisoner, he dressed himself in his tiara, he grasped his keys in one hand, and his crozier in the other, and ordering the doors of his apartment to be thrown open, presented himself before *Colonna*, and *Nogaret*, with the same majesty as if he had been upon the papal throne; upon which *Colonna* struck him, and commanded him to resign the popedom. "I am (replied *Boniface* firmly,) pope, and I will die pope," and according to some authors who lived nearest that time, he even returned the blows, and made so gallant a resistance, that the conspirators left him to secure to themselves the plunder of his palace. By this time, the *Anagnians*, observing how despicable the number of the *French* was, took arms, rescued the pope, and drove them out of their city. Some writers have said, that his holiness was detained prisoner for a few days; but it is certain, that on his return to *Rome*, he died with vexation.

He is
taken pri-
soner.

Succeed-
ed by *Be-*
nedict X.

He was succeeded by *Benedict*, whom some call the 10th, and some the 11th, of that name. This pontiff was acknowledged by the king of *France*, though he summoned *Nogaret*, *Colonna*, and all who were concerned in the surprizal of his predecessor, to appear before his tribunal, and receive judgment for that heinous offence. He affected great moderation in his principles, and gave a favourable reception to the *Tartar*, and other, ambassadors who recog-
nized

nized his authority ; and he sent a legate to reconcile the divisions of *Florence*, a city that now becomes a principal object in the history of *Italy*. Its government was popular, but divided. The natives were more ingenious and more factious than any people in *Italy* ; and the pope wanted to signalize his pontificate, by bringing them under his jurisdiction, under pretext of uniting them. His legate, cardinal *Nicholas*, of *Prato*, artfully took the part of the people against the nobility, and new modelled the government ; so that it became more democratical than ever. His great aim was to restore the exiles to their rights of denization, by which he thought, their gratitude would bind them to the papal interest. He might have succeeded in this view, had he not proceeded too hastily, and authoritatively ; so that the quick sighted *Florentines* perceived his design, and forced him to fly to the pope his master, who was then at *Perugia*. The cardinal's resentment made him represent the *Florentines* in so unfavourable a light, that *Benedict* ordered twelve of their principal citizens to appear before his tribunal ; which they accordingly did, with magnificent equipages. The legate took that opportunity of encouraging the exiles to make a forcible entry into the city. This they attempted, but were driven out by the citizens ; and, in the mean time, the pope dying, the *Florentine* deputies, returned to their city, which still remained under an interdict laid upon it by the legate.

While the pope remained at *Perugia*, hostilities continued in *Sicily*, between the *Anjouvine* party and *Frederic*. The latter was inferior in force, but acted so cautiously, and distressed the *French* army so much, that *Charles of Valois* was obliged to propose an accommodation between him and *Charles* king of *Naples*. After various conferences, a treaty was concluded, by which *Frederic* was acknowledged to be the lawful king of *Sicily*, which he was to hold under the name of *Trinacria* ; and that he should evacuate all the places he held in *Calabria*. *Charles of Naples*, undertook to prevail with the pope to ratify this treaty. In the mean while, *Charles Martel*, the eldest brother of the duke of *Calabria*, dying, the latter became heir to the crown of *Naples*, and in 1303, the pope ratified the late peace ; but imposed upon *Frederic*, for the possession of *Sicily*, a yearly tribute of fifteen thousand livres, besides obliging him to yield to the holy see all the ecclesiastical jurisdictions within his kingdom. This peace had been effected chiefly through the prospect which *Charles of Valois* entertained of being assisted by *Frederic*, and *Charles of Sicily*, in obtaining the empire of *Constantinople* ; but in this he was disappointed, by the differences between his brother the king of *France*, and the pope, which we have already recounted. The remaining part of *Benedict's* life was divided between acts of ambition and piety. He obliged the king of *Arragon* to pay him
homage

History of
Sicily.

Death of
the pope.

He is suc-
ceeded by
Clement V.

who ex-
commu-
nicates
the *Flo-*
rentines,
and
preaches
up a
crusade.

homage for the possession of *Sardinia*, and *Corfica*. He took off the sentence of excommunication against the king of *France*. He sent a legate to *England*, to reconcile all differences between the *English* and the *Scots*, and earnestly laboured in reconciling the *Venetians* to the *Paduans*. But while he was thus intent on the duties of his function, he was poisoned at *Perugia*, on the seventh of *July*, 1304.

The college of cardinals, upon the death of pope *Benedict*, was divided in regard to their choice of his successor. The one party was intent to elect a pope who should be in the king of *France's* interest, and consequently a friend to the *Colonna* family, in which they were most obstinately opposed by the other. They at length (after a dispute of nine months) came to a coalition, and agreed to chuse three *Frenchmen* one of which, should be returned as pope within the space of forty days. Notwithstanding this agreement, the party rage revived, and the enemies of the king of *France* prevailed, by electing the archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, who was supposed to be the king's professed enemy. The king of *France* being apprehensive of his success, had previously adjusted matters with the archbishop, who agreed to all his proposals, particularly an oblivion of all violences against *Boniface*, and to grant him the tenth part of his revenues for five years. The archbishop was soon after consecrated pope, in the city of *Lyons*, and assumed the name of *Clement V.* *Clement* fulfilled his engagements faithfully in every respect with the king of *France*; and upon his assuming the papal chair, he concerted measures to recover *Palestine* from the infidels; for which purpose he sent the bishop of *Durham*, under the title of patriarch of *Jerusalem*, to the emperor, and other potent princes, demanding their assistance; he also obtained a considerable fleet from the *Venetians*, to recover *Constantinople* from the *Greeks*. The party of the *Guelphs* had for some time disturbed the peace of *Italy*, and, in conjunction with the *Florentines* and *Luquesse*, under *Robert*, son to the king of *Naples*, were at this time making war upon the *Gibelines*. Two nuncios were sent by *Clement* to order them to desist, which orders were obeyed by the *Guelphs*, but contemned by the others; whereupon *Clement*, who was still at *Lyons*, appointed cardinal *Ursini*, his legate over *Italy*, with an unlimited commission. This cardinal being in the interest of the *Gibelines*, his authority was so far from having any effect over the *Florentines*, that they drove him, with his whole retinue, out of *Bologna*; whereupon he pronounced sentence of excommunication against the city, and deprived it of its liberties.

The king of *England* being at this time in *Flanders*, complained to *Clement*, of some irregularities committed by the archbishop of *Canterbury*; in consequence of which, *Clement* suspended him, and went to *Poitiers*, to reconcile the differences between *England* and *France*. At this time every thing

thing was prepared for the siege of *Constantinople*, under *Charles of Valois*. The emperor *Andronicus* was excommunicated, and one *Haythorius*, a friar, was employed by the pope to draw up a remonstrance to the powers of *Christendom*, proving it to be their duty to attack the *Saracens*, as those infidels were at difference amongst themselves. But the arguments of *Haythorius*, though backed by the intreaties of the pope, produced no effect. The missionaries of the pope, having had great success in making profelytes in *Tartary*, *Clement* wrote a letter of thanks to the khan, for his kindness towards them, exhorting him at the same time, to embrace the christian faith. He also consecrated his legate, archbishop of *Cambalu*, in that empire. *Clement*, having not yet fulfilled his promise with the king of *France*, in regard to *Boniface*, the king reminded him of it, and insisted upon his burning the bones of *Boniface*, as those of an heretic. But *Clement* excused himself from this rigorous injunction, by promising the king to call a general council, without which no pope could be condemned; pacifying him at the same time, by deposing those cardinals who had been appointed by *Boniface*.

A circumstance happened at this time, which astonished *Europe*. The *Knights Templars*, were, by several of their brethren, accused of the most enormous impieties, and thro' *Templars* the remonstrances of the king of *France*, the pope published a bull for the extirpation of the order, and condemned those knights who had made the voluntary confession of their crimes, to be burnt to death by a slow fire; one *Dulcinus*, who deviated from the opinion of the pope and bishops, was also burnt in this year.

The emperor *Albert*, being assassinated by his nephew, the duke of *Swabia*, the king of *France*, set out for *Poitiers*, to solicit the pope to transfer the empire to *France*; but *Clement*, who was informed of the king's purpose before he arrived, and knowing such a decree would disoblige the *Germans*, privately sent messengers to the electors, and informed them of it, advising them, at the same time, to elect another emperor with all expedition; they, upon this remonstrance, elected *Henry*, duke of *Luxemburg*, which election was confirmed by the pope. This year the pope removed his court to *Avignon* in *Provence*; and upon his arrival in that city, he was informed that the *Venetians* had seized upon *Ferrara*, which belonged to the church, whereupon he excommunicated the *Venetians*. *Ferrara* was soon after retaken by an army of crusaders, consisting of *French*, *Florentines*, and *Bolognese*; and in consideration of this assistance, the pope annulled the sentence of excommunication the two latter then lay under. *Charles*, king of *Naples*, dying at this time, was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, *Robert*, who, afterwards was created by the pope, count of *Romaniola*, upon his making a vow to undertake an expedition to the

Holy

Holy Land; *Robert*, at the same time was discharged of the debt, his father had contracted with the apostolic see, but obliged himself, in consideration of his fief, to pay an annual tribute of eight thousand ounces of gold.

The pope annuls his predecessor's acts. The following year, the pope annulled all the decrees of *Boniface*, against the king of *France*; and great disputes at the same time happened, on account of *William Nogaret*, and *William Plegianus*, traducing the memory of *Boniface*, before the pope, in a general council. The kings of *Castile* and *Aragon*, with great warmth, remonstrated against such proceedings; whereupon *Nogaret*, with his coadjutors, were banished for life, into the *Holy Land*. The *Venetians* also, this year, begged for absolution, offering, at the same time, to make ample reparation for the outrages they had committed against the territories of the church; but *Clement* gave no ear to their intreaties. *Clement* also summoned a general council to be held at *Vienne*, in *Dauphine*, on the first of *October* following. In this year, the *Knights Hospitallers* made an expedition from *Cyprus*, whither they had retired upon the loss of *Palestine*, and made themselves masters of *Rhodes*, at that time in possession of the infidels. The emperor *Henry*, upon the pope confirming his election, having promised to come to *Rome*, within two years, to receive the imperial crown, set out for that city, with a numerous army and a most magnificent retinue, to fulfil his engagements; and upon his arrival at *Loufanne*, he sent ambassadors to the pope, renewing his oaths of allegiance, and confirming the donations of former emperors to the apostolic see. In his journey through *Italy*, he was received in every city with proper respect. Although this emperor, by the advice of his subjects in *Germany*, favoured the party of the *Gibbelines*, who were still at variance with the *Guelphs*, yet he decided a cause confirming the territory of *Montserrat*, in favour of a *Guelph*, who disputed it with a *Gibbeline*; this greatly offended the *Gibbelines*, and gained him the hearts of the principal *Guelphs*. On the sixth of *January* following, he arrived at *Milan*, where he was crowned by the archbishop of that city, with the iron crown.

Henry, upon his coronation, applied himself assiduously in restoring tranquility between factious parties, and recalled several of them from exile; but a violent sedition happening at *Milan*, in which the emperor was near losing his life, and the *Guelphs* joining the king of *Naples*, who was likewise at variance with the emperor, they opposed his journey to *Rome*.

A council at *Vienne*. *Clement* being to attend the council at *Vienne*, which was held this year, gave a commission to five cardinals to crown the emperor at *Rome*. At this council the king of *France* assisted in person, with upwards of three hundred archbishops and bishops, all of whom confirmed the suppression of the *Templars*, and gave their possessions among the several orders of religious knights. A crusade was also agreed.

and the king of *France* promised to serve in it: *Clement* also confirmed the decree of *Gregory X.* in regard to the future elections of popes; he likewise ordained the *Hebrew* and other dead languages to be taught, in all the universities in *Europe*; and dismissed the council the *May* following.

Henry met with great opposition from the *Guelphs*, who Disturb- having got possession of *St. Peter's Church*, rendered it im- ances in possible for him to be crowned in it, notwithstanding all *Italy*. his efforts, assisted by the king of *Sicily*, to expel them from thence. Upon this, he prevailed with the cardinals to crown him in the *Lateran Church*, and his coronation was afterwards approved of by the pope; *Henry*, at the same time, renewing his oaths of fidelity. The pope command- ed him to swear to a truce with the king of *Naples*, whom *Henry* would have attacked for assisting the *Guelphs*. *Henry* refused, because, as he alleged, the pope had no religious, or civil, right, to command the emperor to make a truce with his vassals; but out of the great regard, which he bore to *Clement*, *Henry* agreed not to attack the king of *Naples* for a twelvemonth; after which he set out upon his return to *Germany*, and ravaged *Florence* in his way,

The next year, *Henry* reassumed his intentions to conquer *Naples*, and, at the intercession of the king of *France*, *Clement* was prevailed upon to threaten him with excommunication, in case he persisted in that undertaking. He privately hinted to *Henry*, at the same time, that his being in possession of *Naples*, would not displease him. This year The pope the pope sent two cardinals into *England*, to interpose his sends a le- authority in reconciling the barons, who at that time were gation to in arms against the king; but this embassy had no manner of *England*. weight with the barons, they refusing to acknowledge the pope's supremacy. The emperor, was now taken with a violent fever, in his march to *Naples*, and soon after he died at *Benevento*.

Clement being apprehensive that, upon the emperor's death, it would be in vain to encourage the expedition against *Naples*, he countermanded any farther proceedings in regard to it, and thought it most prudent to re-establish his amity with that king, by condemning the sentence pronounced against him (as a traitor) by the late emperor, appointing him likewise his vicar, and a senator of *Rome*. *Clement*, at this time sent crosses to the kings of *England*, *France*, and *Navarre*, enjoining them to an expedition to the *Holy Land*. He was soon after seized with a dysentery, and died on his Death of way to his native country, *Bordeaux*. the pope.

The death of the pope revived the dissensions of the car- Vacancy dinals and bishops, and the disputes ran so high, that the of the *Gascons* actually set fire to the conclave where the cardinals holy see. were assembled; and the papal chair continued empty for two years. The *Pisans*, assisted by the *Germans*, this year, defeated the *Guelphs*, and made themselves masters of *Lucca*,
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ca, where they seized upwards of a million of gold florins. *Guido Turriano*, assisted by the king of *Sicily*, obtained a considerable victory over the *Visconti*, in *Lombardy*. This occasioned the archbishop of *Milan*, then seventy years of age, to be excommunicated, which sentence he despised, and assumed the title of prince of *Milan*.

At this time, a new sect arose in *Germany*, called *Lollards*, from one *Lollar*, a dissenting priest, whose tenets were adapted to the genius and inclination of his countrymen and followers, particularly that of abolishing fasts, and permitting them to eat flesh any day; with several other singularities, some of which were rational, others impiously absurd.

See
Vol. 1X.
P. 13.
et seq.
John
XXII.
pope.

The papal chair being still vacant, the king of *France* sent his brother, the count of *Poitiers*, to *Lyons*, where he reassembled the cardinals, and forcibly shut them up in a monastery, telling them, at the same time, he would confine them there till they should agree in the election of a pope. The cardinals continued in this confinement near six weeks, when they referred the election to the bishop of *Porto*. The bishop proposed himself, and the cardinals confirming him, on the ninth of *September* he was crowned pope, and assumed the name of *John XXII*. Soon after, *John* received ambassadors from the dukes of *Bavaria* and *Austria*, competitors for the empire, each of them begging a confirmation of his election. *John*, not inclining to favour either, excused himself, pretending he would consider of it, but superseded the king of *Arragon*'s son, in the bishoprick of *Ferragona*, and gave it to the bishop of *Saragossa*.

State of
affairs in
Italy.

The dissensions of the different parties of the competitors for the empire, still continuing in *Germany*, *John* resolved to crush the growing power and interest of the *Gibbelines* in *Italy*. He renewed all the despotic claims of his predecessors, over *Italy*, and erected schools where they were to be inculcated, as articles of faith upon the rising generation. The reader, in a former volume, will find the history of *Italy*, as connected with that of *Germany*, to the year 1317, when upon the death of the emperor, *Henry VII*. an interregnum of fourteen months ensued. During this period, the pope claimed the administration of the empire, and threatened excommunication to all who should dare to act during the vacancy. He granted the vicariate of *Italy*, to *Robert*, king of *Naples*, and endeavoured to destroy the family of *Visconti*, at *Milan*, and the other princes of *Italy* who favoured the duke of *Bavaria*'s pretensions to the empire. The state of *Italy*, at this time, affords great matter for historical reflection. The different cities and commonwealths, who had struggled for their liberties, equally against the emperor, and the pope, had fallen under the dominion of their own citizens. The *Visconti*, ruled at *Milan*; the *Donati*, at *Florence*; the *Scaligers*, at *Verona*; the *Bonacorsi*, at *Mantua*; and in short, every

every petty state had its tyrant, who oppressed it under pretence of preserving its independency. The popes were the real friends of liberty, out of hatred to the emperors, and would have chastized those usurpers, had they not sheltered themselves under the imperial authority. *John Confed-* was so indefatigable in asserting the authority of the pope-racy a- dom, that he brought upon himself several conspiracies of gainst the the *Gibelines*; and we are told, that the bishop of *Cahors*, pope. being convicted on that account, was flayed and burnt alive. *John* found much greater success in *England* than in *Scot-* land, where *Robert Bruce* possessed the throne; but his holiness, as well as *Edward* king of *England*, refused to give him the title of king.

The papal legates at the *English* court, after fleecing the He is op- subjects there, were ordered to travel to *Scotland*, and sent posed by their credentials to *Robert*, who rejected them, because they the *Scots*. were addressed to him only as governor, and even threaten- ed to hang them both up, if they entered his kingdom. The legates were startled at this menace, and not daring to proceed, endeavoured to negotiate by writing an accom- modation between the two kingdoms. *Robert* refused to comply even with this proposal, or to enter into a negocia- tion of any kind, but under the title and character of king; upon which he and his party were excommunicated. About this time, his holiness found it his interest to propa- His acts gate the doctrine of the existence of magicians, and necro- of refor- mancers, under one or both of which denominations, he mation. comprehended the most obnoxious of his enemies, and levelled all his thunders against them. Some of the *Fran-* ciscans having dared to assert, that his holiness, his court, and clergy, did not live up to the purity of the gospel, and having maintained several other tenets of reformation, they were declared to be heretics, the flames of persecution were lighted up against them; and four of them were burned at *Marseilles*. Some of the *Italian Gibelines*, the viscount of *Milan* in particular, out of hatred to the pope, protected those heretics, and was himself declared to be one of them, for having prohibited the tortures of the inquisition in his dominions, and checking the overgrown ambition and avarice of ecclesiastics; and he was accordingly, with all his party, excommunicated. *Visconti*, who had power equal to Confede- his abilities, renewed the league of the *Lombard* cities racies a- against his holiness; and *Canis Scaliger*, who was called the gainst him doge of *Verona*, was appointed general of the confederacy, which soon grew to be very formidable. The *Genoese* being declared *Guelphs*, and headed by the king of *Naples*, invited those of *Florence*, *Sienna*, and other parts of *Italy* to join them; but *Visconti's* son, *Galeazzo*, carried the war to the very heart of their territory, where he spread inconceiva- ble desolation, and laid siege to *Genoa* itself. The *Genoese* being thus distressed, applied to his holiness for relief, and he

prevailed upon *Robert*, king of *Naples*, to send them twelve hundred horse. *Robert* likewise carried twenty five galleys to their assistance, and the *Genoese*, in return, declared him the governor of their city for ten years. This reinforcement, with others raised by the *Lombard Guelphs*, turned the scale of the war against the *Gibelines*, and they were obliged to raise the siege with considerable loss, upon which *Robert* sailed to *Avignon*, to visit his holiness. In *Lombardy*, the spiritual arms of the popedom, though exerted with great vigour, and acrimony, had no effect; and *John* was obliged to employ *Philip*, of *Valois*, against *Visconti*, who was then besieging *Vercelli*. *Philip* found himself unable, with all the reinforcements the pope sent him, to raise the siege; and, after a conference with *Galeazzo*, he returned to *France*, under pretence of his not having been properly supported according to his agreement.

His steadiness.

The affairs of the popedom, at this time, wore a gloomy aspect, and nothing but the steadiness of *John* could have prevented them from going to ruin. All his flattering promises of making *Philip of Valois*, lieutenant general of the church in *Italy*, could not bring him back to his service. The *Albigenses*, and the *Waldenses*, again appeared in *France*, and were again consigned to the flames; as were the *Jews*, and other heretics of all denominations. *John* attached himself more closely than ever to the kings of *France*, and *Naples*, and to please the latter he excommunicated *Frederic*, king of *Trinacria*; which brings our history back to that of the *Two Sicilies*.

Affairs of Naples.

Frederic, king of *Trinacria*, had been a zealous leader of the *Italian Gibelines*, and his treasury having been exhausted in their service, he revived the antient claims of the kings of *Sicily*, by taxing the ecclesiastical livings within his dominions, for which he had been excommunicated. This was so far from intimidating *Frederic*, that in a full assembly of the *Sicilian* barons, he ordered his son to be crowned. *Robert* took on himself the execution of the pope's sentence. He returned from *Avignon* to *Genoa*, and proceeded from thence to *Naples*, where he prepared a great fleet for invading *Sicily*. *Frederic* is accused of some wicked practices, not only against this armament, but against the person of *Robert*, and his son the duke of *Calabria*, on the discovery of which some persons were put to death at *Naples*. The duke of *Calabria*, landed at *Palermo*, with three thousand horse, and a numerous body of infantry; but after many attempts, all he could do was to lay waste, in an unmanly manner, that noble country; and he returned to *Naples*.

See
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p. 24.

In 1326, as the emperor *Lewis of Bavaria*, was preparing to come to the assistance of the *Gibelines*, the pope again appointed *Robert* to be vicar of the empire in *Italy*. *Robert*, still mindful of his resentment against *Frederic*, after sending some succours to the *Lombard Guelphs*, again invaded
and

and ravaged *Sicily*, and marched to the assistance of his subjects the *Genoese*, against *Castruccio Castruccani*, of *Lucca*. The emperor *Lewis*, who despised all the fulminations and thunders of the pontiff, was by this time arrived at *Trent*; and it was natural for the king of *Naples* to imagine he would bend his chief force against his dominions, as he was the principal support of the *Guelph* faction in *Italy*. He endeavoured in vain to oppose the emperor's entering *Rome*, where he was crowned, and where he loitered away his time in disputes with the pope, whom he sentenced to death, though he was still at *Avignon*; so that *Robert* had time to provide for the safety of his dominions. He gave the command of his army to the duke of *Calabria*; and though the emperor was favoured by *Frederic of Trinacria*, who invaded *Naples*, yet for want of money he could not proceed in his expedition, and was obliged to return to *Germany*.

The *Romans*, partly through their own inconstancy, and partly through the misconduct of *Lewis*, and the antipope, whom he had created, now detested the imperial and *Gibeline* factions, and invited the pope to return to their city. He excused himself on account of his great age, but sent thither a legate, who reversed all that had been done by the emperor, and the antipope; and before the year 1329 was expired, *John* found no opposition in *Italy*, and even the antipope was so completely deserted by the emperor, that he surrendered himself a prisoner, and the miserable remains of his life was spared upon his shewing proper signs of repentance. This æra of the *Italian* history is extremely remarkable. Though a more favourable conjuncture could not have presented itself for the abolition of the *Guelph* faction in *Italy*, than when *Lewis* invaded it; yet it is certain, that he mistook the sentiments of the *Gibelines*, who meant no more by joining his standards than to assert their own independency upon the pope, and regain possession of their lands held by their enemies the *Guelphs*; nor did they doubt of *Lewis's* speedily returning to *Germany*, and his leaving them absolute masters of *Lombardy*, and *Tuscany*, occasionally paying a very moderate acknowledgment to the emperor. The manner in which *Lewis* proceeded, proved to them, that if he should establish his power in *Italy*, they would have in his person a master, who would unite the imperial and papal power, by which they would become doubly slaves. This consideration influenced their conduct, and they withdrew their assistance from *Lewis*. Upon the latter's return to *Germany*, the pope proceeded with great asperity against the *Franciscans*, who had animated the *Germans* to all their violences; and every where in their sermons inveighed against the papacy. *Michael Cofena*, was their general, and was seconded by *William Oakham*, an *Englishman*, in publishing all the violent sentences that had

passed against *John*. They were accordingly excommunicated, and the pope threatened to abolish their order. *John* remained still at *Avignon*, and issued out monitories against the emperor's father-in-law *William*, of *Hainault*, who, under pretence of marching against the *Moors* in *Spain*, was advancing with an army towards that city.

The pope *John* was now every where victorious; but his restless
victorious. implacable temper rendered him the firebrand of christen-
dom. The emperor *Lewis* applied to him in the most
earnest and submissive manner, for a reconciliation; *John*,
instead of granting it, ordered the electors of the empire to
proceed to a new choice, and the king of *Bohemia* to de-
throned him. That prince, instead of obeying the pope,
secretly leagued himself with *Lewis*, and as imperial vicar,
marched with an army into *Italy*, where he reduced the
greatest part of *Lombardy*. The weakness of the emperor
in *Germany*, flattered the *Bohemian* king with a notion, that
ibid. it was practicable for him, with the pope's assistance, to
p. 27. erect his new conquests into a kingdom for himself and his
New con- family. A secret negociation followed between him and the
federacies pope in the year 1331, which being soon discovered by its
take place effects, alarmed *Lewis*, and united the *Guelphs*, as well as
the *Gibelines*, against the pope and the *Bohemians*. The
latter being obliged upon a confederacy formed against him
in *Germany*, to return to *Bohemia*, left his son his lieutenant
in *Italy*, while *Lewis* again offered to be reconciled to the
pope, who persisted in rejecting all terms of an accommo-
dation. Perceiving that the king of *Bohemia* was either
unable or unwilling to fulfil his engagements, and that he
was returning to his connections with the emperor, he
artfully detached the duke of *Austria* from the confederacy.
The *Bohemian* proving victorious over all his enemies in
Germany, returned with an army to support his son in *Italy*;
but he found him a conqueror over the united forces of the
Guelphs and *Gibelines*. The reader may form some compu-
tation of the internal strength of *Italy*, by the following
proportions which each state contributed to the general
confederacy. The *Florentines* were to furnish six hundred
horse; the *Neapolitans* the same number; the prince, (or
as he was called the doge) of *Verona*, eight hundred; *Azo*,
or *Otho*, viscount of *Milan*, one hundred; and the dukes
of *Ferrara*, and *Mantua*, two hundred each; and we may
reasonably suppose the infantry that were to be raised were
in the same proportions.

The pope Though the king of *Bohemia's* arms were thus crowned
and *Bohe-* with success, this confederacy against him was so strong,
mian that he could do nothing decisive towards establishing the
troops plan he had in view; but the pope and he continued seeming-
defeated ly on as good terms as ever. The doge of *Verona* became
near *Fer-* master of *Brescia*, and *Bergamo*; *Azo* surprized *Pavia*, but
rara. not its citadel; *Charles* of *Bohemia*, laid waste the *Milanese*,
and

and attempted to retake *Pavia*, but was by *Azo* forced to return to *Parma*. His ally the pope's legate, after beating the *Ferrarese*, laid siege to their city, and seized all the country of the *Romagna*, and the *Bolognese*. The inhabitants of *Ferrara* applied to the inhabitants of *Florence* for relief, which they found extremely difficult to send them, as the *Bohemian* troops were in possession of all the passes by *Modena*, and *Parma*. Two young gentlemen, *Stroza*, and *Scala*, undertook to conduct the reinforcement, consisting of four hundred horse, and they brought them to *Verona*, from whence they bravely threw themselves into *Ferrara*. The king of *Bohemia*, had by this time, brought from *Parma* a reinforcement of *Germans* to the legate's camp, and they were preparing to storm *Ferrara* just at the time the *Florentines* entered it. The latter, who acted with a greater spirit, and upon truer principles of liberty than any of the other *Italian* states, encouraged the *Ferrarese* and their confederates in the city to make a sally, which they did with so much success, that their enemies were totally defeated, and most of them who escaped the swords of the confederates were drowned in the *Po*.

This victory proved fatal to the *Bohemians* affairs in *Italy*. Success *Romagna* revolted from the pope, and it was with difficulty of the that the *German* horse overawed the *Bolognese* from follow- *Lombard* ing the example. The sons of *Castruccani* took *Lucca*, but confederates. it was retaken by the *Bohemians*. The successes of the confederates gave them such spirits, that they renewed their engagements with one another, and their chiefs held an assembly at *Lerice*, then in the *Genoese* territory. Though they had previously agreed upon the allotments which each prince or state was to possess, yet several of them were still to be conquered. They determined however, to prosecute the war till the purposes of the confederacy were answered. The viscount of *Milan* was to possess *Cremona*; *Parma* was to fall to the share of the *Veronese*; *Reggio* was allotted to the duke of *Mantua*; *Modena* to the duke of *Ferrara*, and *Pisa* to the *Florentines*. The pope omitted nothing that could break the force of this confederacy. He treated by turns with the kings of *France*, *Naples*, *Arragon*, and *England*, but his chief confederate, the king of *Bohemia*, found it very difficult for him to keep his footing in *Italy*.

After the battle of *Ferrara*, the legate, who was a com- Desertion pound of avarice, arrogance, and tyranny, fled to *Bologna*, of the where he was so much hated that the people besieged him *Germans* in the citadel he had built for overawing them. The *Flo-* from them *rentines* retained so much regard for the legate's character, that they sent three hundred horse to mediate between him and the *Bolognese*; and it was with the utmost difficulty that upon his surrendering the citadel, he was permitted to depart alive out of the city. *Parma* was the next object of the confederates, and it was besieged by them. The *Flo-* *rentines*

rentines being then at war with the *Lucquese*, besieged their capital at the same time, and in a general rendezvous demanded that a detachment from the main army should be sent to assist them in reducing *Lucca*. The strength of the confederates at that time, consisted in some *German* mercenaries, that had been furnished them by the emperor, who was still passionately fond of a reconciliation with his holiness; and the legate tampered with them so effectually, that they mutined, and instead of besieging, they defended, *Parma*. This desertion disconcerted the affairs of the confederacy so much, that the two sieges were raised; but soon after resumed. The king of *Bohemia*, who was in the *French* interest, endeavoured to save *Lucca*, by making a donation of it to the king of *France*; but the *Florentines* paid no regard to the deed, and continued their preparations. In the mean while, the *Veronese* were carrying on the siege of *Parma*, which was defended by two noble brothers, of the name of *Rossi*, to whom, and an other brother, who commanded in *Lucca*, the king of *Bohemia* owed large sums of money. The doge of *Verona*, who was reckoned the most politic, but the most treacherous and ambitious prince in *Italy*, offered terms to the *Venetians*, who were his implacable enemies, and protected *Parma*; but they were rejected. He then applied to the two brothers, who surrendered *Parma*, upon his engaging to repay the money owing them by the *Bohemian*; and it was likewise agreed, upon the same terms, that he should be put in possession of *Lucca* by the third brother, which he accordingly was, and upon promising to pay the money, he became master of both places. By this time, the duke of *Mantua* was possessed of *Reggio*, as the *Ferrarese* were of *Modena*.

War in
Tuscany.

Florence, being thus the only party in the confederacy that was disappointed in the terms agreed on, required the *Veronese* prince to put her in possession of *Lucca*. He demanded the money he had paid, which he pretended amounted to an immense sum, no less than one hundred thousand pounds. The *Florentines* offered to raise it, but perceived the *Veronese* was only trifling with them, which drew on a war between them. The general hatred borne by all *Italy* to the *Veronese*, who was now the most powerful prince in *Lombardy*, greatly encouraged the *Florentines*, who proceeded in the war with proper steadiness. They ravaged the territories of the *Veronese* allies, and hearing that that prince was marching with an army against the city through *Romagna*, they attempted to give him a diversion, by transferring the seat of war to *Lombardy*. The *Venetians* were the only people of *Italy* who joined the *Florentines* on this occasion; but the assistance they gave them was inadequate to their strength; if it is true, that *Venice* at this time could easily raise eighty thousand fighting men.

The

The *Veronese* prince deceived the *Rossi*, as he did all with whom he was concerned, and one of them (*Peter*) who was an excellent officer, was taken into the service of the *Florentines* and *Venetians*. Escaping from *Pontremoli*, where he had been besieged, he came to *Florence*, where he was put at the head of eight hundred horse, with which he undertook to reduce *Lucca*. He was encountered by the *Veronese* governor of that city, whom he defeated, and pursued with great slaughter to its gates. Though *Rossi* was unsuccessful in his main design, yet his reputation was so great, that he was trusted with the command of the combined army against the *Veronese*, whom he defeated in various skirmishes, but without being able to bring that prince to a decisive action. The *Venetians*, who had entered into the war only to preserve the ballance of power in *Italy* against the *Veronese*, had been sparing of their own citizens, but had taken into their pay a body of *German*, and other mercenaries; whom the *Veronese*, seeing his capital in danger from *Rossi*, prevailed upon, by the force of money, to join him. *Rossi*, at this time, had an eye upon *Padua*, and notwithstanding this desertion, he proceeded with great vigour against *Bovolenta*, which lies within seven miles of that city, while *Lucino Visconti*, marched with an army consisting of *Milanese*, *Ferrarese*, and *Mantuan*s, against *Verona* itself, and was joined by two thousand four hundred horse, under *Marfilio*, *Rossi*'s brother. The fate attending almost all confederacies, attended this, through the want of unanimity among the parties. When *Lucino* was within two miles of *Verona*, the *Veronese* offered him battle; but though superior in numbers he declined it, and his army disbanded itself. *Rossi* being thus left singly to oppose the whole power of the *Veronese*, was at first reduced to prodigious straits, from which he extricated himself by his address, and was joined by a body of troops which had still kept together under his brother *Marfilio*.

The scale of war now preponderated against the *Veronese*, The *Veronese* who had been so industrious in destroying *Rossi*'s provisions, *Veronese* defeated, that he had left none for himself; so that his army was daily diminished by desertion, and he was obliged to abandon a very advantageous camp he had chosen. *Padua* thus fell into the hands of *Rossi*, the cities of *Feltri*, *Brescia*, and *Bergamo*, were reduced by the confederates, and *Alberto*, brother to the *Veronese* prince, was sent prisoner to *Venice*. The joy of the confederates for those successes was damped by the death of the brave *Rossi*, who was killed in storming *Monfelicie*. He was succeeded in his command by his brother *Orlando*; the other brother *Marfilio*, dying of grief. *Orlando* prosecuted the war with great vigour and success, and after defeating the *Veronese* in several battles, he laid siege to *Vicenza*. The doge of *Verona* having thus lost all his ill acquired

and reduced to ask for peace.

acquired conquests, was obliged to sue to the *Venetians* for peace. They granted it, on condition, that the marquise of *Trevise*, one of the finest estates in *Italy*, should remain to themselves; that *Feltri*, with other two places, should be ceded to *Charles of Bohemia*, who had assisted the confederates, and that the *Florentines* should enjoy their conquests in the *Lucchese*, with *Pescia*, and *Bugiani*. The latter disapproved of those terms; but the *Venetians*, who thought that the *Veronese* prince was sufficiently reduced, forced them to accept of them; and thus the peace of *Lombardy*, and *Tuscany* was restored for some time.

History of the arts in *Italy*.

The progress of the arts, ought always to find a place in history, especially that of *Italy*, the first nation that emerged from barbarism, after the long *Gothic* night, that had for some years before this period overspread *Europe*. The use of reading glasses resembling spectacles, was now discovered by one *Spina*, a *Dominican* monk, in *Pisa*. Windmills are pretty much of the same date, but the discovery probably came from the *Greeks*, or the *Saracens*, to whom they had been long known. *Faenza* was distinguished for its manufacturing of certain earthen ware, resembling porcelain. Glass manufactures had been erected, but the commodity was yet scarce, though the *Venetians* had carried it to such perfection, that at the time we treat of they made mirrors. Even clocks and clockwork were not then unknown in *Italy*; and though the magnet had been long known, yet the use of the compass in sailing, if known, was a secret, and confined to very few. *Padua*, about this time, had the honour of introducing the manufacture of paper, by pounded rags. The inhabitants of *Italy* were then strangers to many other conveniences of life; they were awkward even in the cultivation of their vines, and tapers and candles were rare. The common people were just beginning to wear linnen shirts; but the culture and manufacture of silk, and embroidery was known, though worn only by persons of high distinction; as were utensils of gold and silver.

Money.

The value of the current specie of *Italy* at this time, was very uncertain, and its possession unequal. The vast trade of the *Venetians* to *Asia*, certainly supplied them with great quantities, which circulated through the manufacturing and trading states of *Italy*, particularly *Florence*, as appears from the immense sum which they engaged to pay to the doge of *Verona*. The *Florentines*, however, had other resources. They were the only people of *Italy* who traded with *France* and *England*, and they had twenty *per cent.* interest for their money, which was always acceptable to those nations, as they were always embroiled in wars. The art of building, with stone and marble materials, was almost confined wholly to the *Italian* cities, and villas, and the in-

fant

ant revival of painting and architecture, was owing to the *Florentines*, who, of all the other *Italians*, had the truest genius for the fine arts, which they cultivated amidst their most destructive wars. As a proof of this, the famous quadrangular marble tower, which *Giotto* erected at *Florence*, in 1335, and which is still standing, may be appealed to. *Brunnelleschi*, at the same time, and in the same city, revived and practised the true principles of civil architecture. Painting owed its revival to *Ciambue*, another *Florentine*, who was the father of the modern painters, and the master of *Giotto*. Many of their pictures are yet beheld with admiration, and discover true taste, with an amazing strength of genius. The language of the *Italians* began now to form itself into ease and elegance, under *Petrarch* and *Dante*; the former the subject, and the latter, a native, of *Florence*. *Petrarch* was courted and rewarded by all the princes of his age; and *Dante*, who was elder in point of time, makes no inconsiderable figure in the history of his own country. To them succeeded *Boccace*, who compleated the purity of the *Tuscan* language.

Voltaire, in treating of the manners and customs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, says, that all those beautiful inventions were owing to the *Italians* only, and the strength of their genius; and that the *Greeks*, who afterwards came over to *Italy*, could only teach the *Florentines* their language. His opinion is owing to his inattention to the *Italian* historians. It is certain, that the intercourse between *Greece* and *Italy* had, for some ages before this, been so frequent, that we cannot imagine the *Italians* to have been ignorant of the *Greek* arts; and there is little doubt that the *Italians* adopted many of them. The barbarity into which *Greece* afterwards fell, and the progress which *Italy*, on the other hand, has made in literature, have stifled those facts, and left the *Italians* at liberty to engross the whole merit of being the sole revivers of the arts. As to the ignorance of the *Greeks* in all but their own language, that historian must own himself to be mistaken, when he reflects that true philosophy was yet unknown in *Italy*, and that it was introduced by the *Greeks*, who taught it in their own language, because they knew no other. For the truth of this, we need but appeal to the elegant history of *Aretine*, who was one of their first disciples. But it is now proper we should return to our history.

Pope *John*, still residing at *Avignon*, and having rejected all terms of accommodation with the emperor *Lewis*, the princes of *Europe* began now to detest him. We have already mentioned that emperor's proceedings against him, and he died just at the time when he was making advances for a reconciliation with *Lewis*, on the fourth of *December*. The incredible sums he left behind him, and the means of his birth and character, have likewise been already mentioned,

The fine
arts.

ibid.

p. 29.

Death of
the pope.

Succeed- mentioned. He was succeeded, in a most unaccountable manner, by one *Tournier*, a *Cistercian* monk, who took upon himself the name of *Benedict XII.* He made the cardinal electors, who were in number, twenty-four, a present of one hundred thousand golden florins, and he sent fifty thousand to *Rome.* He began his pontificate by abolishing several simoniacal practices of his predecessor, and introducing others of his own. He issued bulls and letters, for suppressing heresy, particularly in *Germany* and *Bohemia*; and the *Romans*, at last, agreed to govern their city in his name, as their master; a resolution which they came to through their intestine divisions.

His go- The emperor remained under sentence of excommunication. **vernment.** tion, from which *Benedict* refused to absolve him; but upon the former offering him, in a manner, his own terms, he would have agreed to an accommodation, had it not been that the kings of *France*, *Naples*, and *Bohemia*, found it their interest to keep the emperor embroiled, to prevent his joining *Edward III.* of *England*, who had invaded *France.* The negotiation breaking off, the pope applied himself to ecclesiastical and monastical regulations in *Italy*, and excommunicated the *Bolognese* for contumacy. He endeavoured to make peace between the kings of *England* and *France*; but though he was respected by both parties, he *ibid. ibid.* was successful with neither. *Benedict* then offered to be reconciled to the emperor, if he would abandon *Edward*, but met with a refusal, and underwent many mortifications from *Lewis* and the *German* princes. *Frederic* king of *Tri-nacria*, was now dead, and *Benedict* laid his subjects under an interdict, because they refused to accept of him as their master; but he gave the investiture of *Sardinia* and *Corfica* to the king of *Arragon.* About this time, the *Greek* emperor renewed his applications to the holy see, for an union between the *Greek* and *Latin* churches; but the pope perceiving that this was only a bait thrown out for his obtaining assistance against the *Turks*, the negotiation came to nothing.

and power The troubles in which the emperor was involved in *Ger-*
in Italy. many, rendered *Benedict* very powerful in *Italy.* *Azo*, of *Milan*, was now dead, and his brother, and successor, *Lucino*, purchased the vicariate of *Italy*, from *Benedict*, at the rate of fifty thousand florins in gold, and an annual tribute of ten thousand. The other princes and states of *Lombardy* and *Tuscany*, deserting the cause of the emperor, obtained from his holiness a confirmation of the rights and possessions they had usurped, which erected them, in fact, into so many independent sovereignties. The doge of *Verona*, whose true name was *Escala*, or *Scaliger*, paid him five thousand florins, for the vicariate of *Verona* and *Vicenza*; *Gonzaga* bought that of *Mantua* and *Reggio*; the *Carrara* family, that of *Padua*; and *Este*, that of *Ferrara* and *Modena.* All these
are

are facts that immediately concern the history of *Italy*; but were we to extend it to the history of the popes, it would comprehend that of all *Europe*, and therefore the reader must consult such parts of this work, as those particulars fall under. *Benedict* died at *Avignon*, in *April*, 1342, and was succeeded by *Clement VI.* The emperor, by this time, had resumed the prosecution of his rights in *Italy*, and had appointed imperial vicars, in opposition to those of the pope. This alarmed the *Romans* so much, that they invited his holiness to repair from *Avignon*, to *Rome*; but he excused himself on account of the engagements he was under to finish the disputes between the kings of *England* and *France*. At the request of the *Romans*, who sent him deputies for that purpose, among whom was *Petrarch*, (the poet laureat to the king of *Naples*) he fixed a new jubilee to the fiftieth, that is, the middle, year of the century. He preached up A new
a new crusade against the *Turks*, and he excommunicated crusade.
the emperor, who resigned himself entirely to his will; but the rights of the empire were vindicated by the diet of *Frankfort*. His agents were either imprisoned in or expelled out of *England*, for their insolent demands of money; but he had the glory to make a *Spanish* nobleman king of the *Canary Islands*, the knowledge of which had been then recovered in *Europe*, on condition of his converting the inhabitants to popery.

Robert king of *Naples*, after the emperor's departure from Affairs of
Germany lost his only son the duke of *Calabria*; this did not *Naples* and
prevent his prosecuting the war with the *Sicilians*, but without *Sicily*.
any remarkable event happening; and he married the daughter to the duke of *Calabria*, (who had died without male issue) to *Andrew*, the second son of his own nephew, by an elder brother to the king of *Hungary*, tho' the bridegroom was but seven years of age and the bride five. The *Sicilian* war still went on, but *Peter* the son of *Frederick* king of *Trinacria*, proving a weak prince, *Robert* endeavoured to end the war between them, by persuading *Peter* to resign to him the kingdom of *Sicily*, in lieu of *Sardinia*. This proposition had no effect, and in the year 1338, the *Neapolitans* again invaded *Sicily* under his nephew *Charles of Durazzo*, who was obliged to return to *Naples* after reducing *Tremole*. The war thus continued for several years, without any considerable effort on either side till the death of *Peter* in 1342.

The history of *Sicily* and *Naples* at this period exhibits Death of
a lively image of the love of independency and the effects king *Ro-*
of papal power. The family of *Anjou* had no right to bert of
the crown of *Naples* but what was given them by the *Naples*.
pope's donation, and if that was invalid, they were usurpers. Possession, however, had given them a right; and such was the slavish prejudices of the time, that all *Europe* considered them as lawful monarchs. They had the same original right to *Sicily* as to *Naples*, but the *Sicilians* vindicated their liberties

liberties by the general massacre of the *French* and *Provincials*, and had for fifty years, with amazing intrepidity, maintained upon the throne the princes they had chosen to protect their liberties against the pope, the older branches of the house of *Arragon*, and the house of *Anjou*. Upon the death of *Peter*, this glorious spirit subsided. The *Sicilians* were divided by the arts and gold of *Robert*, who gained a great party of them to his interest; and though a regent of the kingdom had been appointed, they surprized *Messina*, which they lost again by not being timely supported by *Robert*. That prince died in the year 1343, and he is celebrated in history, as excelling, in civil and literary accomplishments, any king of his age.

Succeeded
by queen
Jean.

He was succeeded by his grand-daughter, *Jean*, who, though still a minor, was crowned queen, while her husband, *Andrew*, had no higher title than that of duke of *Calabria*. His preceptor *Robert*, a friar, had, in fact, all the executive power of the kingdom; and would have brought about a match between *Jean's* sister, the princess *Mary*, and *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*; who, in right of his ancestor's primogeniture, was heir to *Charles II.* his great grandfather, and consequently to the crown of *Naples*. This match was prevented by *Charles of Durazzo* marrying the lady. The queen dowager of *Hungary*, in a visit she paid to *Naples*, after performing all the ridiculous superstitions of the times, which were then termed acts of piety, thought she discovered in her daughter *Jean*, a most immodest behaviour. The *Neapolitans*, in general, were for crowning *Andrew*, as king, in his own right. The pope, who had appointed his legate *Americanus* to take care of the affairs of the kingdom, refused to grant the bull of coronation till the king of *Hungary*, as is said, bribed him with 44,000 marks. This was a vast disappointment to other princes of the blood, and they entered into a conspiracy to murder *Andrew*. Some pretend that the queen was accessory to this conspiracy. Tho' this is not very probable, yet there is room for thinking that she was disgusted with her husband, and it is certain he was barbarously murdered by the princes and the nobles at *Aversa*. *Jean* returned to *Naples*, from whence she wrote a vindication of her own innocence as to the murder of the king of *Hungary*; but by this time the public had been poisoned with prejudices against her on account of her indifference towards her husband. She was accused of a criminal intercourse with the prince of *Taranto* and other persons about her court; and about three months after her husband's death, she was brought to bed of a son, who was created duke of *Calabria*.

Murder
of her
husband,

In the mean while, the public was seized with horror at the murder of *Andrew*, which was attended with the most shocking circumstances of cruelty to his person; and a commission passed, appointing the count of *Novello* to en-
quiro

quire into the murder, and to bring the guilty to condign punishment. This commission was confirmed by the pope, and many of the murderers were judicially put to death. The profligate manners of the *Neapolitans* at this time were beyond description, and the springs of *Andrew's* murder are to this day unknown. *Charles of Durazzo*, and the nobility, accused the queen, but she was in possession of the castle of *Naples*, and the royal treasures. Both parties took arms, and robberies and murders filled every corner of the kingdom, during a total cessation of justice and government. *Lewis of Hungary*, now asserted his hereditary right to the crown of *Naples*. He concluded an alliance with the regent of *Sicily*; but on account of his connections with the emperor, the pope refused to grant him the bull of investiture. Notwithstanding this, he pursued his right of succession, and invaded *Naples*, where he had a vast number of friends, and many principal cities and forts were delivered into his hands. He was opposed by the duke of *Durazzo*, and in the mean while, queen *Jean* married *Lewis*, the second son of the prince of *Tarento*, the same with whom she had been caluminated in her husband's life time; but as they were cousin Germans, and had not obtained the pope's dispensation, the marriage was looked upon as incestuous. The strong prepossessions which on that account lay against *Jean*, especially among the ecclesiastics, renders her history very doubtful, and it must be read with caution. Her aversion for her husband had been inspired and fomented by wicked agents about her own person, particularly by her favorite the famous *Philippa of Catanea*. Some political considerations contributed to confirm it. Friar *Robert* entirely governed *Andrew*, who was beset with *Hungarians*; the *Neapolitans* looked on them as barbarians, and the friends of *Jean*, by her own consent, opposed his being declared king in his own right.

The king of *Hungary*, who had now dropt all thoughts of the crown of *Naples*, accused her publicly of his brother's murder, and her husband raised an army; but the progress of the *Hungarians* was so great, that it was soon disbanded. The queen at first solicited the *Florentines* for assistance, but they were too much divided among themselves to give her any; and she and her husband escaped with a few galleys to *Provence*, while all the kingdom of *Naples* submitted to the king of *Hungary*. The reader is to observe, that *Jean* was queen of *Provence*, in right of her ancestor *Charles of Anjou*, as well as of *Naples*, and consequently *Avignon*, the residence of the popes, was part of her inheritance. *Clement VI.* purchased the property of that city for eighty thousand florins in gold, which were never paid; but the bargain being struck, made the pope her friend. The *Provençals*, when *Jean* arrived among them, were afraid that she intended to dispose of their whole country

country likewise to the king of *France*; and so greatly did they hate a *French* government, that they put her under confinement, till they became sensible that their apprehensions were groundless.

and re-
turns to
Hungary.

In the mean while, the king of *Naples* was in possession of his nephew the young duke of *Calabria's* person, who was about two years old, and had settled the affairs of the kingdom as a conqueror; but greatly to the dissatisfaction of the *Neapolitans*, because he put them into the hands of *Germans* and *Hungarians*. He displaced all the magistrates of *Naples*, and made the bishop of *Waradin*, the governor of the city, and lieutenant of the kingdom; while he gave the command of the army to one *Wolf*, a *German* nobleman; after which, on the 24th of *May*, 1348, he returned to *Hungary*.

Queen
Jean is
pronounc-
ed inno-
cent.

Jean being freed from her confinement, was received at *Avignon* by the pope with the greatest honours. He immediately granted her a dispensation for her marriage, and two *Hungarian* ambassadors having arrived there to accuse her, the pope appointed her a day for clearing her innocence before his consistory. She appeared accordingly, and pleaded her cause with such eloquence and strength of reasoning, that she was declared innocent, not only by the pope but the general voice; and an authentic act was drawn up, by which she was pronounced to be innocent and free from the suspicion of murder. We shall not deny that her acquittal might in a great measure be owing to her making his holiness her friend. It is certain, that from that day her affairs took a remarkable turn in her favour; but the magnanimous conduct of the king of *Hungary* is not to be forgot. *Jean* had consented to offer him three hundred thousand crowns to purchase his friendship, and to indemnify him for the expence of his expedition. His answer was, "That he would not purchase the price of his brother's blood, but revenge it, which having done, as far as lay in his power, he was satisfied." The *Neapolitans* were so disgusted with their new *Hungarian* government, that they took the first opportunity to invite their queen back to their capital, where she was received with extasies of joy, her husband having been created by the pope, king of *Sicily*; which brings us back to the history of that island.

Affairs of
Sicily.

The regent of *Sicily* by this time was dead, a famine raged in the country, and, a most cruel civil war broke out among the heads of the parties who pretended to succeed him. *Jean's* husband, who was now called king of *Naples*, was a candidate for his own nominal kingdom, but found great difficulty in recovering many places of *Naples* itself, which were held by *Germans*, who had followed the fortune of the king of *Hungary*, and had no other reward than the possessions they acquired by the sword. The pope's legate interposed, and purchased *Capua*, *Aversa*, and other places they

they held, for one hundred and twenty thousand florins ; upon which they returned to *Germany*. The king of *Hungary* being dissatisfied at the acquittal of queen *Jean*, again invaded the kingdom of *Naples*, where he made a considerable progress, and spent four months in the siege of *Aversa*. Being unable to continue the war in a country where his government and nation were detested, he agreed to an accommodation, which stipulated, that *Jean* should be again tried for the murder of her husband, and if found guilty, that the king of *Hungary* should enter into possession of the kingdom of *Naples*, and that if innocent, he should receive three hundred thousand golden florins, on condition of his evacuating all the places he held in *Naples*. The queen confessed that she never had loved her husband, but imputed her dislike to the power of fascination ; a defence, which was admitted by the cardinals who tried her, and she was again declared to be innocent. In the mean while, her young son *Carobert*, died in *Hungary*, and that king was so well satisfied with the determination of the cardinals, that he not only set at liberty all his prisoners, and delivered up the places he held in the kingdom, but refused to accept of the three hundred thousand florins.

Queen
Jean
again ac-
quitted.

In those days, a pacification between principal parties did not always restore tranquillity to a country. Numbers of adventurers embarked in every expedition, and if not satisfied, either by being paid their wages, or occupying the places they had conquered, they equally plundered both parties. Even after the king of *Hungary* had evacuated *Naples*, the *Germans* who attended him continued to desolate the country, and though they were defeated by the king, yet *Wolf* refused to deliver up *Nocera*, unless he received thirty thousand florins, which were accordingly paid him ; and upon his leaving the kingdom, the king recovered *Aversa*. A noble *Sicilian*, one *Matthew Palizzi*, was at this time master of *Sicily*, and the person of its young king ; but his government was so intollerable, that the inhabitants put him, his wife and children to death. He was succeeded in his power by the count of *Claramont*, the head of the opposite faction, who put himself under the protection of the king of *Naples*. *Sicily* was then most miserably distressed by famine, and in danger of being depopulated by the inhabitants removing to other countries. They were relieved by *Lewis*, king of *Naples* ; upon which great part of *Sicily* acknowledged him for their sovereign. He had not power sufficient to support his new acquisition, and he was at this time in danger of losing his kingdom, by the duke of *Durazzo*, who had broken out in rebellion, and headed the malecontents and *Germans*, who still remained in the kingdom. This rebellion arrived to a great height through the indolence of the king. By this time, the king of *Sicily*, who was now seventeen years of age, had made some

some noble efforts to recover his cities from his rebels, and the *Neapolitans*. He besieged *Palermo*, but could not take it, and soon after, he died, as did his second brother *John*; and his third brother *Frederic*, who was but thirteen years of age, became king, under the tuition of his eldest sister *Euphemia*.

suppressed.
ed.

The king of *Naples*, with great difficulty prevailed with the malecontents and *Germans* to quit his kingdom, or lay down their arms; and having never laid aside his design on the crown of *Sicily*, he became, by the assistance of one of the parties in that island, master of *Messina*, and was acknowledged king of *Sicily* by the inhabitants, in the year 1357. *Simon*, count of *Claramont*, was the great instrument in this revolution; but being thought to entertain some aspiring views, by demanding the sister of the young king, who was a prisoner, in marriage; it was believed that he was taken off by poison, and his friends declaring themselves against the *Neapolitan* interest, the king of *Naples* was obliged to return to his own kingdom, where a rebellion, headed by his eldest brother, and *Charles of Durazzo*, was raging. This rebellion being with great difficulty suppressed, *Lewis* promised the *Messineans* to return to *Sicily*, but was too much immersed in pleasure to fulfil his word. *Frederic*, the young king of *Sicily*, had been married to the king of *Arragon's* daughter, and took advantage of the indolence of *Lewis*, to reduce the greatest part of the island to his obedience; and in the year 1362 *Lewis* died.

Charles
IV. em-
peror.

The disputes between pope *Clement* and the *Germans*, raged in the year 1345; but next year he received a visit at *Avignon*, from *John* king of *Bohemia*, to request him to favour the pretensions of his son, *Charles*, marquis of *Moravia*, who was a candidate for the *German* empire. *Clement* laid hold of that opportunity to extort from *Charles* a promise, that, if ever he should obtain possession of the imperial crown, he would annul the decrees of all former emperors that had passed to the prejudice of the holy see, and renounced all pretensions to the succession of the countess *Matilda*. Those terms were sworn to both by *Charles*, and his father, and proved fatal to the imperial interest in *Italy*. *Charles* was chosen emperor, and having confirmed his oath to the pope, the pope confirmed his election. The residence of *Clement* at *Avignon*, which we are now to consider as his own property, rendered that city and its neighbourhood, the most agreeable spot in *Europe*. The papal revenues far exceeded those of any temporal prince, and the prodigious resort of all ranks of mankind, from all quarters of the world, to that court, was of infinite service to the *French* in general. His holiness there held the ballance of *Europe*, uncontrouled by the turbulence of the *Romans* and *Italian* states; and the superstitious credulity of the times preserved his authority sacred.

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The *Romans*, on the other hand, had never forgot their History of former greatness, and upon the smallest respite from domestic faction, their republican ideas returned. They had been so much harrassed by their dissensions, that they more than once had invited the pope to return to their city. One *Rienzo*, a man of the lowest birth, but of a good education, volatile, active, and eloquent, was among the deputies sent to *Clement* with an invitation, which his holiness declined. Upon the return of the deputies, the people were assembled, and *Rienzo* harangued them. He assured them, that the seat of the pontificate was perpetually transferred to *Avignon*, that their city, once the mistress of universal empire, was in a deplorable situation, by having the pope, a master, who had no regard for her liberties or interest, and governed her by proxy. His audience believed him, and named him their tribune. By a fatality not uncommon in history, this defender of liberty (as he called himself) was invested with, and exercised, the most despotic power. He expelled from the senate all the members who had been nominated by the pope. He banished the *Colonnæ*, the *Ursini*, and many other noble families, as being the excrescences of the republic; and he even put some of them to death for peculation and oppression.

It is incredible with what success this fanatic extended his authority by the powerful flattery of sounds, and an affected adherence to justice. He signified his election to the other cities of *Italy*, who acknowledged *Rome* as their mother, and in the person of *Rienzo* felicitated her on the near prospect she had of recovering her ancient liberty and empire. Some foreign states paid a reverential obedience to this upstart, through the magic of the titles he assumed; which were those of the "Severe and merciful deliverer of *Rome*, the stickler for the liberties of *Italy*, and the lover of all mankind." *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, became his ally, and even pleaded against queen *Jean*, in person, before his tribunal. He was appealed to by other sovereigns, in the same manner as the *European*, and *Asiatic* states used to appeal to the ancient *Roman* republic. He issued his decrees of liberty to all the *Italian* states, whom he enobled by creating them denizens of *Rome*, and they returned him their thanks by sending him gold rings, as marks of their acknowledgment. He was pitched upon by the queen of *Naples*, to be the mediator between her and the king of *Hungary*; and his declining that office was almost the only proof of sanity which he exhibited during his exaltation. Even the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* courted his friendship, and pope *Clement*, from *Avignon*, signified an approbation of his conduct; but intimated, at the same time, that he considered him only as his substitute. He was then at such a height of fancied greatness that his brain turned. He declared himself independent of the pope; he revived the

rites of knight errantry in their most extravagant forms; he declared *Rome* to be the mistress of the world, and he summoned the competitors for the *German* empire to appear as vassals before his tribunal.

His fall.

Even those extravagancies, great and incredible as they were, would not perhaps have hurt *Rienzo*, had he not bathed himself in the baptismal font of *Constantine the Great*, as a preparative for his receiving the arms of knighthood from the syndic of *Rome*. This was a proof of his insanity, that struck the meanest of the people, and the pope laid hold of it, by publishing several bulls, and condemning him for heresy and schism. His adherents began now to flink from him; and the banished nobility entering *Rome* by surprize, *Rienzo* fled to the king of *Hungary*, who was then at *Naples*, and who considered him with as much contempt, as he had formerly done with reverence. It is said, that after leading, for some months, a most miserable life in disguise, he was carried prisoner to *Avignon*, and afterwards sacrificed to the resentment of the *Roman* nobility. At this

A dreadful plague in Italy.

time a most dreadful famine raged all over *Europe*, especially in *Italy*, which had most terrible effects. The famine brought on a plague, and those two calamities carried off near one hundred thousand persons in the city of *Florence* alone. The *Florentines* were then the wisest, the most flourishing, and perhaps the most virtuous people, in *Europe*. They not only opened their public granaries, but bought up vast quantities of corn from *Sicily*, *Africa*, and *Sardinia*, for the relief of their poor. Their charity extended even to the subjects of other states, and was a public blessing to *Italy*. But this visitation proved a scourge to the inhabitants, and, instead of reforming them, corrupted their manners. The survivors of the great and rich families, being but few in proportion to the wealth they inherited, plunged themselves into all manner of vice, and the contagion was communicated to the ecclesiastics, who had been enriched by the bequests and legacies of those that were carried off in the general mortality.

Affairs of Rome,

In other countries the people took another turn. The sect of *Flagellants* arose, or rather was revived, and they scourged themselves so furiously, especially in *Germany*, and *Hungary*, in their public processions, that the pope was obliged to interpose his authority for putting a stop to the frenzy. *Cantacuzenus*, the *Greek* historian and emperor, about this time cultivated the friendship of *Clement*, and proposed to effect the union of the two churches by a general council, consisting of prelates of both persuasions. It is thought, that in the year 1350, during the jubilee, above a million of foreign pilgrims visited *Rome*, and that scarcely a tenth part of them returned to their own countries; so much did the plague still rage in *Italy*. The *Romans* were the chief gainers by those superstitious pilgrimages, which
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the pope was at last obliged to check, for which they expelled his legate from the city; and some say, that he and his relations were poisoned in *Campania*. But even this check brought vast wealth to the pontifical coffers; for it consisted in dispensations, which the legates were empowered to sell to all who desired to be excused from performing the pilgrimage, or to return home before the time prescribed for it was expired.

The affairs of *Lombardy* now underwent a great alteration. *Lombardy, Giovanni, or John, Visconti*, in this year was both bishop and lord of *Milan*. His ambition was not unknown to the pope, the *Florentines*, and other states, and a confederacy was set on foot against him, but he found means to defeat it, and to make himself master of *Bologna*; upon which he was excommunicated by the pope. *Visconti's* profound dissimulation procured him many friends, both in *Lombardy* and *Tuscany*; and, under pretence that the *Florentines* had an intention to sieze *Bologna*, he sent an army to attack them, consisting of ten thousand horse, and six thousand foot, besides a number of auxiliaries, and volunteers. *Olegiano*, one of his kinsmen, was his general, and he depended upon the dissensions among the *Florentines* for his admission into that noble city; but was disappointed. He next practised with the *Pisans*, to break their alliance with *Florence*; but *Gambacurti*, a noble *Pisan*, exposed his ambition to his countrymen so effectually, that *Visconti* was baffled in all his attempts. The *Florentines* augmented their army, and obliged that of *Visconti* to return to the *Bolognese*. It was during this campaign, that the illustrious family of *Medici* began to distinguish themselves in that republic, from whom they received public rewards and honours, which excited the jealousy of the other nobles. When the campaign was over, the *Florentines* found that, through the power and practices of *Visconti*, they had no confederates they could depend upon but the *Arezzians*, the *Perugians*, and the *Siennese*. They sent deputies to the pope at *Avignon*; but they returned only with fair promises; *Visconti's* money having gained him over. *Charles IV. of the house of Luxembourg*, was then emperor of *Germany*, and the *Florentines* turned their eyes towards him. *Charles* was well disposed to assist them, as he secretly intended to revive the imperial interest in *Italy*, but he sought leave from the pope. His holiness, though he mortally hated *Visconti*, thought him a less formidable enemy than *Charles* would prove, if he became master of *Lombardy*; and he not only dissuaded *Charles* from the expedition, but came to an accomodation with *Visconti*. He even relinquished to him the possession of *Bologna*; and the *Florentines* were forced to offer *Charles* a sum of money for his assistance.

Visconti still imagined, that he could reduce *Florence* either by policy or arms, but he failed in both. The

Florentines out negotiated him with their neighbours; and the vast riches which flowed in upon them from commerce, enabled them to keep considerable armies on foot. *Visconti* had not sufficiently considered the last mentioned circumstance, and was in daily hopes of their riches being exhausted. Finding himself thus deceived, he employed *Gambacurti*, at *Pisa*, to negotiate for him an accommodation with the *Florentines*, which took effect, greatly to the credit of the latter, and lasted during the remainder of *Visconti's* life.

Affairs of
England

and *Tus-*
cany.

In the year 1351, pope *Clement* received a most dreadful mortification from *England*, by the parliament voting perpetual imprisonment to be the punishment of any one who should accept an *English* benefice by the pope's gift. This, and many other measures of the same kind, were owing to the partiality which the pope had all along discovered for the *French*, in their wars with *England*. *Clement*, the same year, was embarrassed by the *Romans*, who became again proud, and factious, through the immense wealth they had obtained by the jubilee. Towards the end of the year, he had a message from the emperor *Charles of Luxembourg*, acquainting him of his intention to revive the imperial claims in *Italy*; and at the same time the confederate states of *Tuscany* applied to him against *Visconti*. That great commander and politician was now master of *Milan*, and determined, if possible, to reduce *Florence*. His general, *Olegiano*, again marched into *Tuscany* with an army of sixteen thousand men; and he had prevailed with the pope, and the *French* court, to remain neutral. The *Florentines* then threw their eyes on the emperor for relief; but while the negociation was in dependence, they found they had been deceived by the pope, and they acted with so much vigour that they obliged *Visconti* to agree to an advantageous peace with them. The *Florentines*, upon this, dismissed their foreign mercenaries, who consisted of *French*, and *German* banditti; but this was far from contributing to the tranquility of *Italy*. Those mercenaries chose one *Moriali* for their head, and being in number above twelve thousand veteran troops, they laid all *Tuscany* under contribution. In the mean while, *Clement* died at *Avignon* in the month of *December* 1352, and was succeeded by *Innocent VI.*

Innocent
VI. pope.

This pontiff began his reign by the shew of a vigorous reformation in the lives and morals of ecclesiastics; and sent *Alvarez*, a *Spaniard*, as his legate to *Italy*. At *Rome*, one *Baroncelli*, had again assumed the tribuneship, and *St. Peter's* patrimony was parcelled out among the neighbouring temporal princes, who had no other right to it than the longest sword. The army of the banditti under *Moriali* daily encreased, and all *Italy* became such a scene of confusion, that it is impossible to reduce its history at this time, into any order. Notwithstanding those public calamities,

mities, *Innocent* remained tranquil at *Avignon*, where he received ambassadors from all parts of the world, disposed of crowns, burned heretics, and exercised other offices of pontifical jurisdiction. The famous *Visconti* was now dead, and the emperor *Charles* was in *Lombardy* with a weak army. The *Visconti* family however, gave him some money for conferring on them the vicariate of the empire in *Lombardy*, and the estates they possessed. He received the iron crown at *Milan*; he was afterwards crowned at *Rome*; but finding his authority despised in *Italy*, he returned to *Germany*. The ravages which continued to be committed by the banditti are inexpressible, and they invaded *Naples* itself, where they took *Pescara*, *Villa Franca*, and *San Fabiano*. In the year 1355, *Moriali* being dead, they were commanded by the count de *Lando*, and were then known under the title of the *Grand Company*. They obliged *Lewis*, king of *Naples*, to promise to pay them one hundred and five thousand florins, of which they received only thirty five thousand; but they indemnified themselves for the remainder by plundering his subjects.

Naples plundered.

Lewis, in the year 1356, having prevailed with the *Grand Company* to evacuate his dominions, got possession of *Messina*, where he was received as of king *Sicily*. In 1362, he lost all possession of, and interest in, *Sicily*. *Urban V.* then succeeded to the popedom, *Lewis* died, and queen *Jean* married for her third husband *James of Majorca*. This princess continued to be pestered with censure, and her fate was very singular. She was accused of having hastened, by poison, the death of her husband *Lewis*, and soon after her marriage her third husband *James* being taken prisoner in *Spain*, she was obliged to ransom him for sixty thousand florins. Whatever peculiarities of fortune might attend queen *Jean*, she was far from being deficient in understanding. She obliged *Frederic* king of *Sicily* to conclude a peace with her that was both honourable and advantageous to her dominions; but her third husband dying, she fell under suspicion of having poisoned him likewise. Being a widow, she visited pope *Urban*, who now resided at *Rome*, and was received with sovereign honours, in the year 1368, at which time her niece *Margaret* married *Charles of Durazzo*, who was the only remnant of the *Anjouvine* family in *Naples*.

Queen *Jean* marries *James of Majorca*.

Galeazzo Visconti, was at this time duke of *Milan*, and his son *John* had married the *French* king's daughter; but the pope being jealous of his greatness, excommunicated him and all his family, and invited the emperor and the king of *Hungary* to exterminate them. *Barnabo Visconti*, natural brother to the duke of *Milan*, was the *Milaneze* general, and despising all the fulminations of the pope, he compelled him to agree to pay an annuity of twenty thousand florins, for five years, to the *Visconti* family. Even this

War in *Lombardy*.

did not purchase the quiet of the ecclesiastical state, which *Barnabo* continued to molest; but he was, by *Malatesta*, obliged to raise the siege of *Bologna*. The *Romans* at this time renewed their factions, despised the pope, and underwent various forms of government. Pope *Innocent*, then resided at *Avignon*, and was on no good terms with the emperor, who encouraged the *Romans* again to expel their nobility. They then proceeded to chuse one *Lelius Bonadota* for their governor; but they were soon reduced by the nobles, who re-entered *Rome* with an army. Upon the death of *Innocent*, *Urban V.* was chosen pope. He affected to be a thorough reformer of the lives and discipline of churchmen, and set them an example in his own person, by living with the same austerity he had practised before his exaltation.

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seq.

This exemplary conduct procured *Urban* great respect. He was visited by the king of *France*, and *Barnabo of Milan* desired his friendship. *Urban* threatened to excommunicate him if he did not immediately deliver up all the places he had seized belonging to the holy see. *Barnabo* was favoured by the *French* king, but despising the menaces of the pope, he was actually excommunicated, and his army defeated in the *Modenese* by the *Guelph* party. This humbled *Barnabo* so greatly, that he gave up all the ecclesiastical possessions he held in *Bologna*, *Modena*, and *Romagna*; upon which he was absolved from his excommunication, and the pope engaged to pay him a great sum of money for the fortifications he had raised in the ceded places. *Urban*, like his predecessors, employed his time chiefly in exhorting the *Christian* princes whom he was most afraid of, to undertake expeditions against the infidels, and in sending legates to all parts of the known world, to make proselytes to the church of *Rome*. As those transactions seldom or never terminated in any effect, we shall not here be particular in relating them. The *Visconti* family becoming again formidable to his holiness, he granted the emperor *Charles*, the tythes of his ecclesiastical livings in the empire, on condition of his undertaking an expedition into *Italy* against them. He desired the *Venetians*, and the *Genoese*, to lend him their galleys to conduct him to *Rome*, where the people were now disposed to receive him, all the land passes being occupied by the banditti, or the *Visconti* troops. The galleys were accordingly sent to *Marseilles*, in the beginning of the year 1367, and the pope having left *Avignon* went on board them. He was, upon his landing at *Cornetto*, in *Tuscany*, received with raptures of joy, and the warlike cardinal *Ægidius*, at the head of a deputation of *Romans*, presented him with the keys of the castle of *St. Angelo*.

The pope
returns to
Rome.

This removal from *Avignon* to *Rome*, was more beneficial to the holy see than to the cardinals, and the great officers attending the court of his holiness. They had left *Avignon* with

with great reluctance ; but cardinal *Ægidius* had been so successful against the *Visconti*, that the pope was now a great temporal prince, and was enabled to form a powerful confederacy of the *Italian* and other states, against those aspiring masters of *Milan*. *Urban*, upon his arrival at *Rome*, renewed his attention to the reformation of church discipline, and excommunicated *Peter the Cruel*, king of *Castile*, who threatened to throw off the papal yoke, and actually was preparing to invade the ecclesiastical state ; when *Urban* thought proper to absolve him.

In the year 1368, *Urban* appeared in great splendor at *Rome*, where he was visited by the queen of *Naples*, and the king of *Cyprus*. This accomodation was the more necessary, as the power of the *Visconti* was daily encreasing, and the emperor *Charles* was actually in *Italy* at the head of an army. The pope's troops, at this time, amounted to twenty thousand men, who received orders to join the imperial army, and to act against the *Visconti*. The latter soon lost *Verona*, and *Vicenza* ; but peace was mediated between them and the pope, and *Charles* returned to *Germany*. The emperor *Paleologus* soon after arrived at *Rome*, and made a solemn profession of the faith of the *Latin* church ; but his sincerity is justly questionable, as his real business was to solicit succours against the attacks of the infidels, in which however he failed. A new power at this time got footing in *Italy*, of which it is necessary to give some account here.

The *Florentines* were the only people that had the courage to oppose the *German* banditti, who continued to fill *Italy* with ravages and desolation. *Florence* was then at a high pitch of prosperity by the immense trade she carried on. Her inhabitants had fortified the passes of the *Apennines* against the banditti ; great numbers of whom they destroyed in those mountains. They however encreased so much, that under one *Conrade Lyndo*, or *Lando*, they proposed to invade *Tuscany* through the champaign country, by the way of *Perugia*, declaring publicly, that their intention was to plunder and destroy *Florence*. The *Florentines*, instead of becoming, like the other states of *Italy*, their tributaries, chose *Malatesta* for their general, and they marched out to fight the banditti, whom they actually defeated, to the admiration of all *Italy*. As there was then a general peace on the continent of *Europe*, the numbers of the banditti, who generally consisted of reduced soldiers, daily increased. In 1360, when the peace of *Bretigni* was concluded between *England* and *France*, both parties disbanded their armies, and many of the *English* were rendered desperate, by being obliged to give up the settlements they had acquired in *France*. From causes foreign to this history, they and the *French* disbanded soldiers mustered about sixteen thousand men, and resolved at first to plunder *Avignon*.

History of
the Flo-
rentines.

and of
Sir John
Hawk-
wood.

In their march, they were guilty of such excesses and cruelties, that four thousand *English* horse, and two thousand foot, separated from the main army, under Sir John Hawkwood, an officer of reputation, and offered their service to the *Florentines*, who at that time carried on a vast trade with *England*, and had supplied *Edward* with money in his wars against *France*. The terms were too high for the *Florentines*, and they entered into the service of the *Pisans*, their enemies. Their manner of fighting was very different from what the *Italians* had been used to, so that they soon turned the fortune of war against the *Florentines*, who were before thought to be the best troops in *Italy*; and Hawkwood threatened to besiege *Florence* itself. The *English* were now become rich by the plunder they acquired; but the *Pisans* appearing jealous of their new mercenaries, the latter embraced the offers of the *Florentines*, who had repented of their ill-judged frugality. Hawkwood had so nice a sense of honour, that he remained in the *Pisan* service, with some troops of horse. A treaty was set on foot between the *Pisans* and the *Florentines*, who were afraid of Barnabo, and a peace concluded. The emperor Charles was poor, and pretended that the *Florentines* had invaded his rights, in hopes that they would buy off his demands with money; which it is said they actually did.

Though the *Florentines* had refused to join in the confederacy formed by the pope, and the emperor, against Barnabo, yet he declared against them; and when the *Pisan* war was finished, he took Hawkwood and the *English* into his pay, and the *Florentines* were again defeated; but they were saved by going over to the pope's party. The ballance of *Italy*, at this time, was in a most critical situation, and though peace was made between the pope and Barnabo in 1370, yet his holiness was alarmed by a projected alliance between the king of *Sicily*, and the *Visconti* family, which with great difficulty he prevented. The peace still continued between the *Neapolitans* and *Sicilians*; but a rebellion, headed by the duke of *Andria*, broke out in *Naples*. The duke, though at first victorious, was obliged to fly to pope Urban, who was now returned to *Avignon*, and queen Jean took the mercenaries he had hired into her own pay. About this time, Urban made some ineffectual attempts to revive the claims of his predecessors upon *England*, and pretended great zeal for establishing peace between that kingdom and *France*; but he died on the 19th of *December*.

Gregory
XI. pope.

He was succeeded by Gregory XI. who trod in the steps of Urban, and sent his clergy throughout all the courts of *Europe*, to mediate differences, to extort money, and to preach up crusades of various kinds. He threatened excommunication to Waldemar, king of *Denmark*, who despised his authority, by returning him the following laconic letter,

letter, "*Waldemar*, king of the *Danes*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, &c. to the *Roman* pontiff, health. My life I received from God; my crown from my subjects; my wealth from my ancestors; from your predecessors I hold only my faith, and if you attempt to take advantage of it, I hereby restore it to you. Adeu" The pope was too much engaged in the affairs of *Italy* to resent this freedom. The emperor had made him imperial vicar in *Italy*, by which all the power of the empire was transferred to him; and the *Visconti* growing more powerful, and more disregarding of their promises than ever, forbade all persons of rank or eminence to contract any alliance with their family.

Queen *Jean* was once more a widow at the age of forty six; and being jealous of *Charles of Durazzo*, whose wife was heiress of her kingdom, she married *Otho of Brunswick*, a prince of great accomplishments both in body and mind. He had served in most of the wars in *Europe* that had happened during his time; and being conducted in great state, by the *Neapolitan* gallies, to *Castello Nuovo*, he was there publicly married to *Jean*, who created him duke of *Tarento*. *Charles of Durazzo* and his wife, expressed great discontent at this match, and immediately laid the plan of *Jean's* destruction, though she had in fact adopted him as her heir, failing issue of her own body. An event happened which gave a new turn to affairs all over *Europe*, and finished the ruin of *Jean*, who had been hitherto supported by the friendship of the pope.

Gregory, at this time, resided at *Avignon*, where he exercised his pontifical power to the utmost, by publishing bulls for the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline, by multiplying insolent demands upon the princes of christendom, the king of *England* particularly, and by suppressing, and sometimes burning heretics: transactions that need not be particularized, as the reader would receive from them no additional information. Having a great inclination to return to *Italy*, he made a new accommodation with the *Visconti*, and intimated his intention to the princes of *Europe*. The partiality of the emperor in his favour had raised him to great power in *Italy*; but the oppressions of his legates there, had rendered the papacy detestable to the *Florentines*, and other *Italian* states. Of those tyrants, the legate of *Bologna* was the most intolerable. He had taken into his pay a body of the *German* banditti, whom he intended to employ against the *Florentines*, whose lands and harvests he laid waste. The *Florentines* had always behaved with an equal mixture of magnanimity and policy, and had generally declared for the *Guelph* party, against the tyranny of the *Germans*. They however, on this occasion, prevailed with the neighbouring states to unite against the legates, whom they outbid in their pay to the banditti, and thereby engaged

Marriage
of queen
Jean to
Otho of
Brunswick

Affairs of
Lombardy.

Hawkwood engaged many of them in their service. *Hawkwood* was then in the pay of the pope, and all *Tuscany* and the ecclesiastical state were soon filled with blood, and commotion. *Gregory*, who was still at *Avignon*, excommunicated the *Florentines*, and hired a body of *Bretons* to reduce them under the legate of *Bologna*, but without success. We cannot recount every incident that happened in the course of this war. It is sufficient to say, that *Bologna*, and *Perugia*, with above sixty cities and towns in *Campania*, and *Romagna*, revolted from the pope; who renewed the excommunication of the *Florentines*, and returned to *Rome* in the year 1377.

General
confederacy in
Italy.

Death of
Gregory.

Urban VI.
pope.

Affairs of
Naples.

The spirit of disaffection had spread itself to that city, and every day gained ground. The *Romans* restored their republican form of government, in contempt of *Gregory*, who was obliged to enter into a sham reconciliation with the *Florentines*, that he might ruin them more effectually. *Hawkwood* had then entered into the pay of *Barnabo*, and a congress was agreed upon to be held at *Seranza*. None of the parties were sincere in this negotiation, and during its continuance, *Gregory* died, in *March* 1386, from which æra we are to date the famous western schism, which so long divided the *Christian* world. The *Roman* republicans threatened the cardinals with death, if they did not elect a pope who should reside in *Italy*. The *French* cardinals, who were by far the most numerous party in the conclave, being intimidated, took little or no concern in the election; and they suffered the archbishop of *Bari* to be chosen. For some time this acquiescence continued, and the new pope, who took the name of *Urban VI.* had for some days no competitor. The *French* cardinals, however, took the first opportunity of retiring to *Anagni*, where under a guard of *Bretons*, whom they took into their pay, they required *Urban* to resign the popedom; which refusing to do, they chose the bishop of *Cornea*, who took the name of *Clement VII.* *Urban* was recognized by the *Portuguese*, the *Hungarians*, the *Poles*, the *English*, the *Bohemians*, the *Danes*, the *Swedes*, and many other of the *German* princes. *Clement*, on the other hand was owned by *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland*, *Cyprus*, and *Sicily*. Some states declared themselves neutral; but all concurred in wishing for a general council, that would put an end to the schism, which every day increased.

Urban was at first supported by queen *Jean* and her husband *Otho of Brunswick*, who assisted him with a body of troops. He had thoughts of annexing the crown of *Sicily*, to his own family; and he secretly entered into all the views of *Jean's* enemies, though, even before his elevation, both she and her husband had laid him under the strongest obligations of gratitude. *Jean* being so basely treated, acknowledged the authority of *Clement*, and *Urban* now openly

ly pursued his measures for dethroning *Jean*. He sent her enemy the duke of *Andria* with a message to *Charles of Durazzo*, offering him the investiture of her crown; and he conferred the archbishopric of *Naples* upon *Bozuto*, one of his own partizans. *Jean* was not wanting to herself on this occasion. She sent her husband to raise troops, and she shut herself up in the castle of the *Egg*, at *Naples*, sending orders to her friends to retire to fortified places. While *Otho* was raising an army, *Margaret*, wife to *Charles*, fled to *Urban*, who prevailed with the king of *Hungary* to assist *Charles*, and at the same time he deposed and excommunicated *Jean*. This provoked her to adopt for her heir *Lewis of Anjou*, brother to *Charles V.* of *France*. The history of *Jean*, from this time, is a continued chain of misfortunes; *Lewis* being declared regent of *France*, during the minority of his nephew, *Charles VI.* could not set out for *Italy*, where *Charles* was carrying all before him, at the head of an *Hungarian* army. Proceeding to *Rome*, he entered into a negotiation with the pope, concerning the terms of his investiture; and it was agreed that he should give the duchies of *Capua*, and *Amalphi*, with other large *Neapolitan* possessions, to *Prignano*, who was nephew to his holiness, from whose family they never were to depart. *Charles* wanting money, ordered the church plate to be melted down for his use, and he was thereby enabled to raise and pay a great army, which he carried to *Naples*, where he took possession of the city, and besieged the queen in *Castello Nuovo*. Her adoption of the *French* prince hurt her in the affections of her subjects, few of whom followed her husband's standards; and though he behaved with the greatest courage, he was defeated and taken prisoner in an attempt *Otho of* he made to relieve his wife. She was obliged to surrender *Brunswick* *Castello Nuovo*, and become a prisoner but a few hours before a *Provençal* fleet arrived to her assistance. The consequence of the queen's captivity was, that her kingdom, all but the counties of *Fondi*, *Caserta*, and *Ariano*, submitted to *Charles*, who, with his queen, *Margaret*, was crowned in the capital. Soon after *Charles* refused to fulfil any of the articles of agreement he had made with the pope; and understanding that *Lewis of Anjou*, was making great preparations in *France* to take possession of his kingdom, he ordered the unhappy queen *Jean* to be put to death, by being either strangled, or smothered with a bolster, in *Castello Nuovo*. It is certain, that her dead body lay unburied and exposed to the people for several days. The pretext for this barbarity was, her having been concerned in the murder of her first husband *Andrew*, of which she had been acquitted at the tribunals before which she was tried. It is plain that *Charles* had an immediate interest in her death, and the presumptions in favour of her innocence, by the accounts of contemporary authors, are stronger than those of her

Otho of
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her guilt. She was murdered in the fifty sixth year of her age, being the thirty ninth of her reign; and she is allowed, by her enemies as well as her friends, to have been a princess of extraordinary accomplishments both in body and mind.

Naples invaded by the duke of Anjou.

Charles again breaks with the pope.

Death of the duke of Anjou.

The gift of *Naples* to the duke of *Anjou*, who had been crowned king at *Avignon* by pope *Clement*, still remained in full force. *Charles* had behaved with great tyranny in his new kingdom, so that he could not prevent *Lewis of Anjou* from entering *Abruzzo*, towards the end of the year 1382, with an army of forty thousand men. The severity of the season, and the scarcity of provisions, through the cutting off his convoys by *Charles*, reduced him to great difficulties. In the year 1383, *Urban* went to *Naples*, thinking that to be a proper juncture for obtaining from *Charles* the stipulations he had obtained for *Prignano*, and his family. *Charles* received him at *Aversa* with great respect, and conducted him to *Castello Nuovo*, where his holiness found that he was a prisoner. *Charles* durst not detain him, and entered with him into a new accommodation, which was in danger of being broken by *Prignano's* ravishing a noble nun. The ravisher was condemned to death, his uncle pronounced his crime to be venial, and he was pardoned; in consideration of which lenity, *Urban* ordered a crusade to be published against the duke of *Anjou*, by which *Charles* obtained several advantages against the *French*; but he was prevented from improving them by an epidemical distemper, which seized himself, and carried off numbers of his soldiers. In the mean while, the duke of *Anjou*, who had made considerable progress in *Naples*, died at *Biseglio*, on the 10th of *October* 1384, and his troops returned to *France* in a most miserable plight.

Lewis of Anjou, left behind him two sons, *Lewis*, and *Charles*; nor did his death put an end to the troubles of *Naples*. The differences between *Urban* and *Charles* were renewed, and the pope went to *Nocera*, then held by *Prignano*. Many *Neapolitan* barons in the *French* interest, refused, at the same time, to submit to *Charles*, who besieged *Nocera*; while both he and his queen were excommunicated by *Urban*. The latter was delivered by two noblemen of the *Anjouvine* party, *Romandello*, and *Sanseverino*, in hatred to *Charles*, they being *Clementists*, and the pope rewarded *Romandello* with the city of *Benevento*, the county of *Lecce*, and other ample possessions. *Lewis of Hungary*, by this time being dead, his daughter *Mary* was proclaimed queen in honour of her father's memory; but *Charles of*

See Vol. IX. p. 51. *Charles murdered in Hungary*

Durazzo was invited to the throne, by a strong party of the malecontents. The reader, in another part of this work, will see the tragical event of this contest. *Charles* was murdered soon after his coronation by the adherents of *Mary*,

Mary, and in the mean while, the *Venetians*, in resentment of an injury they pretended to have received from his queen *Margaret* of *Naples*, seized upon *Durazzo*, and the island of *Corcyra*. *Charles* left a son, *Ladislaus*, or *Lancelot*, of ten years of age, who was proclaimed king of *Naples*, and his mother put him under the protection of *Urban*. The *Clementists*, with *Sanseverino* at their head, proclaimed *Lewis II.* of *Anjou* king, and the confusions in the state rose to such a height, that the queen and her son fled to *Gaeta*. *Sanseverino* having been joined by *Otho* of *Brunswick*, who had been set at liberty by the late king *Charles*, remained in possession of the capital, and was declared regent of the kingdom.

It was thought that all those misfortunes fell upon the *Conspicuous* *Durazzo* family, through the implacable disposition of *Urban*, who could never forget the treatment he had received from the late king *Charles*. This pontiff had behaved so haughtily, that during his residence at *Nocera*, the cardinals attending him had, at the instigation of cardinal *Reali*, drawn up a charge against him of heresy, avarice, ingratitude, and other crimes, and had come to a secret resolution to depose and murder him. The conspiracy being discovered, the cardinals were put to the torture, and when the pope escaped from *Nocera*, to *Genoa*, he carried them with him, and put them to death. His crimes and cruelties gave great advantages to *Clement*, who was now joined by the kings of *Navarre*, and *Arragon*, and offered to submit the disputes between him and *Urban*, to the decision of a general council; but this proposal was rejected by *Urban*, who supported himself with amazing intrepidity. While the papal power was thus divided between the two competitors, and while *Naples* and *Sicily* were torn with civil distractions, *John Visconti*, the son of *Galeazzo*, bade fair to become master of all *Italy*. He had put his uncle *Barnabo* to death, and had secured to himself the *Milanese*, with its capital. The death of *Charles* of *Durazzo*, who had always befriended the *Florentines*, happening at the same time, those republicans endeavoured to oppose *Galeazzo*, by reviving the *Tuscan* league. In 1386, the turbulent pope *Urban*, took possession of *Perugia*, to the great disquiet of the *Florentines*, who were thwarted by *Galeazzo* in all their schemes for public liberty. They were not, however, wanting to themselves. They offered an asylum in their territory to the discontented *Milanese* subjects. They supported *Barnabo's* son, and they ordered their general *Hawkwood*, whom they had taken into their pay, to enter *Lombardy* with their army. *Galeazzo* omitted no means to break the force of the league proposed against him, and intercepted the ambassadors who had been dispatched by the *Florentines* to implore the protection of the king of *France*.

The

The *Florentines* apply to the *French* king.

Betrayed by the duke of *Bavaria*.

They are saved by Sir *John Hawkwood*.

The *French* king hearing of their intentions, offered to assist them, provided they would acknowledge *Clement* for pope; but they rejected the condition, on the principles of honour and good faith, and a declared war followed between them and *Galeazzo*, who soon after died. The *Florentines*, who were not without ambition, and who thought the *Visconti* family no better than prosperous usurpers, formed a design of conquering *Milan*, and invited *Stephen*, duke of *Bavaria*, to assist them. As they were then excessively rich, and the *Germans* very poor, the duke embraced the offer, and marched with an army into *Lombardy*, while *Hawkwood* having secured the *Bolognese*, the faithful allies of the *Florentines*, laid siege to *Parma*, and *Reggio*. The *Florentines* would at this time, in all probability, have become masters of the *Milanese*, had it not been for the rapaciousness, and misconduct of their needy *German* mercenaries. The *Florentines* complained of the duke of *Bavaria*, and he laid the blame on the *Venetians*, but made a fresh demand of money; which was rejected by the *Florentines*, who saw that he had never really intended to serve them. His refusal however to act without money, gave such advantages to the *Galeazzo* party, that they at last consented to send him some; but it did them no service. *Padua* was then besieged by their enemies, and *Galeazzo* remained in the neighbourhood without attempting to relieve it. The *Florentines* ordered *Hawkwood* to march to its relief; but his *Bolognese* horse mutinied, the duke of *Ferrara* refused him a passage through his dominions, and the *Venetians*, who were the allies of *Galeazzo*, to lend him shipping.

The republic of *Florence* must, at this time, have been ruined, through the powerful confederacies that had been formed against it, and the debility of its allies, had it not been for the courage and conduct of Sir *John Hawkwood*, who was now aged, but active. Upon the return of the *Bavarians* to *Germany*, he forced his way to *Padua*, and saved it, and he took up his winter quarters in the *Paduan*. The count of *Armignac*, one of the most powerful princes in *France*, undertook the cause of the *Florentines*, and passed the *Alps* with an army, notwithstanding all the intrigues and opposition of *Galeazzo*. The latter marched towards *Pavia* to fight the *French*, while *Hawkwood* rendered himself master of the open country of the *Milanese*, and advanced within sixteen miles of that capital, when his march was interrupted by the swelling of the *Adda*. The intense heats of the season distressed the *French* cavalry, and the imprudence of their officers ruined their army so completely, that scarcely a man of them escaped being either killed or taken prisoner by *Galeazzo's* troops. So total a defeat, in which *Armignac* himself was killed, encouraged him to march against *Hawkwood*. He waited for them in his camp, and taking advantage of their security and want of discipline,

pline, he defeated them, and made twelve hundred of their cavalry prisoners. *Galeazzo* being in his own country, soon recruited his army, and *Hawkwood* was obliged to retreat, which he did in a manner so masterly, that it gained him the reputation of being the best general in *Italy*, if not in *Europe*. While the *Florentines* thought his army was surrounded or cut in pieces; and while they were every day expecting to be besieged in their own capital by *Galeazzo's* generals in *Tuscany*, *Hawkwood* joined their army, and once more saved *Florence*. The particulars of the *Tuscan* war that followed, are too minute for this history; it is sufficient to say, that *Galeazzo*, and the *Florentines*, at last agreed to negotiate at *Genoa*, under the mediation of the pope's legate, and concluded a peace, which was very ill observed on the part of *Galeazzo*. By this peace, it was stipulated that the town of *Padua* was to remain in possession of the prince of *Carrera*, the ally of *Florence*, and that his father, who was *Galeazzo's* prisoner, should be set at liberty; and in general the places taken on both sides were to be restored; *Galeazzo* promising that his armies should never approach but within a stated distance of *Florence*.

Pope *Urban*, all this while, not only maintained his ground in *Italy*, but got together an army, with which he proposed to march to *Naples*; but being bruised by a fall from his mule, he was carried to *Tivoli*, and his troops disbanded themselves for want of pay. From *Tivoli*, being recovered, he went to *Rome*, where being in danger from an insurrection of the *Romans*, who still maintained their liberties, he published a bull, ordering that a jubilee should be celebrated there, and continued every thirty third year, being the term of our Saviour's life. Before he saw the effect of this bull he died, as was thought, by poison, and the cardinals of his party chose for his successor a *Neapolitan*, who took the name of *Boniface IX.* and who of course was excommunicated by *Clement* at *Avignon*. By this time, *Urban's* jubilee, which was intended only to bring money to *Rome*, and the papal coffers, took place, and the shameful extortions practised on the pilgrims shewed the impious venality of the papal court. The *Italians* found their interest in supporting *Boniface*, and he crowned, at his own, and his mother's request, young *Ladislaus*, and his wife, king and queen of *Sicily*.

Nothing can give the reader a stronger idea of the attachment of those times to forms and places, than the difference between *Boniface* and *Clement*, whose party dwindled every day, because his competitors had been elected at *Rome*, and were in possession of the papal chair. Many former popes resided indeed at *Avignon*, but no sanctity was ascribed to that city, and they were contented with the glory and profit of acting as the heads of the church, and publishing bulls, for which they got money, and which served as so many passports

passports to *Rome*, *Loretto*, the favourite churches in *Italy*, and sometimes to *Palestine*, and *Jerusalem* itself. This gainful trade was now engrossed by *Boniface*, who had the public prepossession on his side, and established his footing, not in *Italy* but *Germany*. As a mark of his zeal and intrepidity for the good of the church, after his legate had mediated the peace between *Galeazzo* and the *Florentines*, he ventured to send two nuncios to the *French* court. They stopt at *Avignon*, where they were imprisoned by *Clement*; but at the request of the university of *Paris*, the king of *France* procured their liberty. Upon being admitted into his presence, he gave them the strongest assurances of his zeal for the good of the church; and public supplications and processions were made at *Paris* to promote the abolition of the schism between the two popes; but the *French* king, *Charles VI.* falling in the mean while into a state of lunacy, those professions came to nothing.

but it
miscarries.

Boniface
prevails.

Boniface endeavoured to engage in his quarrel *Richard II.* king of *England*, by alarming him with an information that the *French* intended to invade his dominions, and to make themselves masters of all *Italy*; but *Richard*, at that juncture, was on too ill terms with his people, to accept the honour of becoming the champion of the church. By this time, his holiness had been driven out of *Rome*, by the bannerets, (as they were called) a sort of magistrates, who had been elected by the people, as their tribunes. His party found means to restore him; but he would have been again driven out, had not the king of *Naples*, who was then at *Rome*, interposed, after the *Romans* had forced open the door of his bed-chamber, and dragged from thence some of the clergy, who had retired to it as a sanctuary. Though *Boniface* was thus opposed at *Rome*, his party was gaining ground in other parts of christendom. The university of *Paris* favoured him, and they had orders from the court to propose a plan for putting an end to the schism. For this purpose they offered three expedients. One was, that both competitors should resign the popedom; another, that they should agree to a new election; and a third was, that the matter should be referred to a general council. Those expedients were rejected, through the intrigues of *Peter de Luna*, *Clement's* legate, who was supported by the duke of *Bari*, the king's uncle. In the mean while, *Clement* died; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of almost all the powers of christendom who were of his party, to delay the election of a successor, they chose *Peter de Luna*, who took upon him the name of *Benedict XIII.*

Death of
Clement.

Succeed-

ed by *Benedict XIII.* As this new antipope appeared zealous for putting an end to the schism, and as the doctrines of the *Lollards*, and the *Wicklifites*, were daily gaining ground, especially in *England*; it was proposed by the kings of *England* and *France*, that both competitors should resign the

the popedom. They were seconded by the *German* diet of *Frankfort*; but neither of the competitors chose to accept of the terms. The emperor *Wenceslaus* joined with the king of *France*, and each of them threatened to withdraw his obedience from that competitor who should refuse to resign. *Boniface* offered to comply, if *Benedict* could be prevailed upon to abdicate first. The latter proving refractory, the *French* marshal *Boucicaut*, entered *Avignon*, and put him under arrest, in which he continued for near five years. The other princes of *Europe*, the king of *England* particularly, inclined for an entire vacancy of the papal throne; but this could not be effected on account of their jarring interests and prepossessions. *Boniface*, all this while remained tranquil at *Affisi*, where he published the famous bull for perpetual annates, by which every person appointed to a vacant abbey, or bishopric, was obliged to pay into the apostolic chamber the first years rents of his living; but the *English* never would submit to this exaction, though they sometimes suffered their bishoprics to be taxed.

The fourteenth century was now near its close, and a *Boniface* grand jubilee was expected. The *Romans* continued to become be at variance with *Boniface*, and being sensible how great master of losers they must be if he did not return to *Rome*; they sent *Rome* and him an invitation for that purpose. He offered to comply, the *Ro-* provided they would accept of *Malatesta of Pesaro*, for their *manists*. governor under him, and abolish the authority of the banners. They not only agreed to both, but sent him money to defray his expences to their city. His return put an end to the republican spirit of the *Romans*, which had often proved so fatal and dangerous to the popes. *Boniface* took advantage of the universal joy with which he was received, to fortify the castle of *St. Angelo*, and the strongest places about *Rome*, in such a manner, that he became absolute master of that city. The approach of the awful ceremony of the jubilee affected the minds of the pilgrims, who resorted to it from all quarters in a most extraordinary manner; and the infection communicated itself to the people of *Italy*. All were dressed in white; nothing was seen but processions of white pilgrims, moving in bodies of ten, Enthusiasm of twelve, and sometimes forty thousand, from town to town, the pil- grims and singing hymns, carrying tapers, and performing the most frantic acts of devotion. The more crafty, or enthusiastic the *Ita-* among them, assumed to themselves scripture names, and *lians*. one, who is said to have been a *Scotchman*, pretended to be *Elias*. In short, all feuds and animosities seemed now to be forgotten and forgiven, and a perfect state of equality took possession of all *Italy*. This unaccountable madness continued for two months. The pope was alarmed at seeing such a number of enthusiasts approach to *Rome*, and he knew not what disturbance some of their leaders might give him. They stopt at *Viterbo*, where the spirit of their devotion

devotion began to evaporate, and *Boniface* sent a body of horse, who apprehended the pretended *Elias*, and carried him to *Rome*, where he was burnt.

Affairs of
Naples.

Ladislaus, king of *Naples*, continued to be zealously supported by *Boniface*, chiefly because *Clement* had crowned *Lewis* of *Anjou*, king of *Sicily*, at *Avignon*. *Lewis* soon after arrived at *Naples* with a fleet and an army, and easily reduced that city, while *Ladislaus* remained destitute of troops and money. In *Sicily*, the princess *Mary*, upon the death of *Manfred di Claramonte*, together with her husband *Martin* of *Monblanco*, son to the duke of that name, who was brother to the king of *Arragon*, reduced *Palermo*, and subdued the *Claramonte* party; but it was given out, that some amorous connections were formed between the duke of *Monblanco*, who had attended his son in the expedition, and the widow of *Manfred di Claramonte*, who was mother to *Constance* the wife of young *Ladislaus*. *Constance* had brought a prodigious fortune to her husband, and it had saved his affairs from total ruin; but his mother *Magaret*, a mercenary and ambitious princess, persuaded him that it was beneath his dignity to have for his wife the daughter of a woman who was suspected of living criminally; and the pope was prevailed upon to grant him a divorce. The blame of this black ingratitude was aggravated by the virtues of *Constance*, and the resignation with which she bore her misfortune.

Ladislaus
divorces
his wife.

By the pope's assistance, *Ladislaus* again found means to make head against his enemies, and in the year 1394, he besieged *Naples*; but it was relieved by a *Provençal* fleet. His competitor *Lewis* tried to debauch from his service the duke of *Sessa*, by offering to marry his daughter; but the match, when far advanced, was broken off by *Boniface*, who was now in a condition to supply *Ladislaus* with large sums of money, which enabled him to carry on the war against *Lewis* so effectually, that he became master of *Naples*; and *Lewis*, though one half of that kingdom remained still faithful to him, returned to *Provence*. *Ladislaus* proceeded vigorously to crush the remains of the *French* faction in his kingdom. Before the end of the year 1400, he was without a rival, master of his dominions; and by the advice of his friend *Boniface* he married *Mary*, sister to the king of *Cyprus*. That pontiff either had not appointed a jubilee at the beginning of this century, or had discouraged it, on account of the vast resort of *French*, and his other enemies, to *Rome*. That he might not, however, lose the benefit of it, he sold to the *Germans*, *Danes*, and other people, indulgences, by which they were allowed the same privileges if they visited certain churches in their own dominions, as they would have obtained, had they actually repaired to *Rome*.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding the peace of *Genoa*, the ambitious *Galeazzo* still disturbed the tranquility of *Italy*. The *Florentines* were the only bulwark against his designs; and it is almost incredible how those illustrious, yet factious, republicans continued, amidst a most expensive war, to carry all the arts of peace higher than they were found to be among any other people in *Europe*. The emperor of *Constantinople* was then in *Italy*, and had brought over with him *Chrysoloras*, a noble *Byzantine*, and an excellent scholar. *Aretine*, the elegant historian of *Florence*, was his disciple, and the *Florentines* sent him a solemn invitation to repair to their city, and there to open *Greek* lectures. He was received there with the double honours that were due to his rank and his learning; and had a noble appointment. In a few weeks his school was crowded with the most illustrious pupils from all parts of *Italy*, and he continued teaching for two years at *Florence*, when he was obliged to attend his master to *Constantinople*. We have been the more particular upon this fact, to combat a received opinion, that the revival of learning in *Italy* was owing to the resort of the *Greeks* thither after their expulsion by the *Turks* from *Constantinople*. *Aretine* is himself an evidence, that the *Latin* language was then written at *Florence*, with a purity equal to any that has appeared since: but we now return to the affairs of the field and cabinet.

A confederacy formed by the *Florentines* against *Galeazzo*.

Greek lectures established at *Florence*

Ambition of *Galeazzo*.

Hawkwood was now dead, and *Galeazzo*, under pretence that he was unable to restrain the banditti, privately encouraged them to fill all *Italy* with alarms. The *Florentines* engaged the inhabitants of *Rimini*, *Faenza*, *Ravenna*, *Imola*, and *Citta di Castello*, into their confederacy. These were but feeble states, and depended on the power and money of *Florence*, whose citizens were now embroiled among themselves. The emperor *Wenceslaus* offered them his assistance; but he was more formidable to them than *Galeazzo* himself; they therefore civilly declined it, and depended on their own power, which became now suspicious to many of the other *Italian* states, particularly *Bologna*, *Ravenna*, and *Imola*, whom *Galeazzo* secretly abetted in their jealousy. By this time, *Galeazzo*, who had hitherto only designed himself count of *Virtue*, purchased from the *German* emperor, as lord paramount of *Italy*, the title of duke of *Milan*, and openly assisted the *Pisans* against the *Florentines*. The latter turned his arts upon himself, and a declared war at last broke out between them, both in *Tuscany*, and in *Lombardy*. *Malatesta*, the *Florentine* general, defeated *Galeazzo's* army before *Mantua*; and he was obliged, for that reason, to evacuate *Tuscany*. The *Florentines* being either too secure, or trusting too much on the negotiations for peace under the pope's mediation, that had been begun at *Imola*, lost the advantages they had gained by their victory in the *Mantuan*. *Galeazzo* raised his demands in the conferences at *Imola*, and resumed

resumed the siege of *Mantua*. This alarmed the *Venetians*, and they required him either to raise the siege or to look upon them as his enemies; while the *Florentines* were hiring troops both in *France*, and *Germany*. The artful *Galeazzo*, dreaded a union between the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*, and agreed to a truce for ten years. The *Venetians* being thus delivered from any apprehensions from *Galeazzo*, left the *Florentines* to defend themselves, and in the year 1499, *Galeazzo*, by his arts, revived the war in *Tuscany*. He had made himself master of *Pisa*, and was on the point of seizing *Sienna*, and *Perugia* likewise, had he not been opposed by the pope. In short, his successes were such, that it was plain he intended, either by his sword, or his money, to acquire the title of king of *Italy*.

The war
again
breaks out

See
Vol. IX.
p. 48.

ibid.

The em-
peror
Robert
marches
into *Italy*.

Galeazzo
regains
Bologna.

Galeazzo was not the only enemy the *Florentines* had to oppose. Their allies had been intimidated, and every little state about them was their foe. To add to their distresses, a pestilence broke out in their city, which in a few weeks carried off thirty thousand of the inhabitants. The *Florentines* had still one support, which was their money, and they befriended *Bentivoglio*, who had become master of *Bologna*, against *Galeazzo*, whose power became every day more formidable, and his views more undisguised. Upon the accession of *Robert*, (or *Rupert*,) count palatine, to the empire, during the life of *Wenceslaus*, the *Florentines* thinking that prince to be far less formidable than his predecessors had been, (as indeed he was) joined with the pope and the *Venetians*, to invite him to invade *Galeazzo's* dominions; to which he was by no means averse. As he was very poor, he depended upon the *Florentines* chiefly for his being paid, and they engaged to advance him two hundred thousand ducats, part in ready money, and the remainder when he should invade *Galeazzo's* dominions. The reader has already seen the event of this agreement; but the *Italian* historians have added, that *Robert* was entirely defeated by *Galeazzo's* generals near *Brescia*. Be that as it will, he omitted no art to procure the remainder of the money, but all without success; the *Florentines* charging him with not having fulfilled his engagements. They insisted, that his army was weaker than what he promised to bring; that it had not acted offensively against *Galeazzo*, and had made a shameful retreat at the very appearance of danger. The pope, and the *Venetians*, being disappointed in their expectations from the emperor, who had now returned to *Germany*, dropt all hostilities against *Galeazzo*, who defeated the *Florentine* army that had been sent to the assistance of *Bentivoglio*, became again master of *Bologna*, while *Bentivoglio* lost his life in the dispute. The *Florentines* thought that the new enormous power of *Galeazzo*, in *Italy*, would be a sufficient motive for the pope and the *Venetians* to renew their confederacy against him; but they could prevail with neither.

neither. In the mean time, for reasons that have never been sufficiently accounted for, while *Galeazzo* had gone so far in his design of making himself king of *Italy*, or, as others say, *Lombardy*, that he had ordered a crown, and other regal ornaments to be prepared; he, all of a sudden, altered his conduct, and his ambassadors at *Venice* proposed a treaty, in which the *Florentines* were to be included. It is uncertain, whether this pacific conduct was dictated by his feeling the approaches of death, and his being willing that his children, who were young, should succeed peaceably to his dominions, or whether it was not a pretext for amusing the *Florentines*, as above thirty thousand of his best troops were then in march against that city, which was in no condition to oppose them.

The death of *Galeazzo*, which happened at this very critical period, delivered the *Florentines*, as well as the rest of *Italy*, from their dismal apprehensions; and the impolitic distribution he had made of his territories among his children, confirmed their security on the side of the *Milanese*. The *Florentines* were not backward in fomenting the differences that broke out between the tutors and relations of the *Galeazzo* family; and leagueing themselves with pope *Boniface*, they chose *Nicholas of Ferrara* to head their armies, who were to recover all that *Galeazzo* had acquired from either. To prevent the effect of this confederacy, a congress was agreed upon, in which *Malatesta* acted for the *Milanese*, and *Gianelli*, the pope's brother, for the confederates. During the conferences, *Malatesti* had the address to detach *Gianelli* from the interest of the *Florentines*, by agreeing that *Bologna* and *Perugia*, should be restored to his holiness, which was accordingly done, to the apparent satisfaction of the *Florentines*, who seemed not to resent their being betrayed in the negociation. *Sienna*, likewise, threw itself under the pope's protection, and the *Florentines* congratulated the *Siennese* upon their change of masters.

Death of
Galeazzo

Conse-
quence of
the same.

The friendship of *Boniface* towards *Ladislaus* was detrimental to his holiness, who by encouraging him in his unsuccessful attempt upon the crown of *Hungary*, lost the emperor, the king of *Bohemia*, and other *German* princes, while his antagonist *Benedict*, being freed from his imprisonment, was gaining ground in *France*. The disposition of the great princes, however, for putting an end to the schism, was so strong, that *Benedict* having obtained from *Boniface* a safeguard for two nuntios, sent them to *Rome*, to propose an accommodation. The few conferences they had with *Boniface* on that subject, rather widened the breach; but in the mean while *Boniface* died, the nuntios were imprisoned, and obliged to purchase their liberty with five thousand florins. The schism thus continuing, a *Neapolitan* cardinal was chosen, by the eight cardinals who entered the con-

Death of
Boniface.

Innocent VII. pope. clave, to succeed him ; and he was consecrated on the 4th of *November* 1404, by the name of *Innocent VII.* By this time, *Ladislaus* had returned from *Hungary* to *Naples*, and hearing that *Galeazzo*, and his benefactor pope *Boniface*, were dead, his ambition prompted him, now that he was freed from all personal ties of gratitude, to adopt the schemes of the former. With this view he entered into secret connections with the heads of the *Gibelines* at *Rome*, who were the families of *Colonna*, and *Savelli*, and arrived in that city with a considerable body of troops, on pretence of congratulating the new pope upon his election. The *Gibelines* endeavoured then to restore the government of the bannerets, but were opposed by the *Guelphs*, with the *Ursini* at their head. Both parties appealed to *Ladislaus*, and he favoured the *Gibelines*, who thereupon insulted the pope to such a degree, that he was obliged to raise a body of guards, and shut himself up in the castle of *St. Angelo*. The more pacific part of the *Roman* citizens endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between him and the rioters ; but upon their return from the castle, they were, without *Innocent's* knowledge, murdered by his nephew. The *Romans* were so much exasperated at this, that *Innocent* fled with his guards, to save his life, to *Viterbo* ; and the troops of *Ladislaus* took possession of *Rome*.

who is
driven out
of *Rome*.

Ladislaus
excom-
municat-
ed.

Death of
pope *Inno-
cent*.

At this time, a reconciliation was on foot between the two popes, by means of a general council, which was to have been held at *Rome*. *Benedict* arriving, with a considerable body of troops at *Genoa*, the *Genoese*, though they received him well at first, imagined he had a design upon their liberties, and he was forced to return to *Provence*. He sent, however, letters to *Innocent*, demanding a safe conduct, which was rejected by the latter, and therefore *Benedict* accused him of intending to keep up the schism ; but probably both of them were insincere in their proposals for an accommodation. The *Romans* became sensible of the ambitious views of *Ladislaus*, and, at the persuasion of the *Florentines*, they invited pope *Innocent* back to their city ; to which he returned, and excommunicated *Ladislaus*. That prince, who had owed his crown and safety to the papal protection and friendship, was so much terrified by this sentence, that he employed all his friends to bring about a reconciliation, which was at last effected by the mediation, chiefly, of the *Ursini* family. Upon the death of *Innocent*, which happened on the seventh of *November*, 1406, the cardinals, or at least such of them as were in earnest for terminating the schism, for some time deliberated whether they should chuse him a successor ; because, if the pontifical chair should continue vacant, the antipope could have no pretext for continuing the schism. The seditious *Romans* obliged the cardinals to proceed to an election,

election, and it fell upon *Corrario James Fournier*, commonly called cardinal of *St. Prisco*, who took the name of *Gregory XII*. This new pontiff is celebrated, even by protestant writers, as a man of great probity, zealous for the reformation and reunion of the church, and free from the vices and blemishes which had dishonoured his predecessors. Before the election all the candidates had severally taken an oath, that he who should be elected should abdicate the papacy, if *Clement*, or *Peter de Luna*, would do the same. *Gregory* intimated those terms to *Benedict* in a letter; and a meeting was proposed between the two competitors at *Savona*, in the *Genoese* territories. The interview, though greatly pressed by the partizans on both sides, came to nothing, chiefly through the obstinacy of *Benedict*; but in reality neither side were cordial in their professions, for each refused to resign, unless his rival should give security that he would resign likewise; but *Gregory* at last set out for *Savona*, with a sincere desire to terminate all differences.

An accommodation proposed.

Ladislaus king of *Naples*, had never lost sight of his ambitious projects, and was still intent on getting possession of *Rome*. With this view, in the year 1407, he obliged the pope to take refuge in the castle of *St. Angelo*; but for that time, he was forced to return to *Naples*. When *Gregory* left *Rome* to go to *Savona*, he appointed *Ursini* to be governor of that city in his absence; but in *April* 1408, *Ladislaus* approached *Rome* with an army of fifteen thousand horse, besides a numerous infantry; and having made his terms with *Ursini*, he took possession of the castle of *St. Angelo*, and was crowned in that capital, king of the *Romans*, under a canopy of gold. After this, the greatest part of the ecclesiastical state fell into his possession, and he took the titles of *Ladislaus* by the grace of God, king of *Hungary*, *Jerusalem*, *Sicily*, *Dalmatia*, *Crotia*, *Rome*, *Servia*, *Salcia*, *Lodomiria*, *Comania*, and *Bulgaria*, and count of *Provence*, *Forcalquiere*, and *Piedmont*. Notwithstanding all this, *Ladislaus* endeavoured to keep fair with *Gregory*, whom he offered to protect, if he would refuse to abdicate the popedom; being afraid that his right to the crown of *Naples* might be called in question by a pope of greater power and authority. *Gregory* proceeded in his journey to *Savona*, but halted at *Sienna*, and still found pretexts for postponing his abdication. *Benedict*, by this time had come to *Savona*, and many messages had passed between him and his competitor; but their trifling became so egregious and apparent to all the world, that the powers of *Europe*, the king of *France* in particular, were disposed to withdraw their obedience from both; and *Gregory's* cardinals were so tired out with his shuffling, that they retired to *Pisa*, which was thought upon as a proper place for a general council, where the schism might be ended, and a new pope created. The *French* king, without regard to *Benedict's* remonstrances

Ladislaus takes possession of *Rome*.

The council of *Pisa* deposes both popes.

and threatenings, ordered his general *Boucicaut* to secure his person, but he escaped to *Spain*; and his cardinals had a meeting with those of *Gregory* at *Leghorn*, where they finally agreed upon holding the council at *Pisa*; and letters were published accordingly.

And chose *Alexander V.* The two popes, though thus deserted, published bulls, appointed other councils, and created cardinals, as if each had been in full possession of the pontifical power. In 1409, the general council opened at *Pisa*. It consisted of twenty two cardinals, three patriarchs, one hundred and eighty prelates, three hundred abbots, or their representatives, and two hundred and eighty two doctors in divinity; besides ambassadors from temporal princes. The emperor of *Germany* pretended that a council could not be held in *Italy* without his consent, and ordered it to be transferred. The council, without regarding this injunction, deposed both the rival popes, and elected in their stead, a *Greek*, one *Peter Philargi*, who took the name of *Alexander V.* and annulled all the proceedings of the other two. While those transactions happened at *Pisa*, *Lewis*, duke of *Anjou*, came to that city to prosecute his right to the crown of *Naples*; and was acknowledged as such by *Alexander*, the *Florentines*, the *Sienese*, and *Cossa*, the warlike cardinal legate of *Bologna*. All these had confederated against *Ladislaus*, who was still in possession of *Rome*, and having done all he could to obstruct the meeting of the council at *Pisa*, had marched with an army into *Tuscany*, where he became master of *Cortona*. *Alexander* put himself at the head of the confederacy, confirmed the claim of *Lewis* to the crown of *Naples*, and marched with an army towards *Rome*, where *Ladislaus* was become so excessively hated, having been excommunicated by the council of *Pisa*, that he was obliged to retire to his own dominions.

Who is succeeded by *John XXIII.* The church of *Rome* had now three heads, for *Gregory* was acknowledged by *Ladislaus*, and some of the *Italian* states, as *Benedict* was by the kings of *Spain*, and *Scotland*, and the powerful count of *Armignac*. *Alexander*, however, was more generally received than either, but died in the eleventh month of his pontificate, on the third of *May*, 1410. The cardinals then at *Bologna* were in number seventeen, and they elected *Cossa*, the cardinal legate of that city, who took the name of *John XXIII.* to be *Alexander's* successor. He had formerly been an active partizan under pope *Urban*. Being a profest pirate, he had by his depredations acquired money enough to purchase dignities in the church, and it was owing to his courage and conduct, that *Bologna* had been recovered from the *Visconti* family to the holy see. As the cardinals were surrounded by his troops, and he was warmly recommended by *Lewis of Anjou*, who was upon the coast with a powerful fleet, they could not avoid chusing him pope; but indeed the times

times demanded such a head of the church. He advanced, by the way of *Florence*, to take possession of *Rome*; while *Lewis of Anjou* having landed, was joined by *Ursini*, and the other *Florentine* general, and by advice of the latter, who was, perhaps, the best soldier of his age, since *Hawkwood's* death; *Lewis* passed the *Garigliano* to fight *Ladislaus*, whose army was superior in number, and encamped at *Rocco Vecchia*, on the frontiers of *Naples*. *Lewis*, *Ladislaus* by the valour and good conduct of *Sforza*, proved victorious; defeated, but his victory was not decisive. *Ursini* and the other *Florentine* generals envied the glory of *Sforza*, who was born a mean peasant, and they not only refused to pursue *Ladislaus*, but repassed the *Garigliano*.

Ladislaus was far from being disconcerted by his defeat. He but re-detached the *Florentines* from *Lewis*, by offering to restore tries his *Cortona*, and he knew that all the influence of the pope in affairs. favour of *Lewis*, could not conquer the aversion which the *Neapolitans* had towards a *French* government. *Lewis* experienced this, and being equally disgusted with the conduct of the *Florentines*, the spirit of mutiny that broke out in the pope's army, and the defection of the *Neapolitans*, who had invited him to take their crown, returned to *France*. His departure did not discourage the pope, who continued to thunder out excommunications against *Ladislaus*. That prince, on the other hand, grew cool towards the *Florentines*, who suffered their troops to re-enter into the pope's service; but, though he had agreed to pay them, he could not raise the money. This disobliging *Sforza*, who was a soldier of fortune, and at the head of an independent body of troops, he separated himself from the pope's army. *John* had thought to satisfy him, by creating him count of *Cotignola*; but *Ladislaus* knowing his worth, engaged him in his service, by giving him his own terms. *Ursini* was now the sole papal and *Florentine* general, and Account having offered repeated affronts to *Sforza* on account of the of *Brachia* meanness of his birth; the latter attacked him in the mar- and *Sforza* quisate of *Ancona*, drove him out of the field, and besieged him in *Rocca Contrada*. *Brachio*, a *Perugian*, was thought to be the only match then in *Italy* for *Sforza*, in military prowess; and he accepted the command of the *Florentine* army. Both of them were extraordinary men, and the superiority which *Sforza* had over *Brachio* in the field was scarcely perceptible; but that of *Brachio* over *Sforza* in civil virtues and accomplishments, was universally acknowledged. They had served as subalterns in one army, and then they were intimate friends; but now they were raised to higher commands they were mortal enemies.

Pope *John*, after his election, seemed to lose all the spirit *Brachio's* and activity that had so greatly distinguished him in the brave former part of his life, and he abandoned the relief of ploits. *Ursini*, who continued still shut up at *Rocca Contrada*, to *Brachio*.

Brachio. He performed that service so bravely by delivering *Ursini* and his garrison, who had been reduced to the utmost distress by famine, that his success was looked upon as miraculous; and he afterwards took *Todi*, an important place lying between *Perugia* and *Rome*. The *Florentine* generals and nobility, being now as jealous of *Brachio*, as they had been before of *Sforza*, he was so poorly supported, that *Ladislaus* again drove the pope from *Rome*, and he took refuge in the *Florentine* territory, at the archiepiscopal palace.

The *Flo-* Those politic republicans were disconcerted by his arrival, *rentines* and they resolved, upon debate, not to provoke *Ladislaus* make farther; nor did even give his holiness an invitation to their peace with city. He had now become contemptible in the eyes of all *Ladislaus*. *Europe*, and a general council, though against his will, was indicted at *Constance*, for farther settling the affairs of the church. The war still continued between the *Florentines*, who were no more than three thousand men, under *Brachio*, and *Ladislaus*, who had besieged *Todi* with twenty eight thousand men. *Brachio* did wonders with his handful, and obliged *Ladislaus* to suffer him to retire in safety, while he took possession of *Todi*, the garrison of which had been reduced to the greatest extremities, and forced to surrender. The insolence of the *Neapolitans* was such, that they had no sooner taken possession of the place, than the inhabitants drove them out, and recalled *Brachio* to their defence. The siege was renewed, and *Brachio*; by the great actions he performed, won so far upon the esteem of *Ladislaus*, that he offered him very high terms if he would enter into his service; but they were rejected, and *Ladislaus* not being able to take the place, he retired to *Perugia*, and from thence to *Naples*, where he died in *August* 1414.

See The reader has been already informed of the disputes
Vol. IX. between the *Venetians* and the emperor *Sigismund*, who was
p. 52. about this time in *Lombardy*, and had an interview with the
History of pope at *Placentia*, where the meeting of the council of
the coun- *Constance* was finally adjusted. The two antipopes, *Benedict*
cil of Con- and *Gregory*, protested against it; but it was opened by the
stance. pope in person, on the fifth of *November*. One of the
great causes for assembling this council, next to that of
settling the popedom, was to check the progress of the
Hussites, and the *Wickliffites*; and the reader needs not be in-
formed how basely *John Huss*, and *Jerome of Prague*, were
sacrificed to the flames by this infamous assembly, after ob-
taining the emperor's safe conduct to and from the council.
The emperor *Sigismund*, though a bigotted prince, had
some difficulty in agreeing to this execution; but managed
the chief point he had in view, that of deposing *John* from
the popedom, with vast address. He admitted nuntios from
the two antipopes into the council, dressed in their pontifical
habits. Those of *Gregory* required that *John* should not
pretend in the council, but they offered his abdication to
the

the members, if they thought proper to accept of it. The nuntios of *Benedict* proposed an interview between the emperor and the king of *Arragon*, and the whole was managed with such art, that the abdication of *John* was the only measure wanting to put an end to the schism. To this he at last agreed, partly through the menaces of the council, who threatened to proceed against him as a person guilty of all mortal sins and abominations; and partly because he hoped by his compliance to retain his dignity, which they promised he should do, if the other two popes did not abdicate likewise. The last mentioned condition, made *John* fall upon various expedients for delaying the time of his abdication; and in the mean time he fled disguised like a groom from *Constance*, in hopes that the council, being destitute of the presence of the pope, must be dissolved of course. The council asserted its own authority, even though the pope was absent, and declared itself superior to him; while *John* sent manifestos through all the courts of *Europe*, complaining of the council, and that he had been forced to consent to promise to abdicate. *Sigismund* endeavoured to seize the pope's person, which was done, and he was deposed, and stript of all his pontifical ornaments, upon a charge of fifty four articles that were preferred against him. Pope *Gregory XII.* as he called himself, next, by his deputies, abdicated the popedom; but *Benedict XIII.* still held out, though the emperor *Sigismund*, in person, undertook a journey to *Spain* to persuade him to resign. The emperor returning to *Constance*, the members of the council found themselves greatly embarrassed by this steady refusal of *Benedict*; but he was deposed, and *Otho Colonna*, who took the name of *Martin V.* was chosen pope, by twenty cardinals and thirty deputies of the nations who attended. This happened on the eleventh of *November* 1417, and in the *April* following the council was dissolved.

Martin sought to bring *Benedict* to abdicate the pope-*Martin V.* dom, but in vain, and after his election he went to pope of reside at *Florence*. There he endeavoured to reconcile all *Rome.* the differences of *Italy*; but he found his authority too weak to succeed. The late pope *John*, who was now called *Cossa*, in breach of the public faith given him by the emperor, and the council, was then languishing in prison, from which he was delivered by the generous interposition of the *Florentines* with pope *Martin*, at whose feet he threw himself; and died some months after. *Brachio*, in the mean while, having been left by pope *John*, legate in *Bologna*, hearing of the revolutions of the popedom, sold to the *Bolognese* their own liberty for eighty thousand ducats, and then reduced to his obedience his native city of *Perugia*, which had been seized by the *Neapolitans*. He still retained his post of commander in chief of the *Florentine* army; and pope

pope *Martin* employed him with great success in reducing the towns and cities that had revolted, or been alienated from the holy see, and even the *Romans* submitted to him. Pope *Martin*, at last, by *Sforza's* insinuations, became jealous of him, and excommunicated him ; but soon after absolved him.

History of *Ladislaus* king of *Naples*, was succeeded by his sister, *Jane*, dutchess dowager of *Austria*. At the time of her accession to the crown she was forty four years of age, and she found *Sforza* the first subject of her kingdom. Being a woman of an amorous complexion, she introduced her favourite, *Pandolphello Alopo*, to the post of her first minister, and he shut up *Sforza* in prison ; but the marriage of *Jane*, with *James*, count *de la Marche*, a nobleman of the house of *Bourbon*, rendered them friends. *James* took upon himself the title of king, recommitted *Sforza* to prison, and put *Pandolphello* to death; not satisfied with this, he filled all the posts of the kingdom, civil and military, with *Frenchmen*, and imprisoned his queen on account of her lewdness. This created an irreconcilable enmity between them. The *Neapolitans* loved her, and set her at liberty, and obliged *James* to abdicate the government, upon receiving a pension of forty thousand crowns. *Jane* thus regaining her sovereignty, freed *Sforza* from his fetters, and made him high constable of her dominions ; but she herself was entirely governed by her lover *Sergianni*, who being jealous of *Sforza*, persuaded her to send him to command against *Brachio*. During *Sforza's* absence, *Sergianni* had persuaded the queen to imprison her husband, and to banish the *French*. *Sforza*, in the mean time, perceiving that he had received his commission only for his ruin, as *Sergianni* had neglected to pay his troops, returned to *Naples*, and obliged the queen to banish her lover to the island of *Procida*. Pope *Martin* interposed, and sent his nephew *Antonio Colonna*, to *Naples*, with proposals which put an end to all differences in that court; by persuading the queen to set at liberty both her husband, and *Sergianni*, and to deliver up all the places she held belonging to the holy see.

Colonna was succeeded in his commission by a legate, who was impowered to crown the queen ; but the king being now at liberty, had formed so great a party, that he insisted upon being crowned at the same time ; and not succeeding in this, he returned to *France*, where he entered into the order of *Franciscans*, at *Besançon*. Upon his departure, *Sergianni*, whom some call *Caraccioli*, recovered all his power with the queen, and in the government ; but behaved with so much insolence and cruelty, that the *Neapolitans* entered into a conspiracy with *Sforza* against him. The pope had his reasons for joining in the concert, and he and *Sforza* took part with *Lewis*, the son of the late duke of *Anjou*, who wanted to be declared heir to the queen, she being

Confederacy against her.

being now past hopes of having one of her own body. His ambassadors were then at *Florence*, where pope *Martin* still held his court, soliciting this affair; and it was agreed, that if the queen should refuse to consent to the nomination, *Sforza* should act against her by land, and *Lewis* by sea. The queen proving obstinate, *Lewis* applied to the king of *Arragon*, who lent him, when it was too late, some *Genoese* vessels that were in his service, and in the mean while, *Sforza* resigning to her the badges of his offices, invested *Naples* on the eighth of *June* 1420.

The fleet at last arrived, but not till the army of *Sforza*, Progress which had long waited for it, had been almost ruined by the of *Al-* delay. The queen knew that the great dependence of her *phonso* in enemies was upon *Alphonso*, king of *Arragon*, and in order *Naples*. to detach him from their party, she offered to give him the adoption, for which *Lewis* was contending. *Alphonso* accepted of the offer, and sent a fleet to *Naples*, which obliged *Sforza* to draw off the remains of his army to *Aversa*, while the queen put *Alphonso's* deputies in possession of great part of her dominions, and ordered her nobles and people to swear fidelity to him as the heir of her crown. This conduct influenced the fickle *Neapolitans* in favour of the duke of *Anjou*, and the queen not receiving from *Alphonso* the assistance she expected, was treating with the duke, when four *Neapolitan* gallies arrived at *Naples*; and she was informed that *Alphonso* was making great preparations for driving *Lewis* out of her kingdom. Upon this, she took *Brachio* into her pay with three thousand horse; and *Alphonso* arrived at *Naples* with a very considerable sea and land armament. The pope sent *Tartalio*, his general, with a body of troops to the assistance of *Sforza*, the only general who could make head against *Brachio*; but *Tartalio* betrayed the cause for which his master was so sanguine. *Alphonso*, however, failed in the siege of *Acerra*, which he battered with a most tremendous train of artillery, and it was sequestered into the hands of *Martin's* legate. *Alphonso* felt the weight of the papal interest lying against him, and endeavoured to remove it by the only means that could have made an impression upon *Martin*; for he threatened to espouse the cause of *Peter de Luna*, who was still alive in *Spain*. This menace damped *Martin* so much, that he *Sforza* became cool in the interest of *Lewis*, and in the mean while, takes ser- the queen and *Alphonso* found means to engage *Sforza* in their vice under service, on the condition of his enjoying the dutchy of that queen *Manfredonia*. *Sergianni*, however, who had now regained his interest with the queen, had privately secured him to her interest, as both of them began to be jealous of *Alphonso*. *Alphonso* perceived this by the queen's and *Sergianni's* caution in not coming near his court, which he held at *Castella Nuova*, without a safe conduct. Though *Alphonso* had

Who abandons *Alphonso*, and renews the adoption of *Lewis*.

had granted one to *Sergianni*, yet he disregarded it, and put him in irons, and endeavoured to surprize the queen in *Castella Capuana*; but she repulsed him, and summoned *Sforza* to her assistance. *Alphonso* did the like, but *Sforza* declared for the queen, and drove the *Spanish* troops who were besieging her, into *Castello Nuovo*. As *Alphonso* had sent to *Spain* for a powerful reinforcement, which accordingly landed at *Naples*, and easily took possession of that city; the queen, by *Sforza's* advice, retired to *Aversa*, where she annulled the adoption of *Alphonso*, in favour of *Lewis of Anjou*, who was then at *Rome*, but was received at *Aversa* with the highest demonstrations of affection; being declared duke of *Calabria*, which had generally been the title of the heir apparent to the crown of *Naples*. *Alphonso* being unable to withstand *Sforza's* troops, with those of the royal and *Anjouvine* party in *Naples*, left the management of his affairs there to his brother *Peter*, and returned to *Spain*. The city of *Aquila* had been granted by the queen to *Brachio*; but he had taken part with *Alphonso*, and the inhabitants therefore refusing to submit to him, he besieged it. *Sforza* was ordered to relieve it; but he was drowned in passing the river *Pescara*, on his march, and his command devolved upon his natural son *Francis*, who resembled and excelled his father in all his military accomplishments.

Sforza drowned.

Successes of young *Sforza*

Young *Sforza*, instead of proceeding to *Aquila*, returned to *Aversa*, where the queen gave him the command of her army; and ordered him to retake *Naples* from *Alphonso*. Being assisted by a fleet sent at the persuasion of the pope, by the duke of *Milan*, he forced that capital, all but *Castello Nuovo*, to which *Peter* retired, to surrender, and then marched to the relief of *Aquila*, which was still besieged by *Brachio*. This drew on a battle, in which the latter was killed, and *Sforza* remained victorious. He returned to *Naples*, which was threatened by a fresh invasion of the *Spaniards*, who arrived in the harbour, but could not land, and all they did was their carrying *Peter* to *Arragon*; and leaving one *Dalmeo* to command in *Castello Nuovo*. *Alphonso* began now to despair of succeeding in his designs upon *Naples*; but *Sergianni* thought it his interest that the queen should not enjoy a secure tranquility. He neglected to dispossess the *Spaniards* of *Castello Nuovo*; he oppressed the great *Neapolitan* barons who had been in the interest of *Alphonso*; he engrossed to himself the estates that had belonged to *Brachio*, and being jealous of the credit of *Lewis of Anjou* with the queen, he sent him to command against the *Spanish* party in *Calabria*; and thus *Sergianni* was left without a rival about the queen's person.

Death of *Peter de Luna*.

Clement VII. or *Peter de Luna*, was now dead, and was succeeded in his mock dignity by cardinal *Ægidius*, who took the name of *Clement VIII.*; His exaltation was

owing

owing to *Alphonso*, who was willing to oppose him to *Martin*, who sent the cardinal of *Foix* to dissuade him from supporting this new antipope. *Alphonso* would not allow the legate to enter *Spain*, and the schism continued; but *Martin* laying the king and kingdom of *Arragon* under an interdict, he suffered the legate to enter his kingdom; but no accommodation ensued, and in the mean while, the *Bolognese* again revolted from the holy see, and were excommunicated.

In the year 1428, *Martin* again endeavoured to come to an accommodation with *Alphonso*, and sent a legate for that purpose to *Arragon*. *Alphonso* was then engaged in a war with the king of *Castile*, and having received from the legate all the satisfaction he could require, with the usual absolution and benedictions, *Ægidius* resigned his popedom; and the cardinals of his party chose *Otho Colonna* (pope *Martin V*) for the head of the church; and thus the schism was finally terminated, after lasting fifty years, and ten months. In 1431, pope *Martin* sent cardinal *Julian*, to preside at the council then sitting at *Basil*, in consequence of the resolutions of the councils of *Constance* and *Sienna*, and some days after he died. And of
Martin V;

He was succeeded by a *Venetian* cardinal, who took the name of *Eugene IV*. and who, before his election, was bound down to very hard terms by the cardinals. The *Colonnæ*, favoured by the late pope, were then possessed of immense power in *Rome*; and *Eugene* endeavouring to bring them to an account for some treasures, which he alledged they had sequestered from the church, they took arms, and attempted to become masters of the castle of *St. Angelo*; upon which *Eugene* applied to the queen of *Naples* for assistance. *Sergianni* continued still her first minister; but, as she was now old and infirm, he was no longer her lover. His insatiable avarice and ambition prompted him to aspire at the possessions the *Colonnæ* held in the kingdom, and he sent one thousand horse under the command of his brother *Matinto*, to *Eugene's* assistance; but demanded of the queen the principality of *Salerno*, belonging to the *Colonnæ*. The queen, at the instigation of her female favourites, the dutchess of *Sessa* particularly, refused his request, upon which he abused, and, as some say, struck, her majesty. *Sergianni* sought to strengthen his interest by a family alliance with *Caldora*, a nobleman who commanded four thousand troops in the *Abruzzo*; and this appeared so dangerous to the queen, that she gave orders for *Sergianni's* imprisonment. His enemies, afraid to trust to her firmness, and apprehensive of a return of her weakness for his person, put him to death, and next day his relations were imprisoned, his estates confiscated, and the conspirators were pardoned.

The dutchess of *Sessa* had all the ambition, and succeeded to all the power of *Sergianni*, and not only influenced and is succeeded in
she

his power the queen not to recall *Lewis of Anjou* from *Calabria*; but by the entered into a private correspondence with *Alphonso*, who dutchefs was still in hopes of succeeding to the crown of *Naples*. of *Sessa*. *Alphonso*, at the same time, prevailed on the duke of *Sessa*, who was at variance with his dutchefs, to take his part; but this impolitic step destroyed all his schemes, as it made the dutchefs his enemy, and he returned to *Sicily*, after concluding a ten years truce with the queen. In the mean while, *Lewis of Anjou*, who was still kept at a distance from the capital, married *Margaret*, the daughter of the duke of *Savoy*, and war was declared against the prince of *Tarento*, by the instigation of the courtiers, upon a frivolous pretext, though he had been always faithful to the queen. The Death of command of her forces was given to the duke of *Anjou*, who *Lewis of* spent one hundred thousand crowns of his own money in *Anjou* the campaign, and died as soon as it was finished, greatly lamented by the *Neapolitans*, but more by the queen, for his and queen gentle manners, and the probity of his heart. She survived *Jane*. him but a few months, and was the last of the *Anjouvine* race that had sat upon the throne of *Naples*. She died immensely rich, and adopted *Renate*, or *Regnier of Anjou*, in place of his brother, who had no issue, with a council of sixteen barons to assist, or rather to direct, him in his government.

This council was augmented by twenty four other persons, who were chosen four days after the queen's death, by the city of *Naples*. This innovation disgusted many of the chief *Neapolitan* noblemen, and they linked themselves with *Alphonso*, who had supported the prince of *Tarento*, and was now landed at *Ischia* with a fleet and an army.

The *Genoese* defeat *Alphonso*, and take him prisoner.

The pope, in the mean while, did not fail to put in his claim, and sent a nuntio to require the *Neapolitans* not to acknowledge any king who was not confirmed by him. They paid no regard to this admonition, but *Alphonso* was still gaining ground. He was now master of *Capua*, and besieged *Gaeta*. The duke of *Milan* was at this time in possession of *Genoa*, and having an eye upon the crown of *Naples*, he consented that the *Genoese* should assist the *Gaetans*. They accordingly fitted out a fleet, which was attacked by that of *Alphonso*, with a vast superiority of force. The *Genoese* being more expert seamen than the *Spaniards*, obtained a complete victory, and *Alphonso* himself, with his brothers, the king of *Navarre*, and don *Henry*, were made prisoners. Only one of all the *Spanish* gallies escaped being taken by the conquerors. This unexpected victory encouraged the *Gaetans* to make a sally by land, and having routed their enemies, the siege was raised. The *Genoese*, though they were in fact governed by the duke of *Milan*, still retained the form of a republican government, and therefore fancied themselves to be free. Their joy for this victory was extravagant, being in full hopes of having the glory

glory of seeing two monarchs their prisoners, besides near one thousand *Spanish* and *Neapolitan* barons and knights. They were disappointed in all their pleasing prospects.

The duke of *Milan*, who inherited all the ambition of his ancestors, did not think it for his interest, either that the *Genoese* should be able to avail themselves of their victory, or that the *French* should acquire the kingdom of *Naples*. Instead of carrying the illustrious prisoners to *Genoa*, he gave private orders to the admiral to conduct them to *Milan*, where he received them with the magnificence and respect due to their high rank ; and entering into a strict alliance with *Alphonso* against *Renate*, all of them were set at liberty. He is set at liberty. The *Genoese* resented his conduct so much, that they concluded a treaty with *Renate*, who, for reasons that are foreign to this part of our history, was then prisoner to the duke of *Burgundy*, and had not yet visited his new dominions. Obtaining leave upon his parole, to repair to *Anjou*, where he met with the deputies sent by the regency of *Naples*, he refused to attend them to that capital ; and having received their congratulations, he returned to the place of his captivity, sending his wife *Elizabeth*, and his second son, to govern the *Neapolitans* in his room. *Caldora*, and *Antonio*, then commanded in that kingdom for *Renate*, but finding their authority diminished by the arrival of *Elizabeth*, they suffered the *Arragonians* to become masters of *Gaeta*, that they might render their own services the more necessary ; and this crisis naturally leads us to the history of other parts of *Italy*.

The progress of the *Bohemian Hussites*, had been for some time a very serious object of the pope's attention ; and they defeated his warlike legate the cardinal *Julian*. They were not the only enemies of the papal religion, for a spirit of reformation was now gaining ground all over *Europe* ; and was by churchmen in general imputed to the avarice, ambition, tyranny, and ignorance of the popes. In this opinion they were joined by most of the *Christian* princes, and it was resolved that the council of *Basil* should proceed to acts of reformation, independent of the papal authority. This resolution, with many other indications of their intentions, naturally induced *Eugene* to order his legate *Julian* to dissolve the council. *Julian* did not chuse to obey his holiness, and the emperor *Sigismund*, who was then in *Italy*, opposed the dissolution. The doctrinal proceedings of the council belong to a history of the church ; but many of them had great civil consequences. *Eugene* finding himself disobeyed, and that the fathers at *Basil* had indulged the *Hussites* in many of their demands, renewed his attempts to remove the council from *Basil* to *Bolegna* ; but the members despised his bulls, and issued manifestos, declaring the council to be above the pope ; and that they were resolved not to rise till they had completed the great work of reformation.

mation. Being backed by the general sense of all *Europe*, their assembly daily increased in numbers, and they even cited the pope, and his cardinals, to appear before their tribunal. *Eugene* was then dangerously ill, and the council decreed that, in case of his death, his successor should be elected no where but at *Basil*, and that no new cardinals should be made during the continuance of the council. At last, they, in fact, transferred to themselves the sovereignty of the church, and superceeded that of the pope.

Which
censures
pope
Eugene.

Eugene, equally enraged and intimidated by their proceedings, craftily endeavoured to prevail upon them to adjourn their sessions to some town in the ecclesiastical dominions; where he promised in person to recognize their supremacy. Instead of complying, the members formally impeached him of contumacy; because he had neither revoked his former bulls of dissolution, nor had he made his appearance at their bar, threatening, that if he delayed it farther, they would proceed against him as a delinquent, and suspend him from the pontificate. The pope endeavoured to mitigate this spirit of opposition, and was seconded by the emperor, who remained still in *Italy*; but all was in vain, and on the eleventh of *October* 1433, *Sigismund* arrived at *Basil*. His presence made no alteration in the proceedings of the council; and *Eugene* finding all the lenitives he had employed to be unsuccessful, declared all their acts and decrees to be null and void. Had the fathers of the council been properly seconded by the secular power, they might at this time have given a mortal blow to the papacy; but it was not the interest of the princes of *Europe* that it should be farther reduced, because they found it would be far easier for them to repress the usurpations of the bishop of *Rome*, and his cardinals, than those of all the bishops and ecclesiastics in christendom. The emperor *Sigismund*, obtained, from time to time, a prorogation of the term appointed for *Eugene's* appearance; and the increase of the duke of *Milan's* power in *Italy*, secretly influenced many of the princes in favour of the pope. He had seized the greatest part of the ecclesiastical possessions in *Italy*, and his general *Fortebraccio* lay in the neighbourhood of *Rome* with an army, on pretence that the council of *Basil* had appointed his master their vicar in *Italy*. *Eugene* continued to act with great prudence, well knowing that the separate interests of the princes, and members that composed the council, must in time operate to his advantage. He published a bull, revoking all that he had done against the council, and acknowledging its authority, which proved satisfactory to the fathers, who admitted his legates to sit among them; but only as simple members, and without any marks of papal pre-eminency or jurisdiction. Meanwhile, the party of the *Visconti*, and the *Colonne*, getting possession of the strong places about *Rome*, drove from thence the

Prudent
conduct
of that
pope.

the pope, who fled on board a small vessel, into which the malecontents discharged several shot, which his holiness narrowly escaped.

We are here to observe, that about this time muskets, The council takes execution upon the *Florentines* at the siege of *Lucca*, that his part. they were obliged to raise it. *Eugene* being out of danger, sailed first to *Pisa*, and then to *Florence*, from whence he sent a moving account of his persecution and sufferings to the council of *Basil*, whose authority he again recognized; and it produced the desired effect. The *Romans* had, by this time, imprisoned his nephew, cardinal *Condelmero*, and seized all his effects, wherever they could find them; but were unable to take the castle of *St. Angelo*. *Eugene's* calamities touched the members of the council, where his friends acted with infinite address. The fathers, in right of the papal power, which they had assumed, or usurped, sent two legates to persuade the duke of *Milan* to restore the church's patrimony. The emperor *Sigismund* began now to complain, that the council had arrogated powers incompatible with the imperial authority; that they paid more respect to the duke of *Milan* than to him, and that they had encroached upon the civil constitutions of the empire, in the dispute about the duchy of *Saxony*. His discontent was highly serviceable to the cause of the pope, and an incident happened, which gave another favourable turn to his affairs.

The progress of the *Turks* against the *Greek* emperor, Account of the re-union of the *Latin* for support; and though he knew his subjects the *Greek* he sent deputies to treat both with *Eugene* and the council, and *Latin* concerning a union between the *Greek* and *Latin* churches. churches. This was a popular point, and flattered the vanity of the fathers at *Basil*, who imagined themselves to be now the arbiters of *Europe*. They gave a plausible answer to the *Greek* deputies, and voted that a sum of money should be sent to *Palæologus*, to defray his expences, if he should think proper to repair to *Basil*; but if that journey was inconvenient, or disagreeable for him, they were willing to call an œcumenical council, at any place chosen by the emperor, where he pleased to attend with his clergy. *Palæologus*, at the same time, addressed *Eugene*, who confirmed all that the council had voted in his favour; and the fathers sent nuntios to *Constantinople*, to persuade the emperor to agree to the holding the œcumenical council at *Basil*, which the emperor agreed to. But at the same time he kept up a private The pope gains ground. correspondence with *Eugene*, who informed him of what was indeed true, that *Sigismund* had withdrawn in disgust from *Basil*; that the *Venetians*, and several other powers had disowned the authority of the council there; that the

members were splitting among themselves, and that the force of all its decrees must soon be annulled.

Miscon-

duct of the
council of
Basil.

It happened as *Eugene* had foretold ; dissensions, through the obstacles thrown in by the pope's legates and agents, took place in the council, about forms and methods of proceeding, and at last it was divided into two parties, each sitting and voting in places separated from the other. The most respectable members, finding there was no principle of unity under which they could act, adhered to the pope, who ratified their acts, though they were inferior in numbers ; and they agreed that a safe conduct should be given to the *Greeks*, who were to repair to the œcumenical council, which was to be held in some part of *Italy*, though no place was yet fixed on. This employed the business of the session. *Eugene* and his agents, insisted that it should be held in some city of *Tuscany*, or the ecclesiastical state. The sense of the fathers, was, that it should be held at *Basil*, *Avignon*, or some place in *Savoy*. Without entering into a minute detail, it is evident, that the fathers, who had separated from *Eugene* and his cardinals fell into all the absurdities that they had blamed in the pope. They voted indulgences of the most ridiculous kind to be issued and sold for the maintainance of the *Greek* fathers, who were to repair to the council ; and that a message should be sent to *Constantinople*, peremptorily fixing *Basil* as the place for holding the council. The pope's party, who held a separate session, appointed *Florence*, or *Ferrara* ; and by opening the lock of a casket, where the seal of the council was deposited, they affixed it to their decree, and transmitted it to *Constantinople* ; while the antipapal messenger repaired to the same city, with the vote that had been passed by the majority for holding the council at *Basil*.

The

council of
Ferrara
opened.

The *Greek* emperor was far from being ignorant of all those contradictory circumstances ; and adhered to the pope and the minority, who brought him and his clergy to *Venice*, in nine gallies, in the beginning of *December*, 1437. The council was enraged at the pope's cool perseverance against all their fulminations. The members annulled the most material acts of his pontificate during their session. They ordered him, and his cardinals to appear before them in sixty days, and they applied to the emperor *Sigismund* for protection. *Sigismund* was then on his death bed, and advised the fathers to more moderation ; but when the sixty days for *Eugene's* appearance were elapsed, they resolved to chuse another pope, and they suspended him from the pontificate. Cardinal *Julian*, and *Eugene's* other adherents, sensible of the madness of their proceedings, (which while they professed themselves votaries to the church of *Rome*, were certainly indefensible,) left *Basil* ; but the fathers continued their session, while the pope, who had transferred them to *Ferrara*, opened a council in that city, composed of

of the cardinals and prelates of his party. This council at *Ferrara*, annulled the acts of that of *Basil*, and *Eugene*, with great moderation, animadverting upon the violence of the fathers at *Basil*, offered to submit his conduct to those at *Ferrara*. The council of *Basil*, had now very little credit among the *Christian* powers, and that of *Ferrara* was honoured by the presence of the *Greek* emperor, and his clergy; who were treated by the pope and his cardinals, with the greatest marks of honour and respect. On the ninth of *April*, 1438, after the ceremonials between the two nations had been adjusted, the *Greek* and *Latin* fathers met in council, and some days were spent in religious disputes about the beatitude of saints, the reality of purgatory, the procession of the holy ghost, and other matters of faith; though without either coming to any conclusion, but that of obstinately adhering to its own opinions.

The fathers at *Basil*, were enraged beyond measure, at the steady contempt of the pope for all their proceedings; but the *German*, and *Gallican* churches declared for a neutrality as to both councils. It happened, unfortunately for the emperor of *Constantinople*, that the invincible prepossessions of his clergy hurt his interest, and they delayed his relief against the *Turks*, which was in fact the only end of his appearance at *Ferrara*. All the persuasive eloquence of *Eugene*, and his cardinals, could not effect a coalition of sentiments between the *Greeks* and *Latins*, while they continued disputing; and in the beginning of the year 1439, the plague breaking out at *Ferrara*, the council was adjourned to *Florence*. In the mean while, the council of *Basil* deposed *Eugene* from the papacy; and he in return, by a solemn and severe edict, devoted all its members to hell and damnation. *Eugene* was now become rich, and respectable, and by his money he rendered the *Greek* fathers more tractable at *Florence* than they had been at *Ferrara*; while their union with the *Latin* church, was not a little forwarded by the death of the patriarch of *Constantinople*. At last, it was entirely completed, and the *Greek* clergy, in every respect, became proselytes to the *Latins*.

The *Greek* church reconciled to the *Latin*.

So important an acquisition to the papacy, as that of a *Greek* emperor, and his clergy, raised the character and reputation of *Eugene* all over *Europe*. The council, which still continued to sit at *Basil*, was now looked upon as the factious remnant of a venerable assembly; but the more despicable the members were, they grew the more arrogant, and repeated their deposition of pope *Eugene*. It was in vain for the emperor *Albert* to interpose his authority for moderation; for they proceeded to fill up the papacy, and on the twenty seventh of *October*, they chose for pope *Amadeus*, duke of *Savoy*, who took the name of *Felix V*. The history and character of that prince, are to this day riddles. He had some time before abdicated the govern-

ment of his dutchy, that he might more freely indulge his pleasures at *Ripaille*, a beautiful retreat on the *Leman Lake*. He was a man of wit and gallantry, and was so far, in the preceding part of his life, from manifesting any affection towards an ecclesiastical life, that he had always held it in ridicule; and at the time of his election by the *Basil* fathers, he was a layman, and a widower. When the cardinal of *Arles* carried him the news of his election, he affected great unwillingness to accept of the honour; but was prevailed upon to be consecrated, and pontifically cloathed. *Eugene*, by this time, had completed the union of the *Greek* and *Latin* churches at *Florence*; after much altercation, and a kind of a juggle, which had been carried on between their emperor, and the pope, whom the *Greeks* acknowledged to be the true head of the universal church. Though this was a very splendid measure, and intended by *Eugene* to strike all christendom, but especially the fathers at *Basil*, with veneration for his character; yet it was far from answering his end, for the *Greek* deputies, upon their return to *Constantinople*, disclaimed all that had been done, and declared that every thing had been carried on by fraud and artifice, and refused to conform either to the doctrine, or the discipline of the *Roman* church. Had *Eugene* been contented with the comprehension of the *Greeks* alone, he might perhaps, have succeeded better than he did; but he sought to include in his scheme the *Armenians*, the *Jacobites*, the *Abyssinians*, and all the sects belonging to the *Greek* church, who were both too ignorant, and too positive to be convinced; while their zeal led them to expose the holy father.

The schism now gathered strength, *Fælix*, at *Basil*, and *Eugene*, at *Florence*, created cardinals, and each anathematized the other with the most infernal denunciations; but the fathers at *Basil* affected a superiority over their pope, and even repealed some of his acts; though in the meanwhile they omitted nothing that could contribute to his grandeur and support; and they endeavoured, but without effect, to bring the princes of *Germany* to recognize him. *Eugene* was still acknowledged as the true pope, by *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Hungary*. *Fælix* was acknowledged in his own dominions, part of *Switzerland*, and *Bavaria*, while *Britany*, and the *German* empire, in fact, acknowledged neither pope, and declared for a neutrality.

Rise of
the *Me-*
dici fami-
ly.

It was about this time, that the foundations of the greatness of the *Medici* family were laid in *Florence*. That republic had always considered the dukes of *Milan* as being formidable to their liberties. *Philip Galeazzo*, then possessed that dignity, and endeavoured to gain the friendship of the *Florentines*, while he was taking measures for acquiring the government of *Genoa*. *Uzana*, was at the head of the *Florentine* magistracy, and concluded a boundary treaty with *Philip*,

Philip, who thereby succeeded in his designs upon *Florence*. The *Florentines* had now quitted that warlike character, which had so long rendered their state the bulwark of the *Italian* liberties. Their excessive wealth enabled them to carry on their wars by foreign mercenaries, and every day rendered them more in love with the arts of peace, which they cultivated amidst all the luxuries of a delightful climate and territory. They had bought *Leghorn*, which is since become so considerable a sea-port, from the doge of *Genoa*; and *Philip* considered the acquisition as an infringement of the late treaty. The family of *Medici* was then in disgrace at *Florence*; but the growing power of the duke of *Milan* had rendered *Uzano*, and the acting magistrates, unpopular among the *Florentines*, who were factious to excess. Each great man sought to vindicate his own conduct, by throwing the blame upon his brother magistrate, till all were involved in the common odium; and the people grew impatient for a war with the duke of *Milan*, which was voted, contrary to the sentiments of *John de Medici*, the head of that house, and the wisest and most virtuous citizen in *Florence*.

The war proved unfortunate, and the *Florentines* were War in defeated, to the great consternation of their city, though *Florence* so harmless was the manner of carrying on war at that time between in *Italy*, that no more than three persons lost their lives in the ple- the battle, not by their enemies, but by falling from their beians and horses. The brave *Brachio* was now dead, and had been the nobi- succeeded by *Nicholas Picinino*, a soldier of fortune, but the lity. ablest commander in *Italy*. The people, pressed by their taxes, and discouraged by the ill success of the war, grew more mutinous than ever, and a direct breach ensued between them and the nobility, who were for violent measures, and insisted upon employing force against the plebeians. The latter recollected, that *John de Medici* had opposed the war, and had always been their friend. They threw their eyes upon him for their deliverer, and he soon became the most popular man in *Florence*. He advised the noblemen to moderation, and though the liberties of his country in a manner lay at his feet, yet he refused to enter into any measure that was detrimental to the people. The duke of *Milan* made use of those dissensions to make farther attempts upon *Florence*; and brought the pope over to his party, while the *Florentines* were so infatuated, as to disgust their general *Picinino*, who took service under the duke of *Milan*. It happened luckily for the *Florentines*, that *Philip*, about this time, disobliged his best general *Carmignola*, who retired to *Venice*. The *Florentines* having suffered defeat after defeat, and lost many of their towns, threw their eyes upon the *Venetians*, who were still jealous of *Philip*, and by *Carmignola*'s advice concluded a treaty with them, which obliged *Philip* to recall his troops out of *Tuscany*. He lost *Brescia*,

Death of
John de
Medici.

Great
losses of
the *Flo-*
rentines.

Their
factions.

scia, and *Bergamo*, to the *Venetians*; who gained so many advantages over him, that the pope was obliged to mediate a peace, which was accordingly concluded; after the war had cost the *Florentines* above three millions and a half of ducats. This vast expence occasioned a severe land tax to be levied, which fell so heavy upon the *Florentine* nobility, that a civil war broke out in their own territories, especially with the *Volterrans*, who were with difficulty subdued. In the mean while, *John de Medici* died, possessed of more reputation and riches, than perhaps, any subject in *Europe*, and was succeeded by his son *Cosmo*, who afterwards became so famous by the glorious title of “the father of his country.”

Cosmo was then young and unexperienced, and precipitately entered into the party which was for a war against *Lucca*; the chief man of which state was *Guinigi*. The party for war carried their point, and the duke of *Milan* took part with *Guinigi*. The *Florentines* suffered in their reputation during its management, and must have been ruined, had it not been for the moderation of *Sforza*, the *Milanese* general, who accepted of *Florentine* money, and withdrew from their territory; while *Guinigi* was treacherously sent prisoner to *Milan*, where he died. This did not prevent the duke of *Milan* from privately exciting the *Genoese*, who declared war against the *Florentines*, and took *Picinino* into their pay. The ill fate of the *Florentines*, rendered them now unpopular with the other *Tuscan* states; and they were afraid of a general confederacy being formed against themselves. They applied once more to the *Venetians*; but they did not chuse to disoblige the duke of *Milan*, who had offered his daughter, and the heiress of his family, in marriage to *Sforza*. Pope *Eugene* interposed, and persuaded the *Venetians* to renew their league with the *Florentines*, while the *Siennese* joined that between the duke of *Milan* and the *Genoese*. *Sforza* had no dependance on the good faith of *Philip*, whose chief army he commanded, and his distrust was so apparent, that he recalled *Picinino* to *Milan*, after he had subdued the greatest part of the *Florentine* territory, and had even reduced it to the walls of their city; excepting a few places which they still held in the vale of *Alsa*.

Picinino's recall gave a turn to the war in favour of the *Florentines*, who retook several of their own places, and were favoured by a strong diversion made upon the *Po*, by the *Venetian* fleet, against the dukes territories. The *Venetians*, however, were entirely defeated by *Picinino*; and though the *Florentines* had, in a great measure, recovered their losses, yet their state remained under terrible distractions. The fickle populace impeached such of the nobility as had been most forward in advising the war against *Lucca*; and among others *Cosmo de Medici*, whose name does honour to the

the history of *Italy*. This great patriot's modesty was such, that he had studiously avoided all direction in public matters, and his friend *Puccio's* name and credit had been always made use of in their most important debates and resolutions. Though *Cosmo* had approved of the *Lucques* war, yet so disinterested was he in his conduct, that he had suffered his enemies to take the command of the *Florentine* armies. This was carrying moderation, perhaps, to an excess, and his enemies did not fail to give out, that his patriotism was no better than affectation, and that he was the secret spring of all the public measures and misfortunes: *Rinaldo Albizi*, was at the head of the party against *Cosmo*; which consisted of all the other leading men in *Florence*, excepting *Uzano*, who, during his life time, persuaded the party to moderation; but upon his death, *Albizi*, taking the lead, filled his countrymen with such apprehensions, of the power and dangerous designs of *Cosmo*, that they never appeared in public without armour. The gonfalonier, was then the highest magistrate in *Florence*, and had, by his post, which had been instituted to preserve the ballance between the nobles and the plebeians, almost all the executive power of the state. *Albizi*, whose only failing seems to have been his furious jealousy of the *Medici*, procured this post for one *Bernardo*, a needy dependant of his own, whose debts he paid; and *Cosmo* was put under arrest, to be tried by a commission issued for that purpose. It is probable, that the event of the trial would have been death to *Cosmo*; but he knew how to lay out his money so well among his keepers, and upon the gonfalonier, that he saved his head, and he was sentenced to be exiled to *Padua*. *Puccio*, and others of his friends, received like sentences at the same time.

Cosmo, when his sentence was pronounced, prevailed with the gonfalonier to give him an escort to protect him against his enemies, who, as he was informed, were way-laying him; and *Rinaldo* considered the punishment he underwent, as a triumph over himself, and the other enemies of the house of *Medici*. He summoned them together, and inveighing most furiously against the plebeians, he exhorted the nobles of his party to make use of the arms that were yet in their hands, to seize the government. He was opposed by some of the more moderate nobles, who detested the tyranny and violences of their own order, and in 1434, the affairs of the *Florentines* took such a turn in favour of *Cosmo*, that the gonfalonier, and eight senators, all of them his friends, were chosen into the magistracy. *Rinaldo*, in vain exhorted the nobility to assert their rights; but they resolved to forbear from all hostilities until they were attacked by the plebeians. The new gonfalonier, cited *Albizi*, and the other enemies of the house of *Medici*, to appear before him; upon which, *Albizi* took arms, and he
and

and his friends enlisted a number of banditti, and disbanded soldiers, who happened to be at *Florence*. This shew of authority, however, daunted and dispirited his party, so that they did not make the appearance he expected; though they were so numerous, and their pretences so specious, that the magistrates granted them a conference, in which they declared, that they had no thoughts of recalling *Cosmo*. Some of *Albizi's* partizans were satisfied with this declaration, and it broke their unanimity. Pope *Eugene* was then at *Florence*, and offered his mediation between the contending parties; but he had very little weight with either, for though they seemed to agree to lay down their arms, yet the popular resolution to recall *Cosmo de Medici* was not to be diverted. A new balia, or commission, consisting chiefly of his friends, was issued, by which the sentence of his banishment was repealed, and the like sentence pronounced upon *Albizi*, and the chief of his enemies.

Albizi
banished

See
Vol. IX.
p. 60.

War in
Lombardy
continued.

The pope had some reason to complain at being thus outwitted, and seeing his authority contemned. *Albizi*, bore his fate heroically, but blamed himself for imagining, that his holiness could protect him in *Florence*, when he could not protect himself in *Rome*. He had the glory of conforming to the laws of his country by going into exile, while his rival *Cosmo* was recalled in triumph, and declared, by the voice of his fellow citizens, to be "the friend of the people, and the father of his country." *Sigismund* was then in *Italy*, where his pockets were so low and his pretensions so high, that he acted a part little better than that of an imperial beggar. The *Florentines* despised him, as they saw that he received even the means of his subsistence from the duke of *Milan*, who likewise affronted him, and they beat his *Milanese* escort at *Topori*. After this, they forced him to shut himself at *Lucca*, from whence he escaped to *Sienna*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he received the imperial crown. The return of *Cosmo de Medici* to *Florence*, gave a new face to the affairs of *Italy*. The duke of *Milan's* coffers were exhausted by the prodigious expences of his wars; and he so entirely depended upon *Sforza* and his other mercenary generals, that he could scarcely be said to have a will of his own. The pope was pretty much in the same situation; only his condition was more despicable, as young *Sforza*, and *Fortebrace*, *Picinino's* nephew, were then thinking of paying their armies by the spoils of the ecclesiastical state. *Cosmo* was free of all the difficulties under which the other *Italian* princes lived. The republic of *Florence* was, indeed poor, but he, and many of its individuals, were immensely rich, and to this, the ruin of their republic was owing, for though *Cosmo* continued to be the greatest patriot, and the best subject that any country could ever

ever boast of, yet his riches and influence were undoubtedly too great for that state of constitutional equality that belongs to a free republic. The duke of *Milan* saw his own danger, from the mercenary disposition of his troops; and, contrary to his usual policy, he linked himself with the *Florentines*, and restored to them all he had conquered from them. This reasonable peace restored the balance of power in *Italy*, by breaking the friendship between the duke of *Milan* and the emperor, who now courted the friendship of the *Florentines*; but not succeeding, he made an alliance with the *Venetians*, and returned to *Germany*. *Sforza*, *Fortebrace*, and *Picinino*, all of them mercenary officers, and at the head of mercenary armies, then fell upon the patrimony of the church; and *Sforza* made himself master of the marquisate of *Ancona*. He held the pope in such contempt, that his common stile was to date his papers from his own treasury there, "in spite of *St. Peter*, and *St. Paul*."

The pope, at this time, was in danger of seeing all his possessions a prey to those rapacious mercenaries; but they quarrelled among themselves, and the danger he was in served in the main to aggrandize his power. He made *Sforza* his gonfalonier, or general of his armies, and invoked the assistance of the *Florentines*, and the *Venetians*, against *Fortebrace*, who had persuaded the *Bolognese* again to revolt. The latter applied to the duke of *Milan*, who gave them assistance; and the *Florentines* and *Venetians* were defeated. *Sforza* being jealous of *Fortebrace*, took service under the pope, and defeated him, though *Fortebrace* was then master of *Tivoli*, *Montefiascone*, *Castello*, and *Affisi*; in which last place he took refuge, but was besieged by *Sforza*. The duke of *Milan* ordered *Picinino*, if possible, to relieve *Fortebrace*, and he forced *Sforza* to raise the siege of *Affisi*; but soon after he made *Fortebrace* a prisoner, and he died of his wounds. This victory of *Sforza* was decisive in favour of the pope, who thereby recovered all that had been taken from him by *Fortebrace*; and the duke of *Milan*, who in reality was neither friend nor foe to either party, but wanted to hold the balance among them all, employed the marquis of *Ferrara's* mediation for obtaining a peace with the pope, which was accordingly granted him, and his holiness regained all that had been taken from him by the duke, together with *Bologna*. By this accommodation, the tranquillity of *Florence* was restored; and *Cosmo de Medici* was now so popular in his country, and so powerful with all the neighbouring princes, that he was in every respect treated as a sovereign. His friends, who thought that their own safety must be owing to their severity, did not make a very moderate use of their good fortune. Some of their enemies were banished, and others were put to death,

Progress
of *Sforza*.

The *Florentines*
and *Venetians* de-
feated.

A peace
concluded.

death ; proceedings to which *Cosmo* was obliged to give way, contrary to the natural goodness of his heart.

Affairs of
Naples.

The schism between the two popes still continued. *Alphonso*, king of *Arragon*, at first sided with the council of *Basil*, and consequently took part with *Fælix* ; but, in fact, he put his interest up at sale to the best bidder, and *Eugene*, finding himself trifled with, gave the command of his troops, which consisted of four thousand horse, and one thousand foot, to *Vitelleschi*, a prelate of warlike abilities, who did him vast service. *Caldora*, and the other *Neapolitan* generals, beheld him with an evil eye, so that he returned to the pope at *Ferrara*. *Renate*, by this time, had purchased his liberty from the duke of *Burgundy*, at an immense rate, and entered into treaty at *Pisa*, with *Francis Sforza* ; but it was broken off by the obstinacy of *Caldora*, who refused to co-operate with any mercenary troops. *Renate* proceeded from *Pisa* to *Naples*, where he was at first well received ; but he was so miserably poor, that his interest soon flagged. *Caldora*, instead of assisting him, marched to defend his own estates in *Abruzzo*, where *Alphonso* had made a very considerable progress. The *Anjouvine* faction, however, was still powerful in *Naples*, and *Renate* was soon at the head of an army, with which he offered battle to *Alphonso* ; but the latter giving him the slip, laid siege to *Naples*, both by sea and land. The *Neapolitans* continued so faithful to *Renate*, that *Alphonso*, after losing the infant don *Peter*, by a cannon ball, raised the siege, when he had pressed it for thirty six days ; but his troops still remained masters of *Castello Nuovo*, which *Renate* besieged in his turn. Two ambassadors arrived from *France* to negotiate an agreement between the two competitors, and *Alphonso* being unable to relieve *Castello Nuovo*, consented that it should be put into the hands of the ambassadors ; who being ill treated by the *Spanish* soldiers, delivered it to *Renate*. The inconstancy of the *Neapolitans* overthrew all that had been done both in the council, and the field. Each competitor endeavoured to bribe the great *Neapolitan* barons, by giving them investitures of lands belonging to the opposite party.

Where
Alphonso
prevails ;

Alphonso was the most successful in this traffic. He gave *Salerno*, which he took, with the title of prince, to *Ursine*, count of *Nola*, and he besieged *Aversa*. Old *Caldora* being dead, his son, who took the title of duke of *Bari*, refused to join with any party ; and *Renate*, being unable to raise the siege of *Aversa*, was prevailed upon, with difficulty, by the *Neapolitans* of his party, to remain in *Italy*. Escaping from *Naples* to *Abruzzo*, where the strength of his party lay, he was at length joined by the duke of *Bari*, and defeated *Alphonso*. His victory must have been decisive, had it not been frustrated by *Caldora's* treachery, which *Renate* endeavoured

endeavoured to punish ; but found himself unable, and being obliged to set him at liberty, he joined with *Alphonso Renate*, who had great personal bravery, but little perseverance, or resolution, would have immediately abandoned the kingdom to *Alphonso*, had he not been in hopes of being relieved by a confederacy of the pope, and the *Italian* states, in his favour. This confederacy came to nothing. *Alphonso* punished *Caldora's* treachery to *Renate*, by giving his duchy to the prince of *Tarento*, and he died a beggar ; while *Alphonso* found means to persuade the troops of the confederacy, who agreed but indifferently among themselves, to conclude a truce, by which *Renate* was now left destitute.

The consequence of the truce was, that *Alphonso* besieged *Renate* in *Naples*, which he entered by an aqueduct ; and *Renate* was obliged to retire to *Castello Nuovo*, from whence he escaped to the pope, at *Florence*, where he received a fresh investiture of his kingdom. *Alphonso* made a wise use of his success. He rode on horseback through the streets of *Naples*, where he put a stop to the ravages of his soldiers ; he pardoned all the *Anjouvine* party, and called a free parliament at *Benevento*. Then he required the nobility to swear allegiance to his natural, but now legitimated, son, *Ferdinand* ; that he might, as he pretended, preserve the independency of *Naples* upon his other dominions ; but at the same time he made that city the seat of his government, and omitted nothing that could gain him the hearts of the inhabitants. He knew that his possession of that kingdom must be precarious, without the friendship of the pope ; but he for some time remained in suspense to which pope he should apply, and treated with both. Both offered him advantageous terms, and to give to him the investiture of *Naples* ; but the credit of the council of *Basil*, (the great support of *Fælix*,) being then on the decline, he struck in with *Eugene*. The terms agreed upon were, that he should hold *Naples*, as former kings had done, from the holy see ; that he should restore to the church all her possessions he held ; furnish six gallies against the *Turks*, and four thousand horse against *Francis Sforza*. On the other hand, the pope agreed to give him the investiture of the kingdom, to quit him of all the money he owed to the holy see, and to legitimate his son, *Ferdinand*. In consequence of this bull, *Alphonso* recognized *Eugene* as the true pope, and *Eugene* gave a dormant investiture of the kingdom of *Naples* to *Ferdinand*, in case *Alphonso* should die without leaving any lawful issue of his own body. *Alphonso*, in return, threatened to break up the council of *Basil*, by force of arms, if the fathers assembled there did not separate themselves.

Pope *Fælix*, under pretence of a quiet retirement, was then enjoying his pleasures in his favourite retreat at *Ripaille*, council of

Basil declines.

See
Vol. IX.
p. 66.

Death of
pope
Eugene.

Nicholas
V. pope.

War in
Tuscany,

paille, which he refused to leave; and this, together with an indiction of a lateran council, which had been published by *Eugene*, at the request of the chief *Christian* powers, in fact, put an end to the council at *Basil*, whose acts were afterwards of so little importance, that they are not recorded. *Eugene* now ventured to return to *Rome*, where he abolished the taxes against which the people had mutinied, and preached up crusades against the *Turks*; which ended fatally for *Ladislaws* king of *Hungary*. Next year, being 1445, the famous *Aeneas Sylvius*, afterwards pope, arrived at *Rome*, as the imperial ambassador, to vindicate the conduct of the emperor, and the *German* diets, during the council of *Basil*; and to desire that a council should be convoked in *Germany*. *Eugene* accepted of the vindication, but refused to call the council; and, like his predecessors, sought to raise his reputation as universal pastor, by sending nuntios into the east, where he pretended, that the *Maronites* were daily submitting to the *Roman* see. *Eugene* was at this time on his death bed, and had drawn up many bulls for the pacification of the church, and the absolution of the fathers of *Basil*, provided they returned to their duty by a prefixed time. He was succeeded by *Thomas of Sarzana*, a *Lucquese*, who took the name of *Nicholas V.* In the mean while, *Alphonso*, king of *Naples*, omitted nothing that could conciliate the affections of the chief *Napolitans* to his government, by marrying several of them into his own family, and loading them with favours. Understanding that *Sforza* had defeated his troops, and those of the pope, he marched himself towards the *Marche* of *Ancona*; but when he had advanced to *Tivoli*, hearing of *Eugene's* death, he stopt short; and *Nicholas V.* proposed a congress for a general peace at *Ferrara*. This leads us to a detail of the war which was all this while raging in *Lombardy*, between the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians*.

The *Florentines* were the allies of the *Venetians*; but as we have seen, they had, by *Picininio*, been obliged to raise the siege of *Lucca*; and the *Genoese* admiral, *Fornari*, had almost stript them of their new acquisition of *Pisa*. *Picininio*, after this, marched into the *Volterrann*, where he made a considerable progress, till he was checked by *Attendulo*, the pope's general. *Carmignola*, still continued to command the *Venetian* forces, but was beat by *Sforza*, now the duke of *Milan's* general; while *Picininio*, his other general, had almost surprized *Arezzo*, belonging to the *Florentines*. The *Venetians* encreased their force by sea, and sent a squadron with ten thousand men, up the river, as far as *Cremona*, under their admiral *Trevisano*, who was to act in concert with *Carmignola*. The fleet and the army joining, composed a most formidable body, and *Philip*, duke of *Milan*, was obliged to call upon his best generals and troops to oppose them. He still was inferior in force to the *Venetians*,

Venetians, but that disadvantage was compensated by the abilities of his officers, and the discipline of his army. An engagement followed, in which *Grimaldi*, a *Genoese* admiral, of great reputation, and *Picinino*, defeated the *Venetians*, with great loss and slaughter. The *Venetians*, who were at this time rich and powerful, remained undaunted amidst their losses, and resolved to carry the war into the *Genoese* territories. They dismissed *Carmignola* from their service, and gave the command of a strong squadron to *Loretano*, who was joined by five *Florentine* galleys at *Leghorn*. The *Genoese* fitted out a fleet, and gave the command to *Spinola*, one of their best sea officers; who engaged *Loretano*, but was totally defeated.

By this time, the duke of *Milan* having joined his army and *Lam-* at *Cremona*, resolved to attack the *Venetians* at *Sumà*, where *bardy re-* *Carmignola* had been restored to his command. A battle ensued. was fought with uncommon bravery on both sides; but neither could boast of the victory. After this, *Cavalcobovis* laid an excellent plan for surprizing *Cremona*, and in part succeeded; but not being properly supported by *Carmignola*, he was obliged to retire. The marquis of *Montferrat*, was at this time in the pay of the *Venetians*, and had lent three hundred horse to *Adorino*, a noble *Genoese* exile, who had raised a revolt from the duke of *Milan* all over the sea coasts of *Genoa*. *Picinino* was sent to command against him; and after defeating *Adorini*, he gave a loose to the cruelty, rapaciousness, and lust of his soldiers, who committed unheard of barbarities. Not contented with putting the prisoners to death with exquisite torments, he sold for slaves the women, children, and priests of the country; and at last rendered it a perfect desert. After this, he fell into the marquisate of *Montferrat*, where he perpetrated the like barbarities. *Picinino* then returned to the *Cremonese*, where he obtained many advantages, even in sight of the *Venetian* army under *Carmignola*; who beheld his progress with unaccountable indolence. This was more than sufficient to render him suspected to the *Venetians*, and while he thought himself in perfect security, he was by a secret order of the senate, seized, put to the torture, and beheaded; while the prince of *Mantua* succeeded to his command. A wound, which *Picinino* received at the siege of *Pontoglio*, interrupted for some time the course of his victories; and the papal and *Florentine* generals *Attendulo*, and *Tolentino*, laid hold of that interval to defeat the *Milanese* troops under *Bernardino Ubaldino*, and to retake all that had been lost in the *Pisan* territory. It was about this time, that the emperor *Sigismund*, as we have mentioned in a former part of our history, arrived in *Italy*, where his *Hungarians* had a skirmish with the *Florentine* army under *Tolentino*, to the disadvantage of the former.

The

A peace
concluded
at *Ferrara*.

The war in *Lombardy* taking now a favourable turn for the *Venetians*, the duke of *Milan* consented to a negotiation at *Ferrara*, where deputies likewise arrived from *Florence*. Those conferences did not retard the operations of the field, and *Cornaro*, a *Venetian* general, received a considerable check in the *Valteline*, from *Picinino*, where he lost some prisoners of quality, with the towns of *Castel Major*, and *Brixelles*. *Cornaro* himself was among the number of the prisoners, and died with grief at his being a captive; but a treaty was at last concluded between the *Florentines*, *Philip*, and the *Venetians*. It was of no long continuance. *Philip* attacked pope *Eugene* with such rancour, that the *Venetians* stepped in to the assistance of his holiness; but *Spinola*, who had been a prisoner at *Venice*, ever since his defeat by *Lorezano*, had now formed a design for delivering his country from the tyranny of *Philip*. He was accordingly released, and returned to *Genoa*; but his scheme miscarried, through the influence of *Sigismund*, who favoured *Philip*.

Sforza
leaves the
Venetian
and *Flo-*
rentine
service.

The latter, though he was one of the ablest princes of his time, was unsteady, and distrustful, and he had again driven *Sforza* into the service of his enemies, the pope, the *Florentines*, and the *Venetians*; but with a reserve of his not being obliged to pass the *Po*, to fight against his future father-in-law, *Philip*; whom he did not chuse to exasperate beyond a possibility of reconciliation. This did not answer the views of the *Venetians*, and they struck *Sforza* out of their pay; upon which he threw himself out of the service of the *Florentines* likewise. This difference prevailed on *Cosmo de Medici*, to undertake a journey to *Venice*, that he might make it up; but the *Venetians* were as haughty as *Sforza* was ambitious, and *Cosmo* returned without success, while *Sforza* was again reconciled to *Philip*. *Picinino* was nettled at this reconciliation; but his resentment broke out only in performing greater services to *Philip* than ever, as if he wanted to enhance his own value above that of his rival. He was bravely opposed by *Mellato*, then the *Venetian* general; but about the same time, *Gonzaga*, the warlike prince of *Mantua*, withdrew from the *Venetian* service, and entered into a private correspondence with *Picinino*, to which *Mellato* and his troops had almost fallen sacrifices, when they discovered it, and escaped to an almost inaccessible camp, near *Bagnola*. To punish *Gonzaga*, the *Venetians* sent a fleet up the *Po*, to ravage his territories, which produced a war in the *Mantuan*, to the disadvantage of *Picinino*, and *Gonzaga*; but the actions were so frequent, and so inconsiderable, that the particulars cannot have a place here. It is sufficient to say, that *Picinino* drove *Mellato* out of *Brescia*, and he saved himself by one of the most difficult marches to be found in history. He undertook to return to *Verona* over the mountains, and through
forests

Brave
retreat of
the *Vene-*
tians.

forests till then thought impassable; and in the *Trentine*, his army was beset on all sides by the *Austrians*, who intended to cut it off, and were in possession of all the eminences, and commanding passes. At last, after the *Venetians* had surmounted incredible difficulties and hardships, they arrived in a plentiful country, and escaped from all the ambushes that had been planted against them by the bishop of *Trent*, and *Picinino*.

The latter had by this time besieged *Brescia*, and brought Siege of against it a large train of artillery from *Milan*. The *Brescia*, aversion of the inhabitants to *Picinino* was such, that though he attacked them with prodigious fury, and with above twenty thousand men, he was obliged, through their obstinate defence, to raise the siege, after losing above three thousand of his best troops before the place; and being baffled in several other attempts of the same kind, he led his troops into winter quarters. The distrust which *Sforza* always entertained of *Philip's* sincerity, and his jealousy of *Picinino*, inclined the *Venetians* to hope they might engage *Sforza* in their service, notwithstanding the provocations they had given him. They tried him by an offer of the greatest appointment, that perhaps, ever had been made to an *Italian* general, two hundred and twenty thousand ducats a year. The certainty of this bargain arriving at *Florence*, a quadruple league was formed between the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, the house of *Este* and *Sforza*; whom, by the great possessions he held, we are to consider as a considerable independent prince. *Picinino*, and *Gonzaga*, were now the only generals whom *Philip* could trust, and they resolved to carry the war into the territories of *Padua*, and *Vicenza*, where the inhabitants were highly dissatisfied with the *Venetian* government. To prevent this diversion, *Sforza*, who was then at *Ravenna*, by an amazing march, threw himself into the *Paduan*, where he joined *Mellato*, the other *Venetian* general, and their combined army consisted of twenty two thousand men. With these, *Sforza* raised the siege of *Verona*, and retook all the places possessed by *Philip* in the *Vicentine*. By this time, the siege of *Brescia* had been resumed by *Picinino*, but it was defended by *Barbaro*, a brave *Venetian*, with the greatest intrepidity and good conduct. The senate of *Venice*, sent *Sforza* orders to hazard every thing for its relief; and a trial of generalship ensued between him and *Picinino*. Their troops were equal in is raised, numbers and courage; but the superior genius of *Sforza* and *Pici-* prevailed. *Picinino* was utterly defeated, and was thought *nino* de- to be among the slain, but he escaped in disguise, almost feated; by a miracle. *Sforza* finding he was not among the slain, nor among the prisoners, of whom above four thousand, and many of the first quality, were taken, set a reward of five thousand crowns upon his head.

but re-
covers his
fortune.

His march
into Tus-
cany.

Attempt
to become
master of
Florence;

The excellent dispositions made before the battle by *Philip* and *Picinino*, prevented *Sforza* from pursuing his victory to the utmost; nor perhaps, was he very solicitous to do it. He, like the allied republics, imagined *Picinino* to be utterly ruined; when certain advice came, that he and *Gonzaga* were in possession of *Verona*, where the latter had been proclaimed prince, but that the citadel still held out for the *Venetians*. *Sforza*, against the advice of his general officers, instantly marched to relieve it. By an artful feint towards *Vicenza*, he besieged *Picinino* and *Gonzaga*, in *Verona*; and being favoured by a sally from the citadel, recovered that city, while *Picinino* and *Gonzaga* retired to the *Bressan*, where the remains of their defeated army had reassembled, and were increased by fresh reinforcements, particularly of *Florentine* exiles. *Philip*, (who was never without a resource) entered into a confederacy with *Vitelleschi*, the warlike patriarch of *Alexandria*, and general of the pope's army, where his command was almost independent of his holiness. It was agreed, that *Vitelleschi* should enter into the marquisate of *Ancona*, while *Picinino* marched into *Tuscany* by another quarter. The treachery of *Vitelleschi*, and his correspondence with *Picinino*, were discovered to his holiness by some *Florentine* spies, and *Vitelleschi* was arrested in the castle of *St. Angelo*, where he died; but this disappointment did not prevent *Picinino* from marching towards *Tuscany*. The *Venetians*, in the mean while, grew uneasy, at seeing the little fruit which *Sforza* had reaped from his conquest; and a coldness succeeded between them, which the *Florentine* ambassador, *Caponi*, endeavoured to remove. His holiness could not, without apprehensions for his own dominions, see the march of *Picinino* towards *Tuscany*; and renewing his engagements with the *Florentines*, he sent the army lately commanded by *Vitelleschi*, to their assistance. *Picinino* being joined by the *Malatesti* family, advanced towards *Ancona*. The desertion of the *Malatestas*, alarmed *Sforza* so much for his estates in *Ancona*, and *Romagna*, that he posted to *Venice*, where he told the senate, that having come into *Lombardy* a sovereign prince, he was resolved not to leave it as a private soldier, and that the only course they could now pursue, was to transfer the war from *Lombardy*, (though *Brescia* was on the point of surrendering to *Philip*) into *Tuscany*.

The senate of *Venice* refused to agree to this proposal, and matters taking a favourable turn in *Tuscany*, through the assistance sent by the pope to the *Florentines*, *Sforza* was contented to remain in *Lombardy*. Mean while, *Picinino* suddenly directed his march over the mountains against *Florence*; and having carried some strong passes, he entered the valley of *Magelli*, where he besieged *Monte Pulciano*, and pushed his foraging parties almost to the gates of *Florence*. The credit and prudence of *Cosmo de Medici*, the friendship

friendship of the pope, and the arrival of eighteen thousand horse under *Capponi*, from *Lombardy*, defeated all the schemes of *Picinino*, who had depended greatly on an insurrection of the *Florentines* in his favour. He was over- but is de-
persuaded by count *Poppi*, to draw off towards the *Casentine*, feated.
where he took several places; but unable to procure subsistence for his horses in that rocky country, he fell back to *Borgo St. Sepolchro*, from whence he made several separate attacks upon *Citta di Castello*, *Perugia*, and *Cortona*; but failed in them all.

Tuscany being thus delivered from its danger, *Sforza* un- Rapid
dertook to raise the siege of *Brescia*, and to penetrate to conquests
lake *Benac*, where the *Venetian* fleet under *Contareni*, had of *Sforza*
been victorious over that of *Philip*. In his march, he at- in *Lom-*
tacked and defeated the *Milanese* army, under two generals, *bardy*.
Ittalus, and *Vermio*. This produced the relief of *Brescia*,
and the progress of *Sforza's* arms was so rapid in recover-
ing all that the *Venetians* had lost, besides making new con-
quests, that *Philip* ordered *Picinino* to march directly from
Tuscany to defend *Milan*. He resolved, if possible, to beat
the combined army of the pope and the *Florentines*; before
he began his march he attacked it under the walls of *An-*
ghiari; but he was defeated, and driven towards *Borgo*.
The slaughter however, though the battle raged four hours,
is said, to have consisted only of one man, who fell from
his horse, and was trod to death; but the number of pri-
soners made by the *Florentines* was very considerable. *Pici-*
nino's defeat disconcerted *Philip*; while *Sforza* continued
his conquests in the *Milanese*; and he reduced *Pescara*, at
the mouth of the *Mincio*. Here the marquis of *Este* offered An ac-
himself a mediator between *Sforza* and *Philip*; in whose commo-
name, the marquis offered to conclude the marriage be- dation
tween *Sforza*, and *Philip's* daughter, and even to send her proposed
to him with a large sum of money. *Sforza* knew, that in by *Philip*,
the main, he stood upon very indifferent terms with the
Venetians, and that, by his continuing to conquer, he hazard-
ed the loss of the duchy of *Milan*. He knew *Philip* how-
ever, too well to return any positive answer to the marquis,
but referred both of them to the *Venetians*, by whose reso-
lutions he said he would be determined as to his reconcili-
ation with *Philip*. He then went to *Venice*, where he was
received with a profusion of honours; but the proposals
of the marquis operated strongly on his mind, and he re-
solved to relax in his ardour against the *Milanese*. In the
mean while, *Picinino*, to the surprize of all *Italy*, had re-
turned to *Lombardy*, and was at the head of a stronger army
than ever; but was opposed by *Sforza* with thirty thousand
men. A battle was fought, without either side obtaining
the advantage, and *Sforza* besieged *Martinenga*, without
appearing to be in earnest to take it. In short, it was evi-
dent that *Sforza* thought it high time to stop the career of
his

Insolence
of *Picini-*
nino,

deter-
mines
Philip to
a peace.

its terms.

Affairs of
Florence.

his victories. *Picinino*, on the other hand, complained that his services had been ill requited by the duke of *Milan*; and it was thought that both generals acted in concert, by protracting the operations of the war. *Philip* found the expence of it intolerable, and was exasperated by an insolent message sent him by *Picinino*, who demanded, as his reward, to be put in possession of the city and territory of *Placenza*.

This determined *Philip*, at all events, to rid himself of *Picinino*'s insolence and tyranny, by coming to an accommodation at once with the *Venetians*, and *Sforza*. The latter had been so careless in his operations in carrying on the war, that *Picinino* had obtained vast advantages over him; when he was surprized and confounded, by a positive order under *Philip*'s hand, to forbear hostilities, and conclude a twelve months truce with *Sforza*. This order was the result of *Philip*'s secret negotiations, which succeeded so well, that both *Sforza*, and the senate of *Venice* had agreed upon the preliminaries of a peace, to the great joy of all *Lombardy*. *Sforza* was married to *Bianca*, *Philip*'s daughter, and declared his successor; and notwithstanding all the opposition made by *Picinino*, the *Venetian* senate accepted of his rival as their umpire for putting the finishing hand to the accommodation. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which the *Venetians* were to remain masters of the *Brescian*, and the *Bergamese*, together with *Ravenna*, *Riva*, *Torbole*, and *Penetra*, with other fortresses in the *Mantuan*; the rest of which was to remain with *Gonzaga*. *Philip* was to retain *Martinenga*, and the *Ghiradadda*, and *Sforza* was to receive *Cremona*, and the *Cremonese*, as the earnest of his wife's fortune. Great objections were made as to the cities of *Pescara*, and *Lonnado*, but they were adjudged to the *Venetians*. The *Florentines* were to recover all the places that they had lost during the war; and *Bologna* was to be restored to his holiness. This peace coincides with the period when we took up the war in *Lombardy*, which forms so important an æra in the history of *Italy*. If the reader should imagine that our account of the pontificate has been too scanty, we beg leave to put him in mind, that the chief transactions of the popes in those days did not lie in *Italy*; and their history is to be found connected with those of the other countries we treat of.

All parties concerned (the pope excepted) were satisfied with this peace; which however, was not fully concluded till *November* 1441. The reader is apprized of the great events that immediately succeeded it, and the tranquility of *Italy* must have been permanent, had not the over refined politics of the duke of *Milan* prevailed with him to join with *Alphonso*, and the pope, in their attempts to strip *Sforza* of all the ecclesiastical territories he held, and which had been confirmed to him by the late popes. The prudence of the *Florentines* prevented this quarrel from having
any

any material consequences, and the *Italian* princes and states were for a year or two chiefly employed in the internal improvements of their dominions. *Capponi*, the *Florentine* general, and his friend *Baldaccio*, had, during the late and former wars, performed so many eminent services to their country, that *Cosmo de Medici*, generous and moderate as he was, began to be jealous of their power, especially in the army; and *Baldaccio* was most infamously assassinated, but without any signal consequences happening in the state, through the profound veneration that both the magistrates and people had for the *Medici*. Upon the death of *Picinino*, which happened through heart-break, at hearing of his son's defeat by *Sforza*, and the treatment he had received from *Philip*, *Sforza* consented to a peace with the pope, upon his surrendering certain possessions in *Ancona*, and retaining others. The intriguing temper of the duke of *Milan* renewed the public commotions.

The *Bolognese* had refused to submit to the pope, and the duke entered into a private correspondence with *Battista Canneschi*, one of their noblemen, who murdered *Bentivoglio*, and attempted to make himself master of *Bologna*. The *Bolognese*, who had been long devoted to the *Bentivoglio* family, ran to arms, drove that of *Canneschi* out of their city, and put *Battista* to death; but were at a loss for a leader to supply *Bentivoglio's* place, as he had only left a son who was no more than six years of age.

The affairs of the *Bolognese* were, on that account, running into vast disorder, when count *Poppi*, who happened to be then in that city, undertook to produce a descendant from *Annibal Bentivoglio*, who had been lately murdered. The people agreed to this proposal, upon the count's producing the youth, who he said was about twenty years of age, who had the form and features of his father *Hercules Bentivoglio*, the son of *Annibal*. This youth, though begot by *Hercules*, had been educated by his mother, as the son of her husband *Caschese*, who was then dead; but young *Sante*, for that was his name, continued to be under the tuition of *Caschese's* brother, by birth a wool-dresser in *Florence*, but rich, and he intended to make his supposed nephew his heir. The *Bolognese*, who knew the count to be a man of probity, immediately appointed deputies to demand the youth, for the guardian of the infant *Bentivoglio*; and the moment they came into his presence they recognized him from the similarity of his features, to be the son of *Hercules*. Before the senate of *Florence* would agree to his leaving their city, they appointed *Cosmo de Medici*, and *Capponi*, to examine into the affair; and finding all the count had said to be true, the senate gave *Sante* cloaths and equipages suitable to the honours that were designed him; and proof being made that *Hercules* had always acknow-

ledged him to be his, he entered upon his guardianship with applause, and finished it with credit to himself, and with honour and advantage to his family.

The duke of Milan again breaks with Sforza. Upon *Picinino's* death, the duke of *Milan* invited *Ciarpellone* to command his army; but he was laid under arrest and put to death by *Sforza*, which renewed the differences between him and the duke, who took part with *Malatesta*, lord of *Rimini*, *Sforza's* son-in-law, but now his enemy. *Malatesta*, besides *Philip*, was supported by the pope, and the king of *Naples*; and *Lombardy*, and *Tuscany* became again the theatres of war. The duke, though he was now old, and almost blind, attempted to take from *Sforza*, *Cremona*, which was garrisoned by the *Florentines*, and *Pontremoli*; but without success. Young *Picinino* was his general, and he was defeated by *Michalotti*, general of the *Venetians*, who took part in this quarrel against the duke, and who made such a progress in the *Milanese*, that it awakened the attention and jealousy of *Sforza*. *Philip* was then in a deplorable condition. Besides the bodily infirmities under which he laboured, he had no authority in his own court, and he could receive no succours from his allies, as *Sforza* lay between him and *Naples* with his army. In this emergency, he applied to his son-in-law *Sforza* for assistance, and protection, and offered to make him general of his troops. *Sforza*, who was still in the pay of the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, seemed to hesitate upon the proposal; and the *Venetians*, to fix him in their interest, promised to make him duke of *Milan*, if he would give them leave to conquer it. *Sforza* thought it was high time to check their power, and continuing still undetermined, they attempted, but without success, to surprize *Cremona*; upon which *Sforza* declared himself in favour of his father-in-law, and was advancing to his assistance, when he heard of his death, on the last of *August* 1447. This critical event had been unforeseen by *Sforza*, and he found himself in a most disagreeable situation, the *Venetians* having for some time neglected to supply him with money; so that his troops were beginning to grow mutinous. He had no hopes from the *Florentines*, who were overawed by *Alphonso*, and pope *Nicholas V.* was his enemy, because he continued to possess great part of the church's patrimony; while the people of *Milan* had thoughts of erecting themselves into a commonwealth; or, if they must have a master, to call in *Alphonso* king of *Naples*, who, of all the *Italian* potentates, was the most capable of protecting them against the *Venetians*. *Sforza* chose the best course he could pursue. Without seeming to lay any stress upon his father-in-law's destination, he advanced from *Cotignola* with his army, and offered his service to the people of *Milan* against the *Venetians*, and all their enemies.

It is certain, that *Philip*, before his death, had nominated *Alphonso* for his heir, and when he heard of it, he was preparing to force his way through *Tuscany* to his assistance. The pope had assembled a congress at *Ferrara*, to which deputies were sent from the most considerable of the *Italian* states and princes, at the time of *Philip's* death, which overthrew all the pontiff's views for establishing a general peace in *Italy*. The *Venetians* had made themselves masters of *Lodi*, and *Placenza*, and thought themselves sure of reducing *Milan* itself. The regency of that city sent deputies to *Cremona*, where *Sforza* was, to offer him the command of their army, upon the terms that had been concluded between him and the late duke, and that they would put him in possession of *Brescia*, and *Verona*, as soon as they were conquered. The war was all this while proceeding briskly between the *Florentines* and *Alphonso*, greatly to the disadvantage of the latter, who was baffled in all his attempts to force his way to the *Milaneſe*. *Sforza* found means to gain young *Picinino* to his party; and the *Pavians* offered to submit to his government, provided they were exempted from that of the *Milaneſe*, whom they mortally hated. He wisely accepted of the offer, to prevent (as he told the *Milaneſe*) the *Pavians* from surrendering themselves either to the *Venetians*, or the duke of *Savoy*, whose house began now to make a considerable figure in *Italy*.

New dis-
tractions
in *Lom-
bardy*.

Successes
of *Sforza*.

It was at this time, that the foundation of the great wars in *Italy* were laid, which afterwards proved so fatal to the *French*, and their crown. The late duke of *Milan's* sister, had a son, who was *Charles* duke of *Orleans*, and he claimed to be the only legitimate heir to the duchy of *Milan*. The more numerous the pretenders to that noble country were, the cause of *Sforza* was the more benefited. The inhabitants resigned the command of their army to *Sforza*, as being the least formidable candidate. He sent, in his own name, and that of the *Milaneſe*, a demand of all the places the *Venetians* had taken, either before, or after the death of the late duke; and meeting with an evasive answer, he marched against *Attendulo*, the *Venetian* general, who was obliged to retire towards *Lodi*. *Sforza*, upon this, attacked and took *Placenza*, which he gave up to be plundered by his soldiers, and made the garrison prisoners; while *Attendulo* entered and ravaged the *Paveſe*, and part of the *Milaneſe*, before he retired into winter quarters. A difference, which broke out about this time between the king of *Naples*, and the *Venetians*, seemingly on some commercial accounts, but in reality about the succession to the *Milaneſe*, was of vast service to *Sforza*, who, in the year 1448, defeated the *Venetians* by sea and land with great slaughter, took their camp, and recovered many of their conquests. The *Milaneſe*, however, still refused to receive him as their duke, and the *Venetians*, tired of the war, and dissatisfied with their own

Who
makes
peace with
general,

the *Venetians*.

general, *Attendulo*, privately offered to assist him against the *Milanese*, provided they were put into possession of the places belonging to the late duke beyond the *Adda*, all their prisoners released, and restitution made of all the places that *Sforza* had conquered in their territory.

They join the *Milanese* against him.

Sforza made no difficulty to accept of those terms, and being joined by the *Venetian* army, he advanced against *Milan*, where the two sons of *Picinino* commanded. By a private article in the treaty between *Sforza* and the *Venetians*, the latter were to besiege *Crema*, and, if they could take it, they were to keep it. No transaction perhaps, was ever entered into, or pursued with less good faith on all hands, than this agreement between *Sforza*, and the *Venetians*. The *Milanese* upbraided him bitterly, for having betrayed them, and entered into a secret treaty with the *Venetians*, who were no sooner in possession of *Crema*, which they took, than they declared themselves the patrons and protectors of the *Milanese* liberty, and sent deputies to *Sforza*, from whom they withdrew their troops, allowing him eight days for acceding to the peace. *Sforza* was shocked, but not surprized, at this event. He soon defeated *Lewis of Savoy's* army, which was marching to the assistance of the *Milanese*, and made dispositions for reducing *Milan* by famine, though it contained sixty thousand fighting men within its walls. Upon the arrival of the *Venetian* deputies in his camp, he disguised his resentment for all that had happened, and was told that he was to be put into possession of part of the late duke's inheritance, though no particulars were specified. He seemed pleased with the terms, and appointed deputies to repair to *Milan*, to put the last hand to the treaty; but with secret instructions to embarrass it, and, if possible, to raise an insurrection in his favour. At the same time he made a truce for a month with the *Milanese*, and by drawing off his army, left them and the *Venetians* so fully convinced that he would submit to the terms proposed, that the former lived in a state of security, and the latter discontinued their preparations for carrying on the war.

Conduct of the *Florentines*.

Sforza took this opportunity of applying for assistance to the *Florentines*, among whom he had a firm friend in *Cosmo de Medici*, but he was opposed by *Capponi*, upon the generous principle, that the *Milanese* should be maintained in their liberty. *Cosmo's* reasons were more prudential, and shewed a greater knowledge of mankind; for he observed, that the *Milanese* were so uninstructed, and so unfit for forming any plan for the government of a free republic, that they could not subsist without a master, and that *Sforza* was far more eligible for the *Florentine* interest, than either *Alphonso* or the *Venetians*. The republic was balanced between the opinions of those two great men; and the general sense was to aid the stronger party, without regarding any other consideration.

deration. By this time, the *Venetians* perceived that *Sforza* had only amused them; for, though it was in the depth of winter, he had renewed the blockade of *Milan*, and cut off all communications between the *Milaneſe* and the *Venetians*, who were now advanced to the banks of the *Adda*. The *Milaneſe* garrison was then commanded by *Jacob Picinino*, as the *Venetians* were by *Malateſta*, who paſſed the *Adda*, but was driven back by *Sforza*. *Malateſta* however, took his meaſures ſo well, that by cutting off *Sforza*'s convoys, and gaining poſſeſſion of the paſſes on the river; he reduced his army to great ſtraits for forage and proviſions, and his army being reinforced by ſome *French* and *Savoyards*, moſt of the officers were for finiſhing the campaign by a general battle; but the intereſted policy of the *Venetians* countermanded this opinion. They ſuppoſed, that the greater the miſeries were the *Milaneſe* ſuffered, they would be the more ready to ſubmit to the republic of *Venice*.

They were deceived by a policy which was too finely spun for the human feelings. The hardſhips which *Sforza*'s *Milaneſe* ſoldiers underwent, were not to be compared to thoſe of the *Milaneſe*. The common people loſt all patience and all reſpect for their governors. They caballed together; they choſe one *Gaspar* for their head; they murdered the greateſt part of their magiſtrates, and tore in pieces the *Venetian* ambaffador, who had been their adviſer. Having perpetrated all thoſe violences, they began to deliberate about the choice of a future maſter, and the aſſembly was divided between the kings of *France*, and *Naples*, and the duke of *Savoy*. *Gaspar*, who was ſecretly in *Sforza*'s intereſt, and indeed his agent, mentioned him as the only perſon capable to protect them from the tyranny of the *Venetians*, or from becoming a province to any ſtrange prince; and he demonſtrated, that all they had ſuffered from him had been owing to the baſeneſs and treachery of the *Venetians*. This ſpeech had the deſired effect, and *Gaspar* was appointed deputy from the aſſembly, to acquaint *Sforza* that they accepted of him for their maſter. He was accordingly received into the city with the moſt extravagant demonſtrations of joy by the inhabitants, on the twenty ſixth of *February* 1450.

This was the year of jubilee, and pope *Nicholas* having triumphed over the remains of the council of *Baſil*, and even prevailed with *Fælix* to abdicate the popedom, boaſted of his triumphs in all parts of chriſtendom, but in *Bohemia*, where the brave *Huffites* baffled all his attempts to ſubdue them, though he was ſupported by the temporal power. He had behaved with great moderation towards *Fælix*, and his adherents, by confirming all his acts of pontifical power, and taking off all the cenſures which his predecessor *Eugene* had pronounced againſt the friends and members of the council of *Baſil*. His glory was crowned by the magnificent celebration of the jubilee, amidſt prodigious crowds of

See
Vol. IX.
p. 67.

The war
continued
in *Lom-
bardy*.

The *Flo-
rentines*
assist
Sforza.

of foreigners, who flocked to *Rome* to see the solemnity. He did not forget the usual arts of his predecessors for raising money on that occasion ; for he sent his nuncios and agents over all christendom, who sold indulgencies to the people, entitling them to the same privileges as if they had been personally present at *Rome*. Next year, the famous *Æneas Sylvius*, intimated to his holiness the intention of his master the emperor *Frederic III.* to receive the imperial crown at *Rome*, and to consummate his marriage with the princess *Eleonora* of *Portugal*, neice to *Alphonso* king of *Naples*; which he accordingly did. The *Romans*, notwithstanding the prosperous state of the pontificate, still retained their mutinous spirit, and the *Greeks* continued as obstinate as ever against uniting themselves with the *Latin* church, though the *Turks* were, now, at the gates of *Constantinople*, and threatening the extinction of their empire ; which accordingly happened soon after, on the twenty ninth of *May* 1453, under *Mohammed*, the *Turkish* sultan.

The *Venetians* were inexpressibly enraged at their being disappointed in their hopes of becoming master of the *Milanese*. *Sforza*, in all his distresses, had experienced the friendship of *Cosmo de Medici* ; whose purse was always open to his necessities, and he knew he could trust to him and his friends ; while on the other hand, the *Venetians* and *Alphonso* united for his destruction. An ambassador was sent from *Venice* to *Florence*, with a kind of a disavowal of the league subsisting between the two republics. The senate referred him for answer to *Cosmo de Medici*, who justified all that his countrymen had done, and prevailed upon them to enter into fresh engagements with *Sforza*, as the *Venetians* did at the same time with *Alphonso*, *Sforza's* implacable enemy. *Sforza* endeavoured to prevent this alliance from taking place, by his generous behaviour towards the *Venetians*, whose prisoners in the *Milanese* he protected, and set at liberty. *Alphonso* and the *Venetians*, on the other hand, ordered all the *Florentine* subjects to leave their territories ; and they attempted to surprize *Bologna*, which, under *Sante*, continued to be firmly attached to the *Florentines*. They were so near succeeding in this, by means of some *Bolognese* exiles, that they were actually in possession of the market-place ; but were driven out of the city by the valour of *Sante*, and the friends of the *Bentivoglio* family.

The *Florentines* sent deputies to the chief princes and states of *Italy*, to complain of this attempt upon *Bologna*, as being aimed at themselves. The *Venetians* treated those complaints with great haughtiness, and manifested their ambitious designs to all *Europe*. The truth is, their republic, by their marine and commerce, was now raised to an excessive pitch of power, and they aspired to be sovereigns of *Lombardy*. They considered the *Florentines* as the only rivals they had in *Italy*, and they strove to discredit them,

them, not only in *Europe*, but in *Asia*. *Alphonso*, now become old and amorous, saw their greatness with a secret dislike, and made apologies for his rough treatment of the *Florentines*. The latter applied to the *French* king for protection; he gave them the sanction of his name to their league; and *Sforza* made up all former differences between them and the *Genoese*, who became their confederates likewise. The *Florentines*, thus patronized and allied, kept no farther measures with the *Venetians*; and about this time, *Borsi d'Este*, marquis of *Ferrara*, was by the emperor *Frederic* III. created duke of *Modena*, and *Reggio*. Both parties being now ready for action, the *Venetians* entered the *Milaneſe* by *Lodi*, as their ally, the marquis of *Montferrat*, did by *Alexandria*; but neither of them were able to take either of those cities. *Sforza* had an army on foot of above twenty thousand men, and he not only defeated the marquis of *Montferrat*, but ravaged the *Bressan*. The *Venetians* called upon *Alphonso*, who finding all his endeavours to detach the *Florentines* from *Sforza* to be vain, ordered his eldest son *Ferdinand*, to march into *Tuscany* with twelve thousand men, and his fleet to ravage its sea coasts. *Ferdinand* did nothing memorable against the *Florentines*, and they kept themselves upon the defensive, till they suffered him to waste his troops in fruitless attempts upon the most inconsiderable places; so unexperienced were the *Neapolitans* in the business of the field. Other writers, however, do not give us so contemptible an idea as *Machiavel* does of the *Neapolitans* in this expedition; but it is certain, all they did was their reducing the weak towns of *Foiano*, and *Vada*, and ravaging the open country, besides skirmishing in some detached parties.

In *Lombardy*, the *Venetians* at first obtained some advantages over the *Milaneſe*; and their general *Leonisio*, after being disappointed in an attempt he formed upon *Milan*, took *Socinna*. He afterwards defeated a party of *Milaneſe*, under *Alessandro Sforza*, who escaped to his brother's camp, as he was besieging *Calvisiana*. The *Venetians* left nothing unattempted to relieve that place; but the garrison was obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war to *Sforza*, who thereby established his winter quarters in the *Venetian* territories.

One of the principal motives that had induced the *French* king to enter into the *Florentine* league, was their promising to support *Renate of Anjou*, with men and money, if he would revive his claim to the kingdom of *Naples*. *Renate*, accordingly, having obtained some troops, arrived in *Lombardy*, and the duke of *Savoy* was persuaded to detach himself from his alliance with the *Venetians*. Early in the next spring, the *Florentines* opened the campaign so vigorously, that they took all they had lost in the preceding; and the *Neapolitans* were so ill supported by their king, that they

Sforza
beats the
Venetians.

they were obliged to subsist themselves upon rapine. *Alphonso* purchased from *Gerardo Garribatorte*, his estate in the vale of *Bagno*, which lay extremely convenient for his harrassing the *Florentine* dominions. The *Florentines* hearing of the bargain, and that the natives were unwilling to change their masters, sent a detachment into the vale, who took possession of *Gerardo's* castles, and disappointed *Alphonso*. In *Lombardy*, the *Venetians* besieged *Manerba*, and their brave general *Leonisio*, being killed in a sally, the command of their troops fell to *Picinino*, who took the place, with several others; but *Sforza* compelled him to raise the siege of *Seniga*, and was so well seconded by *Renate*, who joined him with four thousand troops, that he not only recovered *Manerba*, and all that he had lost, but made considerable progress in the *Cremonese*, and the *Bressan*, where the inhabitants were disaffected to the *Venetian* government. All that *Picinino* could do was to prevent the capitals of those two provinces from falling into his hands; and the campaign concluded gloriously for *Sforza*, though he had been obliged to raise the siege of *Isola*.

Conduct
of the
pope.

The pope continued neutral in all the disputes between the two great confederacies of *Italy*, and had been indefatigable in exhorting the *Christian* powers to oppose the infidels; but the troops which he obtained, and the naval armaments employed for that purpose by the *Venetians*, and *Genoese*, though considerable, had been ineffectual for stopping their progress. After the loss of *Constantinople*, he made a new effort for uniting the *Christian* powers; but the emperor was so cold in the cause, and the dissensions in *Germany* were so great, that it came to nothing. Even this did not relax the zeal of his holiness, and he employed one *Simonette*, to negotiate a peace in *Italy*, during the winter. All parties had reason to be tired of the war. *Alphonso* had already made some advances to the *Florentines* for peace, which had been favourably received; and those politic republicans thinking that *Sforza's* power was now as great as was consistent with their system of preserving a balance in *Italy*, began to neglect the subsidies they had promised to *Renate*, who, notwithstanding *Sforza's* earnest entreaties, returned to *France*, but left a few troops in *Lombardy*. This unexpected event was greatly owing to a resolution taken at the court of *France*, to support the claim of the *Orléans* family upon the *Milanese*. The *Venetians* saw that the *Turks* ought to be now more formidable to them than *Sforza* had ever been; and they were sincerely disposed for peace. *Sforza* perceiving that he was to expect no farther support from *France*, was desirous to cultivate the arts of peace in his own dominions, which had been long the scenes of war and devastation.

A peace

Thus it was easy for the pope, by his agent *Simonette*, to conclude persuade all the parties at war to agree to a congress at
Rome,

Rome, under the mediation of his holiness ; but indeed the chief preliminaries had been already settled between *Sforza* and the *Venetians*, by their agreeing that each should restore to the other the possessions either held before the war. The duke of *Savoy*, and the marquis of *Montferrat* however, were not included in this agreement, which was finally concluded on the ninth of *April* 1454, and acceded to by the pope, the *Florentines*, and the *Tuscan* states ; but opposed by *Alphonso*, through his hatred to *Sforza*. A triple alliance between him, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines* was then concluded on for twenty five years, to which *Alphonso* finding all his opposition in vain, was persuaded by *Simonette* to accede. The *Genoese*, *Malatesta*, and *Astorre* of *Faenza*, were excluded out of this alliance, at the request of *Alphonso*, who was at war with them. From expressing the most inveterate hatred to *Sforza*, he now treated him with the greatest marks of affection, and concluded a double marriage between his son and daughter, with those of *Sforza* ; and indeed the union appears to be natural, when we reflect that the *French* were their common enemies, and pretended to the dominions of both. This peace was scarcely concluded, when the death of pope *Nicholas* happened, on the twenty second of *March* 1455.

His successor was *Alphonso Borgia*, a noble *Spaniard*, who *Calixtus* took the name of *Calixtus* III. but he was seventy seven III. pope. years of age, and very infirm. He was however, if possible, more vigorous than any of his predecessors had been in opposing the progress of the *Turks* ; and he sent a fleet of sixteen galleys against their islands in the *Archipelago*, under the command of the patriarch of *Aquileia*. As the advancement of *Calixtus* had been in a great measure owing to *Alphonso*, that prince thought that his holiness ought to conform himself to his will ; but he was deceived, for *Calixtus* not only refused to deliver up to him any part of the *Ancona*, but to grant the eventual investiture of his kingdom to his natural son, *Ferdinand*. *Italy*, (as it commonly happened at the conclusion of a peace), was full of disbanded officers and soldiers, and they chose for their head *Jacob Picinino*, who, on pretence of the arrears that were due to his father, and other hereditary claims, ravaged *Tuscany*, and the *Siennese*, and even threatened that capital. He was privately supported and encouraged by *Alphonso* ; but the spirited pontiff ordered his general *Vintimiglia*, to join the *Florentine* troops, and *Picinino* was entirely defeated ; and *Alphonso* obtained for him twenty thousand crowns, on condition of his evacuating the places he had taken in the *Siennese*. *Alphonso* still carried on his war against *Malatesta*, and the *Genoese*, whom he reduced to great distress ; and he is generally blamed for reviving the troubles of *Italy*. The despair of the *Genoese*, and their own distractions, drove them into the arms of *France* ; and they chose for their governor

Death of
Alphonso
king of
Naples,
and of
Calixtus.

governor *John*, the son of *Renate*, of *Anjou*; but in the mean while, *Alphonso* died, in the beginning of *May* 1458, leaving behind him the character of being the patron of learned men, an excellent warrior, and a consummate politician; but ambitious, turbulent, and interested.

He was succeeded by his natural son *Ferdinand*, who at his accession found himself under great disadvantages. The pope had marked out his kingdom, or at least half of it, for his nephew *Borgia*, whom he had created duke of *Spolito*, though stained with vice and infamy. *Ferdinand* finding the pope inexorable, that he had declared his crown vacant, and degraded him from his royalty, assembled an army, but was prevented from marching with it to *Rome*, by the death of *Calixtus*, who filled the papal chair for three years, and four months. His nephew *Borgia*, governor of *Rome*, and the ecclesiastical state, before his uncle was buried, was driven out of *Rome*, and took refuge in *Crista Vecchia*, where he soon after died.

Pius II.
pope.

Calixtus was succeeded in the popedom by that active churchman, cardinal, ambassador and politician, *Æneas Sylvius*, who took the name of *Pius II.* He was originally a *Siennese*, and his father was so poor, that young *Æneas* for some time laboured for a farmer, that he might assist his father in giving him a learned education. By the assistance of strong natural parts, indefatigable zeal in whatever he undertook, and a sincere attachment to all who employed him, he had filled various posts in church and state with universal applause, and so perfect a disinterestedness, that he declared, the day before he was chosen pope, he was not worth so much money as to purchase himself a pair of shoes. His exaltation was highly agreeable to the *Italian* princes and states, and he immediately gave the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples* to *Ferdinand*, which some attribute to the force of money, as *Alphonso* had left that prince immensely rich. It is certain, that *Ferdinand* bestowed his natural daughter *Mary*, in marriage upon the pope's nephew, *Picolomini*, whom he made great justiciary of *Naples*, and duke of *Amalphi*. *Pius* succeeded to all the zeal of his most zealous predecessors, for uniting the *Christian* powers against the infidels. He raised *Sienna* to be an archbishopric, and his own nephew was its first prelate. During his residence in that city, he appeared with vast splendor, and was attended by ambassadors from almost all the princes of christendom, for terminating their differences, and for promoting the crusade, which had now a very formidable appearance, against the infidels. Among other acts of this pope, was his formally condemning and anathematizing a practice that had of late become common in *Italy*, that of appealing from the pope to a future general council.

He fa-
vours the
cause of
Ferdinand
king of
Naples.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding all the authority of *Pius*, he was, (on Commo- some accounts foreign to this history,) thwarted by a duke tions in of *Austria*, and the kings of *Castile*, and *Poland*. Even the *Rome Romans* were not easy under his government. One *Porcari*, a hair-brained enthusiast, in the pontificate of *Nicholas*, fancied that he had been designed by heaven to deliver *Italy* from the tyranny of priests; and having a numerous following among the *Romans*, he formed a conspiracy against the pope, which was detected when upon the point of breaking out; and he, with his chief confederates, were executed. Their punishment did not extinguish the spirit quelled by they had raised, and *Tibertius*, the son of one of the sufferers, the pope. during the absence of pope *Pius* from *Rome*, put himself at the head of the party, which consisted chiefly of young men, and soon became too powerful for the magistrates to suppress it; so that *Pius* was obliged to return in haste to *Rome*, where his authority, and the troops he carried along with him, quelled the riot, and, with *Tiburtius*, its other ringleaders, were executed.

The court of *France* was far from being pleased with the *Naples in-* pope's conduct, because he continued to support *Ferdinand* vaded by against *Renate*, whose son, *John*, still kept possession of *John of Genoa*. A great number of the *Neapolitan* barons, who *Anjou*. were dissatisfied with *Ferdinand* on account of his illegitimacy, with the prince of *Tarento*, the most powerful subject in the kingdom, at their head, declared for the *Anjou-vine* party, and *John*, who now took upon himself the title of duke of *Calabria*, made a descent with the *Genoese* and *Provençal* fleet, upon the kingdom of *Naples*, where being joined by the prince of *Tarento*, and other great barons, his progress soon became formidable. *Ferdinand* applied for assistance to the duke of *Milan* and the pope, and both of them sent him considerable supplies; but he was defeated at *Sarno* so completely, that the *Neapolitans* crowded who should be the first to acknowledge *Renate* as their king. *Ferdinand*, however, was still in possession of *Naples*, and acknowledged by the count of *Fondi*, and some of the other barons. It is thought, that the prince of *Tarento* was prevailed upon by his niece queen *Isabella*, wife to *Ferdinand*, to divert *John* from following his blow, (by marching directly to *Naples*,) and persuaded him to amuse himself with the siege of the other towns. *Ferdinand* made use of the respite which this diversion gave him, to renew his applications to the pope and the duke of *Milan*, which he did with such success, that he was enabled again to take the field, and he obtained many signal advantages over the *Anjou-vines*. During this campaign, *Scanderbeg*, prince of *Albania*, who has rendered his name so famous by his victories against the *Turks*, out of gratitude for the benefits he had received from the late *Alphonso*, came from *Albania* to *Naples*, to assist his son *Ferdinand*. He obtained some advantages

Naples
submits
to Ferdin-
and,

who se-
cures him-
self upon
the throne

advantages at first over the *Anjouvine* party, but his affairs obliging him to return to *Albania*, to oppose the *Turks*, *Ferdinand* again lost ground in the kingdom of *Naples*. He was powerfully supported by the duke of *Milan*, who sent his kinsman *Alexander Sforza of Pesaro*, to his assistance. This proved fatal to the *Anjouvine* party. Duke *John* was completely routed, near *Troja*. The prince of *Taranto* submitted to *Ferdinand*, as did *Picinino*, who received a pension of one hundred and ten thousand crowns; and at last the great barons gradually dropping off from the *French*, duke *John* himself returned to *Marseilles*, and left *Ferdinand* in quiet possession of his kingdom.

Few characters in history are more ambiguous than that of *Ferdinand*; but profound dissimulation seems to have been his governing principle. He had a steady friend in pope *Pius II.* who died in 1464, and was succeeded by *Paul II.* *Ferdinand* omitted nothing that the blackest ingratitude could devise to secure his power over the *Neapolitans*. In breach of faith, he imprisoned the prince of *Rossano*, and seized *Picinino*, who had been married to the duke of *Milan's* natural daughter. A treaty of marriage was then on foot between *Alphonso*, duke of *Calabria*, *Ferdinand's* son, and *Hippolita*, the duke's legitimate daughter. The duke resented the treatment of *Picinino*, who died under his confinement, and was thought to have been privately strangled by *Ferdinand's* order; but the marriage, notwithstanding, took place, as reasons of state bore down all other considerations. This marriage preceded the duke of *Milan's* death but a few months, and in the year 1467, he and *Galeazzo*, who succeeded to the dukedom of *Milan*, and *Peter de Medici*, the successor of the great *Cosmo*, entered into a confederacy, for maintaining the tranquility of *Italy*, against the *Venetians*. The progress of the *Turks* in *Albania* and *Epirus*, prevailed with the latter to listen to the exhortations of pope *Paul*, and a peace was concluded. *Ferdinand* then demanded a restitution from the pope of *Terracina*, *Benevento*, and other places that his predecessors had seized upon in the kingdom of *Naples*; and he supported *Malatesta*, the tyrant of *Rimini*, against his holiness. The latter depended upon assistance from the *Venetians*. The latter had lost the island of *Negropont*, to the *Turks*, and were in no condition to assist his holiness; while *Mohammed II.* congratulated *Ferdinand* upon his own successes against his enemies the *Venetians*.

History of *Ferdinand*, alarmed by the progress of the *Turks*, entered pope *Paul II.* into an alliance against them with the other princes of *Italy*. He gave his daughter *Eleonora*, in marriage to *Hercules d'Este*, duke of *Ferrara*; and another daughter to *Matthias*, king of *Hungary*. Upon the death of his queen *Isabella*, he married *Jane*, daughter to the king of *Aragon*; and applied himself entirely to the embellishment and improvement of his

his kingdom, into which he introduced the culture of silk, and the art of printing, which was then in its infancy in *Europe*. The character of *Paul II.* was unfavourable to the revival of learning; but it is to the honour of *Italy*, that few climates, or periods, were ever known to produce so many patrons of science as appeared at this time in that country. The families of *Medici*, *Este*, *Gonzaga*, *Sforza*, *Ursini*, and many others, were eminent, not only as the patrons of learned men, but as meriting that denomination themselves. *Paul II.* had been bred a merchant, but by the encouragement of his uncle, pope *Eugene*, he had entered into the church, and among the first things he did was his annulling the articles which, before his election, he had sworn to observe. He was so illiterate, that he prosecuted and confiscated the goods of the several learned men, who, endued with a liberal turn of mind, had formed themselves into literary societies at *Rome*, and had endeavoured to renew the plan of disputation that had been practised under the ancient academy in *Greece*, and *Italy*. The numbers of those revivers of learning were considerable, and many of them were men of quality and property. Having bought their places, they made strong representations against the pope's arbitrary proceedings; and *Platina*, the famous historian of the popes, distinguished himself so much by his opposition, that he was thrown into irons, and kept in prison for a whole winter.

Many of the cardinals taking part with the sufferers, and He threatening to apply to the princes of christendom for a preaches general council, *Paul* thought proper to encrease their ap- up a pointments, and their ornaments, by giving them leave to crusade. wear the red hat, and the damask mitre, which till then, had been part of the papal dress. As to himself, he was extravagant in adorning his own person, and is said to have bestowed no less than one hundred and twenty thousand crowns in precious stones, for a tiara. He was as zealous, as his predecessors had been, in preaching up a war against the *Turks*; but was more sparing in granting reversions to his friends and favourites. In other respects, he proved a useful head to the church. By his arts and condescensions, he broke the spirit of reformation in *Bohemia* and *Germany*; and at last brought *Ferdinand*, king of *Naples*, into his own measures. That politic prince pretended, that he had been solicited into an alliance by the *Turkish* sultan; but that he would be determined as to his conduct by his holiness and his consistory. *Paul*, was at that time at variance with the counts of *Aquileia*, who had thrown off their obedience to the holy see; but *Paul*, by the assistance he received from *Ferdinand*, in the space of fourteen days, stripped them of all their estates. *Ferdinand* demanded, as the price of his assistance, to be discharged from the yearly tribute which he paid for his crown to the papal see. The pope refused

to consent to this, and acted with so much firmness, that *Ferdinand* thought proper to desist from his demand; and, as we have already mentioned, entered into the *Italian* confederacy against the *Turks*.

His cru-
elties,

Paul had behaved so severely against his officers, that he always suspected them of entering into conspiracies against his life and dignity. One *Callimaco*, was accused of having been in a confederacy with some *Venetian* outlaws, and *Paul* filled all the jails in *Rome* with state prisoners, many of them of the first rank, and *Platina* among others. Their innocence could not defend them from being put to the torture, which *Platina* endured twice in one day; and several of them died on the rack. This cruelty was the more unjustifiable, as *Paul* was fully convinced of the falshood of the charges against them; and sought, by torturing the prisoners, to screen himself from an imputation of levity, which he thought he should incur if he should dismiss them without punishment. Perceiving, that this severity did not answer his end, he charged the prisoners with impiety, in having debated upon religious points, and particularly the immortality of the soul. Being ashamed of this pretence, at last, the cardinals prevailed with him to set them at liberty.

and avarice.

While *Paul* was employed in those detestable proceedings, the emperor of *Germany*, *Frederic* III. of *Austria*, arrived at *Rome*, where he was most magnificently entertained by his holiness; and he proposed the holding a general council at *Constance*, for forming a league among the *Christian* princes against the *Turks*. The pope disliked this proposal, but agreed to invite them to send their ambassadors to *Rome*, to concert measures for that end. He likewise, in person, went in procession through the churches of *Rome*, and ordered public supplications to be made in those of *St. Peter*, and the *Lateran*. The truth is, that the frequent overtures, and proposals we meet with in the history of the popes, concerning leagues against the infidels, arose generally from motives of interest rather than of religion. The princes of *Europe*, both temporal and spiritual, laid hold of such pretexts for fleecing their subjects; but the pontiffs were the greatest gainers, as they had it in their power to oblige their friends by the bulls they granted for levying taxes upon ecclesiastical livings and benefices, and when those were obtained, the proposed expeditions generally came to nothing. No pope ever knew better than *Paul* did how to make advantage of this shameful traffic. Every thing was venal at his court, and he was so far from encouraging men of learning, that on all occasions he publicly held it to be a disqualification for their advancement in the church; and that to know how to read and write was a sufficient stock of learning for any ecclesiastic. With all those mean, mercenary qualities, by which he amassed immense sums of money, he was magnificent, and sometimes generous to the poor. He embellished the city of *Rome* with

with many noble edifices, and he affected great affability in his behaviour. He died on the twenty sixth of July 1471, His death. of an apoplectic fit, without any one being present.

Paul II. was succeeded by *Sixtus IV.* a *Genoese* of obscure birth; but considerable learning. Upon his accession to the pontificate, he appointed four legates to repair to four different powers of *Europe*, to persuade them to unite against the *Turks*. Cardinal *Bessarion*, was sent to *France*; the cardinal of *St. Mark*, to *Germany*; *Borgia*, to *Spain*; and *Caraffa*, to *Venice*; all of them charged with separate commissions, but terminating in one purpose; that of enriching the papal coffers. *Sixtus*, contrary to the engagements he had entered into before his election, was excessively fond of his relations; one of whom, *Peter Riario*, he made a cardinal, when he was but twenty eight years of age, and in two years he killed himself by his excessive debauchery. He is said to have spent near three hundred thousand crowns in that time, and to have maintained five hundred domestics in his family. The legates were unsuccessful in their negotiations. The *French* king at first prohibited cardinal *Bessarion*, (who was esteemed to be the wisest and most learned of his order) from coming near his court. The cardinal of *St. Mark*, was equally unsuccessful in *Germany*, as *Borgia* was in *Spain*. The differences between the court of *Naples* and that of *Rome* again broke out; and *Sixtus* was obliged to remit the tribute due from *Ferdinand*, upon his promise to defend the holy see, and to fit out two galleys for the protection of its coasts. *Ferdinand*, at the same time ordered his fleet, which consisted of seventeen ships, to join that of his holiness, and the *Venetians* under cardinal *Caraffa*, who sailed to the *Archipelago*; but without performing any service of importance against the infidels. In 1473, *Sixtus* was highly exasperated against *Matthias*, king of *Hungary*, for having offered to enter into an alliance with the *Turkish* emperor. Soon after, he created eight cardinals, and published a bull for a jubilee to be held at *Rome*, in 1475. Upon the death of *Riario*, as aforesaid, *Sixtus* gave the tithes and principality of *Imola*, and *Forli*, together with the vicariate of the ecclesiastical state, to his brother *Jeronimo*. Perceiving that the demands of the king of *Naples* were endless, he sought to strengthen himself by new alliances, and brought about a marriage between *Jeronimo*, and a natural daughter of the duke of *Milan*, whose brother he created a duke. But we are now to attend the affairs of *Lombardy* and *Tuscany*.

After the murder of *Picinino*, at *Naples*, *Italy* enjoyed some repose, till disturbed by the ridiculous, unsuccessful schemes of crusading against the infidels. *Peter de Medici*, was inferior to his father *Cosmo*, both in his political and personal abilities. As his finances had run into some disorder, he had been persuaded, by his pretended friend *Diotisalvi*,

Diotisalvi, to call in his debts, which rendered almost all the great families in *Florence*, and *Tuscany* his enemies; so that he grew very unpopular. *Peter* thought to support himself by an alliance with *Galeazzo*, the young duke of *Milan*, who demanded the continuance of the subsidy that had been paid to his father by the *Florentines*, for maintaining the ballance of *Italy* against the *Venetians*. This was opposed by all the enemies of the *Medici* family, who called in the duke of *Ferrara* to their assistance; but the *Medici* were still so powerful, that *Peter's* party prevailed, and the heads of the opposite faction took refuge at *Venice*, *Naples*, or *Rome*. The number and qualities of those exiles were so great that they were befriended by the *Venetians*, who sought every opportunity of ruining the family of *Medici*, and all of a sudden invaded *Tuscany*. *Peter* and his friends applied for assistance to the duke of *Milan*, and the king of *Naples*. The former came in person to their relief, but having no talents for war, he was persuaded to return to *Milan*. *Ferdinand* sent some troops under the command of his son *Alphonso*, and the campaign passed without any thing remarkable happening. *Peter de Medici* was so infirm in his health, that he was confined to his bed, and he had thoughts of restoring the republic of *Florence* to her liberty, when he was overtaken by death. He left two sons, *Lorenzo*, and *Guilian*, who were too young for government; but being under the tutelage of *Soderini*, who was now the greatest man in *Florence*, and the firm friend of their family, the *Florentines* swore to stand by them.

Confederacy against that republic.

Young *Lorenzo* was distinguished for his accomplishments both of body and mind, and he soon found himself uneasy under *Soderini's* tutelage, his measures being very pacific. The papal power had acquired strength every day by the calamities of christendom; and the pope formed a secret design of raising the greatness of his family upon the ruin of that of *Medici*. He made the king of *Naples* his friend, by converting his tribute into an annual present of a white palfrey, properly caparisoned. His holiness then entered upon his great scheme of reannexing to the ecclesiastical state all the possessions it had lost. He took *Spoleto* by storm, and besieged *Nicolo Vitelli*, the friend of the *Medici* family, in *Citta di Castello*. *Vitelli* applied to *Lorenzo Medici*, who sent him some assistance; but the place was taken by the cardinal of *Sisto*, the pope's natural son, though called his nephew. This cardinal had great, but dangerous abilities, and his father employed him in forming leagues among the *Italian* princes against the *Florentines*. With this view, he undertook a kind of a progress through *Lombardy*; but it was thought, that he was secretly poisoned by the *Venetians*, who, as well as the duke of *Milan*, began to be alarmed at his father's greatness. The pope, therefore, was so far from succeeding in his favourite design, that a league was
formed

formed against him by the duke of *Milan*, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines*, who invited the lesser powers of *Italy* to accede to it. The *Venetians* quarrelled with the king of *Naples*, who demanded from them the island of *Cyprus*, and the pope and he formed a counter league. *Frederic of Urbino*, was then the *Florentine* general; but he now entered into the service of the pope and the king. In a few months most of the small states of *Italy* were in arms against each other; but the great contracting powers remained still in peace. *Galcazzo*, duke of *Milan*, the *Nero* of his time, was dispatched by a conspiracy of his own subjects; but *Lorenzo de Medici*, was more powerful than any of his family had ever been in *Florence*. The pope had nominated *Salviati*, his profest enemy, to the archbishopric of *Pisa*, then belonging to the *Florentines*, who refused him admittance into that dignity.

This exasperated his holiness, if possible, more than ever. Conspiring against the *Medici*, and he set up against them the house of *racy Pazzi*, the most considerable in *Florence* next to that of against the *Medici*; but without any share in the government. *Lorenzo Medici* could not bear this rivalry, and *Francis*, the head of the house of the *Pazzi*, connected himself at *Rome*, where he was a banker, with the pope's family and sons. It was readily agreed on all hands, that the two heads of the *Medici* family should be taken off by assassination, and that *Montesecco*, the pope's general in *Tuscany*, should back the conspiracy with an army. The king of *Naples* agreed to this horrid scheme, as did *Salviati*, and the young cardinal *Riario*, who lived at *Florence* in a magnificent palace, where the conspirators held their consultations. The church of *Death of St. Reparata*, was pitched upon for the scene of murder. *Guilian de Medici*, was dispatched, but *Lorenzo* bravely stood upon his defence, and by the assistance of some of his friends escaped the daggers of the conspirators. The cardinal was with some difficulty saved, by sheltering himself at the altar; but the archbishop of *Pisa*, with some of his kinsmen and friends were immediately hanged out at the palace windows, as was *Francis Pazzi*; and the conspiracy being thoroughly quelled by the deaths of the other assassins, *Lorenzo's* power was more firmly established than ever in *Florence*.

While this bloody scene was transacting, two bodies of War in troops in the pay of his holiness and the king of *Naples*, *Tuscany* were advancing to support the conspirators; but stopt short when they heard of their disappointment. They were reinforced by other troops, and manifestos were published by the pope, importing, that they had no quarrel with the *Florentines*, and that *Lorenzo de Medici* was the only object of their resentment. The *Florentines* unanimously vowed to support him to the utmost. They voted a guard for his person, and understanding that the pope had laid him under

an excommunication, they obliged the ecclesiastics in their dominions to perform the services of the church as usual, and to disregard his authority. They were however, generous enough to set the cardinal at liberty, as it appeared he had been less criminal than the rest. This however did not relax the preparations they had made for war. The pope's army was commanded by *Frederic of Urbino*, and the *Neapolitan* by *Alphonso*, the son of *Ferdinand*. They took *Castiglione*, but they must have been defeated if the marquis of *Ferrara*, the *Florentine* general, had done his duty. The winter coming on, both armies retired to their quarters.

The *Florentines* favoured by the *French*

The *Florentines*, excepting some assistance given them by the dutchess dowager of *Milan*, were single in this quarrel, their other confederates the *Venetians* refusing to aid them. The duke of *Calabria* remained still in *Tuscany*, where he made such a progress as to threaten *Florence* itself. That republic was now in a deplorable condition; and the enemies of the *Medici* reproached *Lorenzo*, as being the cause of all their misfortunes, requiring him at the same time to give them peace. *Lorenzo* took a magnanimous but wise resolution. Depending on the superiority of his genius, he resolved to negotiate in person for his country. He had prevailed with *Lewis XI.* to espouse his cause, and that prince had sent *Philip de Commines* with three hundred horse to the assistance of the *Florentines*. *Lewis*, at the same time, having many reasons for discontent with the pope, demanded that he would free *Florence* from the interdict, and entered into several vigorous measures to oblige him to moderation. Those and many other circumstances, encouraged *Lorenzo* to proceed in his negociation; and *Lewis* had prevailed so far, that the pope and *Ferdinand* had agreed to a three months truce with the *Florentines*. *Lorenzo* being furnished with full powers to treat, appeared of a sudden at the court of *Naples*, where he harangued *Ferdinand* with such eloquence and force of reasoning, that he soon disposed him to a league offensive and defensive; upon the *Florentines* agreeing to pay a stipulated subsidy to the duke of *Calabria*, who remained still in their territories.

obtains peace from *Ferdinand*,

and the pope.

That prince proved more refractory than the *Florentines* had foreseen. He disowned the late peace, because his real design was to become master of all *Tuscany*, which he possibly might have been, had he not been obliged to march against the *Turks*, who, after ravaging the sea coasts, had made a descent upon the kingdom of *Naples*, and surprized the castle of *Otranto*. His holiness finding his conduct universally condemned, began now to relent in his hatred of the *Florentines*; and there is great room for suspecting that the sudden and seasonable descent of the infidels, was owing to the secret management of *Cosmo*, who had no other way to save his country. *Sixtus* sent a message, acquainting the *Florentines* that he was ready, upon their making the proper submissions,

submissions, to agree to an accommodation. This they cheerfully complied with, and he gave them his benediction, after acceding to the peace they had concluded with *Ferdinand*. He insisted however, upon their maintaining fifteen armed gallies to be employed against the *Turks*. This peace, (by which the *Florentines* regained possession of *Otranto* all that had been taken from them by the duke of *Calabria*) retaken. united all the *Italian* powers, excepting the *Venetians*, against the *Turks*; and in June 1481, the duke of *Calabria* obliged the *Turks* to surrender *Otranto*. A great coldness succeeded between the *Neapolitans*, and the pope's generals and admirals, who complained of *Alphonso's* avarice, and withdrew their gallies from prosecuting the war against the infidels. *Alphonso* complained in his turn of having lost all the fruit of the war by the pope's unseasonable backwardness, and joined the duke of *Ferrara* against the *Venetians*. The *Florentines* took *Ferdinand's* part, and demanded a passage for their troops to the assistance of the marquis, which was denied. Upon this, the duke of *Calabria*, and the *Florentines* commenced hostilities, and threatened *Rome* itself. *Citta di Castello*, was retaken by *Nicolo Vitelli*; but the pope's general *Robert of Rimini*, entirely defeated the *Florentines* and *Neapolitan* army under the duke of *Calabria*.

The duchy of *Milan* was at this time governed by *Lewis* History of
the *Moor*, brother to the late duke, and famous for his dark, *Lombardy*.
intriguing, character. He had taken part with the marquis of *Ferrara* against the *Venetians*, and he had joined with *Alphonso* and the *Florentines*, in threatening the pope with a general council if he did not put a stop to the invasion of the *Ferrarese*; but the *Venetians* refused to withdraw their troops, and having beaten those of *Florence* and *Milan*, they besieged the marquis of *Ferrara* in his own capital. Even the pope became now sensible of the danger of *Italy* from the overgrown power of the *Venetians*; and a congress was held at *Cremona* for reducing it. It was proposed that *Lewis the Moor* should fall into the *Venetian* territories, but he declined the expedition, till the *Venetians* marched across the *Adda*, when, under the walls of *Milan* itself, they proclaimed *Lewis* an usurper of the young duke's, his nephew's, birth right. *Lewis*, upon this, kept no farther measures with the *Venetians*, whose fleet was destroyed by the confederates, while the *Bergamesci*, the *Bressan*, and the *Veronese*, were ravaged by *Lewis* and the duke of *Calabria*, in the year 1483.

It was not long before the interests of those two princes became incompatible. *John Galeazzo*, the true duke of *Milan*, had married the duke of *Calabria's* daughter; but *Lewis* refusing to part with the possession of the government, he joined with the *Venetians*, who, by the treaty, recovered all they had lost, of which he was in possession. This alliance broke all the measures of the *Florentines*, and the other
P 4 confederates,

Death of
pope
Sixtus,

who is
succeed-
ed by
Innocent
VIII.

confederates, who were however obliged to accede to it. The haughty pontiff was then upon his death-bed; he was exasperated when he understood that the interests of his family, particularly that of *Jeronimo*, had been entirely neglected in the peace; and the force of his vexation is thought to have shortened his days, for he died upon the thirteenth of *August*, 1484. Though *Sixtus* was justly considered as the firebrand of *Italy*; yet he certainly was a great and fortunate pontiff. He adorned *Rome* with many buildings, equally useful and magnificent; and though not liberal to men of learning, he founded the vatican library, to which the republic of letters is so greatly indebted. His son *Jeronimo*, was forced to fly to *Spoletto*, and his palace at *Rome* was burnt down by the *Savelli*, and the *Colonnæ*; but his friends the *Ursini*, held the castle of *St. Angelo*. *Jeronimo*, upon being paid the arrears due to him, as general of the ecclesiastical state, persuaded them to surrender it; and a noble *Genoese*, who took the name of *Innocent VIII.* was elected pope.

Treachery
of the
king of
Naples.

Innocent had been long in the service of *Ferdinand*, and his father *Alphonso*; but he no sooner mounted the papal throne, than he required *Ferdinand* to withdraw his assistance from the *Florentines*, who were then at war with the *Genoese* for the recovery of *Serazana*, that had been taken from them by *Fregoso*, a noble *Genoese*. *Ferdinand*, as usual, trifled with the pope, who resolved to be revenged. He knew that many of the *Neapolitan* barons were uneasy under the duke of *Calabria's* tyranny; and that some of them were already in the field. He immediately entered into a correspondence with the insurgents, and pretended, as lord paramount of *Naples*, to be the sole judge of the quarrel between the crown and its barons. *Alphonso*, on the other hand, seized the persons of count *Montorio*, and some of the other malecontents; and the pope encouraged the city of *Aquila* to declare for the insurgents, and cited *Ferdinand* himself to appear before his tribunal at *Rome*. Hostilities then commenced, and arose at last to such a height, that his holiness offered the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples* to *Renate of Lorrain*; whose mother was sister to *John of Anjou*. *Ferdinand* made an alliance with the *Ursini* family, for driving *Innocent* out of *Rome*; and attacked the malecontents so vigorously, that the pope persuaded them to come into a negotiation, which was at last concluded. By this peace, the pope recovered his right of conferring the benefices of that kingdom to whom he pleased; but many of the great barons refused to be included in the accommodation, or to trust to the king's honour, and became voluntary exiles into different parts of christendom. The king of *Arragon*, the duke of *Milan*, and the *Florentines*, were the guarantees of the treaty, which *Ferdinand* most perfidiously broke, by imprisoning and putting to death most of the noblemen whom he had engaged to pardon.

pardon. This exasperated the guarantees, particularly the pope, and the *Florentines*, who from that time entered into a strict alliance with each other, and his holiness not only excommunicated and deposed *Ferdinand*, but nominated the French king *Charles VIII.* as heir general to the house of *Anjou*, to be general of a crusade against him.

The French king was now making vigorous preparations for his expedition against *Naples*; and in the year 1491. pope *Innocent* offered to give *Innocent* his own terms. The connections between the pope, and *Lorenzo de Medici*, gathered strength every day. The latter gave his daughter in marriage to a legitimate son of *Innocent*, whom he had before he entered into orders. *Innocent* having humbled *Ferdinand*, and by the prudent councils of *Lorenzo de Medici*, restored the tranquility of *Italy*, died at *Rome* on the twenty fifth of *July*, 1492, as did *Lorenzo*, about the same time, and was succeeded by his son *Peter*. The death of those two great men again disordered the balance of power in *Italy*. *Innocent* was succeeded by cardinal *Borgia*, whose crimes rendered him so detestable, under the name of *Alexander VI.* pope. *Alexander VI.* He was nephew to *Calixtus III.* and his character was so execrable in *Italy*, that his election was deplored with tears by *Ferdinand*. *Alexander* had by *Vanotia*, a Roman lady, four sons, and one daughter. The second son, was the famous *Cæsar Borgia*, whom he created a cardinal, and duke of *Valentin*; and the father was possessed of a most furious passion for the aggrandizement of them all. *Peter de Medici* had, by the advice of his brother-in-law, *Verginio Ursini*, entered into an impolitic alliance with *Ferdinand*, which gave such umbrage to *Lewis the Moor*, that he and the pope concluded a treaty with the *Venetians*, and promised to support the French king in his invasion of *Naples*. *Charles* accordingly continued his preparations, and was deaf to all the applications of *Ferdinand* to lay them aside. The latter finding him resolute, prepared to defend himself, but died in the seventy-first year of his age, worn out with the cares of government. He was an able prince, but was stained by a long course of cruelty and perfidy; and he was at the time of his death immensely rich.

Ferdinand was succeeded by his son *Alphonso*, who bribed the pope to be of his party; but *Charles* continued to be inexorable. The pope granted *Alphonso* the investiture of his kingdom, and even sent a message requiring *Charles* to lay aside his intended invasion. Finding his orders to be ineffectual, he projected a confederacy, in which *Bajazet*, the Turkish emperor, was to be a party for opposing *Charles*, and *Ferdinand*, king of *Spain*, promised to send his fleet to the assistance of the pope and *Alphonso*. By this time, the duke of *Orleans* had advanced to *Genoa* with the vanguard of the French army; and *Charles*, on the ninth of *September*, arrived

A confederacy formed against the French king;

arrived with the main body at *Asti*. *France* was then very powerful, and the army of *Charles*, (who had little besides courage to qualify him for a kingdom) irresistible by the weak *Italian* troops. *Alphonso* gave the command of his army to his son *Ferdinand*, and of his fleet to his brother *Frederic*; but could not hinder *Charles* from advancing to *Rome*, which he took possession of on the last of *December*. *Alexander* was now become so detestable by his tyranny, and profligacy of his life, that when he retired to the castle of *St. Angelo*, for safety, the cardinals pressed *Charles* to depose him; but *Charles* was in the hands of favourites, who had been gained over by *Alexander's* money, and refused to proceed to extremities against his holiness. *Alphonso* had become, by his unsteady, cruel, conduct, extremely disagreeable to the *Neapolitans*. His son, *Ferdinand*, could not stand before *Charles*, and the *Neapolitans* in general joined the *French* standard, while the pope finding all resistance to be in vain, promised to grant him the investiture of the kingdom. *Alphonso*, on the twenty second of *January*, solemnly renounced his crown in favour of his son *Ferdinand*; and first fled to *Sicily*, with an intention to spend the rest of his life in religious retirement; but he died as he was preparing to pass to *Spain* for that purpose. *Charles* struck terror into the *Italians* by the warlike appearance of his troops; and the vast trains of artillery he carried along with him. *Ferdinand* fled first to *Naples*, from whence his galleys carried him to the island of *Ischia*, while, on the tenth of *February*, *Charles* having met with no opposition after his arrival in *Italy*, made a triumphal entry into *Naples*, and was acknowledged as king by all but a few *Calabrians*. The acquisition of a country so distant from his native kingdom, as *Naples* was, did not compensate to *Charles* for the powerful confederacy it raised against him. The emperor *Maximilian*, and *Ferdinand*, king of *Spain*, engaged to attack *France* by different quarters, while *Lewis the Moor*, who now declared himself duke of *Milan*, undertook to prevent any more *French* troops from entering *Italy*. *Charles* acted in every respect as if he had been intoxicated with success. He launched into all kinds of ridiculous pomps, pageantries, and pleasures, during the few weeks he remained at *Naples*. He treated the natives with contempt and disdain, excluding them from all posts of profit and honour, which he filled with *Frenchmen*; and he had the vanity to procure himself to be declared, by the pope, emperor of *Constantinople*. This title he derived from *Palæologus*, the nephew of the emperor, who had lost that city with his life; and he was even mad enough to endeavour to excite an insurrection among the native *Greeks*. The confederacy which had been formed against him, roused him out of his lethargy. Though he

knew

knew that the pope, and the *Venetians* had privately applied to the *Turkish* emperor *Bajazet* II. for assistance, to drive him out of *Italy*; and though he had treated *Alexander* on that and many other accounts as a criminal, yet he publicly paid him the homage of obedience, and kissed his feet for his new kingdom of *Naples*, though he owed it entirely to the terror of his arms.

We have in a former part of this work given an account See of the *Turkish* prince *Jem*, who was then prisoner to the Vol. VIII. pontiff in *Italy*; where he fell a sacrifice to the avarice of that monster. All we can add here is, that *Alexander* received *et seq.* for *Jem's* murder three hundred thousand crowns from his who pre-brother *Bajazet* II. all which he privately employed against *pares* to *Charles*, while at the same time he was taking a solemn leave oath not to disturb him in the possession of his new con- *Italy*. quests. *Charles*, like the other ravagers of *Italy*, grew to be in want of money, and had lost a vast number of men in *Naples*; two circumstances which hurried him back to *France*. So great was his contempt for the *Neapolitans*, that he left only five thousand *French* to keep their kingdom in awe; and he had not with him above eight thousand men, when he left *Naples*. But we are now upon a most interesting period of the *Italian* history.

Charles, in his march to *Rome*, had entered *Florence*, and had pretended to give the *Florentines* law as a sovereign; but, though he was befriended by *Peter de Medici*, whom the *Florentines* expelled for that reason, yet he was so much daunted by the resolution of *Capponi*, who tore before his face the paper which contained the terms he had prescribed, that he left the *Florentines* in possession of their liberties. *Peter de Medici* was then in exile at *Venice*, where *Philip de Commynes*, resided as ambassador from *Charles*; but that republic affected an entire neutrality with regard to the affairs of *Naples*, though *Charles* had made her very advantageous offers if she would join him. *Ferdinand*, king of *Spain*, The *Ve-* whose name makes so great a figure in the history of *Europe*, *netians* had sent a fleet for the defence of *Sicily* against *Charles*; take part and its admiral *Suarez*, proposed in the *Venetian* senate to in the check his ambition by a powerful confederacy. The senate confede- readily agreed to this measure, and in *April* 1495, a league racy. for that purpose was formed and agreed to by the ministers of the emperor, the pope, the king of *Spain*, the duke of *Milan*, and the *Venetians*; and the whole was conducted with such secrecy, that *Commynes* had no knowledge of the transaction till it became public. By this league, the allies were to raise twenty thousand foot, and thirty four thousand horse; but as soon as it was intimated to *Charles*, he sent to demand whether he was to look upon the republic as his friend or his enemy. The answer of the senators was, that it was his in majesty's power to make her either.

Charles,

Battle of
Fornovo.

Charles was as yet uncertain as to the part which the pope intended to act, and advanced to *Rome*, from whence the pope fled to *Perugia*. *Charles*, though highly incensed at the pope, committed no hostilities in his dominions, but in those places where he met with resistance. Proceeding in his march he found himself opposed at *Fornovo*, on the banks of the *Taro*, by eight thousand *Venetians* and *Milanese* troops, commanded by *Gonzaga*, the young prince of *Mantua*. As the passage of the river was difficult, the situation of *Charles* was critical; but the valour and discipline of his troops and generals defeated the *Italians*, under the most discouraging circumstances. The confederates lost near three thousand of their best men, while the loss of the *French* scarcely amounted to two hundred. *Charles* however, was disappointed in his design of passing the *Taro*, chiefly through the valour of the prince of *Mantua*; and this circumstance, with that of the confederates having plundered a part of his baggage, gave them some colour to claim the victory. *Charles* indeed pursued his journey in a manner not much for his reputation; and reached *Asti*. *Novara* was besieged by the confederates; but the duplicity of the duke of *Milan's* conduct favoured *Charles*, who arrived at *Grenoble* in his own dominions on the twenty seventh of *October*. Notwithstanding the departure of *Charles*, the war still continued in *Italy*; but a separate peace was concluded between him and *Lewis the Moor*, duke of *Milan*. The *Venetians* took *Novara*, and the duke of *Orleans* returned to *France*; while the pope had the insolence to send a nuncio, commanding *Charles* instantly, under pain of ecclesiastical censures, to evacuate *Italy*; and to appear before him at *Rome*. But we are now to return to the history of *Naples*, which had been left by *Charles* to the government of *Gilbert Montpensier*.

Insolence
of the
pope.

The
French
driven out
of *Naples*,

Ferdinand, son to *Alphonso* king of *Naples*, had fled to *Spain*, where he obtained a body of *Spanish* troops under the command of *Gonsalvo Hermandes*, afterwards honoured by the name of the *Great Captain*. The *French* troops in *Naples* were now dwindled down to fewer than four thousand men; and the conquests of *Gonsalvo* were very rapid, the *French* being obliged to retire to *Tarento* and *Gaeta*, the city of *Naples* received *Ferdinand* as its master; and a *Venetian* fleet appeared before it to assist him. To secure the friendship of the king of *Spain*, *Ferdinand* married his niece, though she was at the same time his own aunt; but died in the twenty eighth year of his age, on the seventh of *October* 1496.

to which
crown
Frederic
succeeds.

Ferdinand was succeeded as king of *Naples* by his uncle *Frederic*, an amiable prince, who by *Gonsalvo's* assistance, retook *Tarento*, and *Gaeta*; and drove the *French* out of his kingdom. After this, he was solemnly crowned by the pope's orders, and received the investiture of his dominions.

By

By this time, the confederates, who had united against See
Charles, had disagreed among themselves; and he had en- Vol. IX.
 tered into a treaty with the *Venetians* and the *Spaniards*, p. 80.

which gave him hopes of recovering the crown of *Naples*.
 He demanded a passage for thirty thousand horse, through
 the *Venetian* and the *Milanese* territories, but it was not
 granted him; and the *Venetians*, the pope, and *Lewis the Moor*,
 applied as we have already seen, for assistance to the emperor
Maximilian, who marched into *Italy*; but with very indif-
 ferent success. Notwithstanding the yoke, which *Italy* had Death of
 so lately escaped from, under the *French* king, several of her *Charles*.
 states declared for his alliance, even in the teeth of the
 pope, as did many of the cardinals, who were obliged to
 take shelter in *France*. The family of *Ursini*, and the
 duke of *Urbino*, beat the pope's troops, which obliged him
 to conclude a peace; when *Charles* died without issue, in
 1497, and left his dominions to the duke of *Orleans*, who
 in his family right, besides the kingdom of *Jerusalem*,
 claimed the *Two Sicilies*, and the dutchy of *Milan*.

Frederic king of *Naples*, had great reason to believe, that Treaty of
 the king of *Spain*, and the *Venetians*, had entered into a partition
 secret compact with *Charles*, for partitioning out his domi- against
 nions among themselves. This project was prevented by *Frederic*.
 that king's death. *Alexander*, upon that event, offered to
 transfer all his interest to *Frederic*, provided the latter would
 give his daughter *Charlotte*, with the principality of *Tarento*,
 to his beloved son, *Cæsar Borgia*, who intended to quit the
 ecclesiastical life; but *Frederic* rejected this proposal with in-
 dignation. Upon this, *Alexander* applied to *Lewis XII.* t o The pope
 whom his friendship was necessary on many accounts, confede-
 especially that of being divorced from his wife. *Lewis*, if rates with
 possible, was more intent than his predecessors had ever *Lewis the*
 been, upon an expedition into *Italy*; and flattered the am- *French*
 bition of *Alexander* to the utmost. All the crimes of *Cæsar* king and
Borgia, who had assassinated his brother, the duke of *Gandia*, the *Vene-*
 because he had been his rival in the bed of his own sister, *tians*.
 who had been likewise criminal with her father, did not
 prevent *Lewis* from heaping upon him the most extrava-
 gant favours. He became his advocate with the princess
Charlotte, who was then at the court of *France*; he created
 him duke of *Valentinois*, with an appointment amounting
 to forty thousand francs a year; and *Borgia*, having re-
 signed his cardinalship, carried with him into *France*,
 the bull that was preparatory to that king's divorce.
Lewis made up his quarrels with the *English*, and his
 other neighbours, that he might be at leisure to pursue
 the conquest of the *Milanese*. He had even consented to
 give up to the *Venetians*, the *Bressan*, the *Cremonese*, with the
 other territories that had been so long disputed between
 them and the *Sforza* family, and this treaty was conclud-
 ed with the secrecy which characterized that republic; so
 that even the crafty *Lewis the Moor*, was imposed upon.

The

Affairs of Lombardy. The *Venetians* were at this time formidable by their riches, their acquisitions, their troops, and marine, not only to the *European*, but the *Asiatic*, powers; and *Lewis the Moor*, having certain intelligence of their treaty with the *French* king, entered into a correspondence with the *Ottoman* court for reducing them. The *Venetians* endeavoured to counter-act him by their agents at *Constantinople*; but *Lewis the Moor*, proved himself to be the better negociator, and attempted to gain the *Florentines* by means of the marquis of *Modena*, and to bring about a reconciliation between them and the *Venetians*; but in this the marquis was unsuccessful, though he prevailed upon the peasants to expel out of their city the *Venetian* garrison. The friendship of the *Turks* might have been useful to the *Moor*, had they not been wholly intent on conquering and plundering for themselves. They fitted out a powerful armament by sea, which ravaged the *Venetian* territories, both in *Asia* and *Italy*, and even defeated their fleet under the command of their admirals *Grimani*, and *Lorotano*. All this did little service to the *Moor*, who went in person to *Germany*, to solicit assistance from the emperor *Maximilian*; but the latter was too needy, and too much embroiled to give him any. The *Venetians* however, found themselves so much embarrassed by the *Moor's* intrigues, and negociations, that they called upon the *French* king to fulfil his engagements. In *August* 1499, his army entered *Italy*, commanded by the duke of *Aubigni*, who was of the blood royal of *Scotland*, the duke of *Luxembourg*, and the famous *Trivulzi*. They carried *Alexandria*, though garrisoned with five thousand men, by storm. *Lewis the Moor* was then at *Milan*, at the head of an army as numerous, and well appointed as that of the *French*, but cowardly and undisciplined; and he is said to have paid a gold ducat for every *Frenchman's* head that was brought him; but the fate of *Alexandria* struck the subjects of the *Milanese* with such consternation, that they surrendered all their strong places to the invaders, who in twenty days time were masters of *Milan* itself; into which the *French* king made a triumphal entry. His successes rendered him the arbiter of the *Italian* states; and he lent six thousand of his *Swiss* troops to the pope, who employed them in recovering the territories of *Romagna*, *Imola*, and *Forli*, which he intended as a provision for his son *Cæsar*.

**Conquest
of Milan
by the
French.**

Trivulzi, after the conquest of *Milan*, marched with his division of the *French* army to *Genoa*, by the persuasion of cardinal *Fregosa*. *Lewis the Moor* was then lord of *Genoa*, but the *French* were as successful there as they had been at *Milan*; and *Lewis XII.* became master of *Genoa* likewise. The *Venetian* conquests on the *Adria*, where they took *Caravaggio*, and other places, were equally rapid. They then advanced to *Cremona*, which was surrendered to them by
the

the treachery of its governor, and became part of the *Venetian* dominions. *Trivulzi*, after his success at *Genoa*, had been made governor of *Milan*, and the *Venetians* being jealous of *Borgia's* progress, secretly solicited *Lewis* to recall his troops from the *Romagna*. By this time, the *Moor* had returned from *Germany* with some troops, most of them *Swiss*, and had the pleasure to find that the *French* were detested in the *Milanese*, where they lived without order or discipline. He took *Como* without resistance, and *Trivulzi* was obliged to evacuate *Milan*, and retire to *Novara*; upon which, the *Moor* again got possession of his capital. Those bloodless conquests seem to have infatuated the victors. *Pavia*, and *Parma*, submitted to the *Moor*, who was as careless as the *French* had been in securing the places he took. The *Venetians* defended *Lodi*, *Placentia*, and the *Cremone*; and increased their army with three thousand additional *Swiss*. The *French* king had some days before returned to *Lyons*; but he had ordered an army to rendezvous in *Piedmont*, to join that of the *Venetians* for the relief of *Novara*, which was besieged by the *Moor*. Upon the advance of the confederates, the *Swiss* officers under him combined to give him up into the hands of the *French*; but at his earnest request, upon their entering into a treaty to evacuate the town of *Novara*, they consented that he should march out in their ranks disguised like a *Swiss* soldier. He was, however, discovered and betrayed, and sent prisoner by *Lewis* to *France*, where he died.

The recovery of the *Milanese* by the *French*, gave a new turn to the affairs of *Italy*. The *Venetians* were contented with the quiet enjoyment of the acquisitions they had made during the late war. The pope was pleased with the success his son had met with, and blinded by his desire to aggrandize his family. *Lewis* agreed to give him new reinforcements, by which he reduced *Pesaro*, *Rimini*, and at last, *Faenza*, the young lord of which, though he was no more than eighteen years of age, he put to death. *Alexander*, to *Borgia's* other titles, now added that of duke of *Romagna*, and he would have proceeded to the conquest of *Bologna*, had not the *French* king protected the *Bentivoglio* family; and sent for his troops under *Borgia*, he being then on his march to *Naples*.

Though *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, had assisted *Frederic* in recovering his crown, yet by the profound dissimulation of which he was so eminently possessed, he had concealed his family pretensions to that crown, in right of his uncle *Alphonso* I. *Frederic* suspected him, through the unwillingness he had expressed to evacuate some places in *Calabria*, that had been taken by *Gonsalvo*; and he had so ill an opinion of *Ferdinand's* intentions, that he had not only secretly solicited assistance at the *Ottoman* court, where it was refused him, but had offered to render his crown tributary

butary to the *French* king ; by paying him a large sum annually. *Lewis* rejected this proposal, because he was afraid of *Ferdinand*, whose great possessions in his own and his wife's right, and by the late discovery of *America*, had now made him formidable to all *Europe*. *Lewis* therefore, rather than have him for his enemy, agreed, but unknown to *Frederic*, to a treaty of partition ; by which *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, were to be assigned to *Ferdinand*, and the rest of the kingdom was to remain with *Lewis*. The pope acceded to this treaty, and gave each of the parties an investiture accordingly. As *Gonsalvo* was in possession of great part of *Calabria*, *Ferdinand* had no great difficulty in executing his part of the treaty ; but *Frederic*, overwhelmed by astonishment at *Ferdinand's* perfidy, threw a garrison into *Capua*, (which was soon after stormed and plundered by the *French*) and retired with the rest of his army to *Naples*. He there understood that the state of his affairs was desperate, and that the invaders were in possession of most of the other strong places of his kingdom. This determined him to give an order for the surrender of the rest to *Aubigni*, and throwing himself entirely on the protection of *Lewis*, who granted him a safe conduct, with an annual pension of one hundred and twenty thousand livres a year, he set sail for *France*, where he spent the remainder of his days. His eldest son was then defending *Tarento* against the *Spaniards*, and being obliged to surrender it, he was, in breach of the articles of capitulation sent prisoner by *Gonsalvo* into *Spain*.

The vicinity in one kingdom of the *French* and *Spaniards*, was soon attended with disagreeable consequences to both. The boundaries of the places which had been assigned to each by the partition treaty, was very imperfectly ascertained, and occasioned many disputes between *Gonsalvo*, who was governor of the *Spanish* part, and the duke of *Nemours*, the *French* viceroy, who imprudently threatened to enter upon hostilities against the *Spaniards* if they did not immediately quit *Capitanata*, one of the litigated estates. This demand not being complied with, and *Gonsalvo*, who was obliged to retire to *Barletta*, being in no condition to oppose the *French*, they reduced almost all the *Spanish* division. Next year, *Gonsalvo* having received reinforcements, recovered all he had lost ; and the year after, the places in dispute were given up to *Philip*, duke of *Austria*, son-in-law to *Ferdinand* ; while *Philip's* son, *Charles*, though but two years old, was to be married to the *French* king's daughter ; who were to be declared king and queen of *Naples*. This match, which must have ruined *France*, never took place. *Gonsalvo*, who was then victorious over the *French*, refused to ratify this treaty, and gave a total defeat to the *French* army, under the duke of *Nemours*, who was killed in the action. *Ferdinand* approving of what *Gonsalvo* had done, the

the war continued, but still to the disadvantage of the *French*; who at last lost *Gaeta*. Though *Lewis* continued Farther to live in the strictest correspondence with *Alexander*, yet successes he looked upon *Borgia's* conquests with no favourable eye; and cruel- and he interposed in favour of *Florence*, when *Borgia* was ties of upon the point of attacking it. The pope, partly by *Borgia*. policy, and partly by money, still found means to secure *Lewis* in his interest; and *Borgia* arrived to such power, that he became master of the dutchy of *Urbino*, and murdered the lord of *Camerino*, and his two sons, that he might get possession of their estates. The dutchy of *Urbino* soon after revolting, and the duke being befriended by the *Ursini*, and some other lords in the marquisate of *Ancona*, *Borgia* found means to disunite them, and to secure *Ursini* to his interest. The first fruit of his stratagem, was his decoying *Paul Ursini* into his power, and putting two of the confederate lords to death in *Senigaglia*; while the pope ordered cardinal *Ursini* to be poisoned, after shutting him up in the castle of *St. Angelo*. The *Ursini* estates thus fell a prey to those rapacious monsters, as did *Citta di Castello*, and *Perugia*; and, had it not been for the *French* king, they would have seized *Sienna* likewise.

It is probable, that *Lewis* would have checked the rapa- Remark- city and cruelty of the *Borgias*, had not his affairs been so able death much on the decline in *Naples*, that his authority was of *Alex-* lessened in other parts of *Italy*. Notwithstanding his in- *ander VI.* junctions, *Borgia* would have again attempted the conquest of *Tuscany*, had not his father's death intervened. Authors differ in some circumstances, as to the manner in which this happened; but they seem to agree upon the whole, in the following account. *Borgia* being in want of money, agreed with his father to poison the richest cardinals in *Rome*, at an entertainment, and then seize upon their treasures. *Borgia* prepared some poisoned wine, and sent to the place where the entertainment was to be held, an order for the butler to let none of the guests taste it till his arrival. The servant apprehending this caution to proceed from the excellency of the liquor, administered a glass full of it to the pope, who entered the room, and being hot, called for wine. The effects proved fatal to his holiness next day; and it is said, that *Borgia*, who drank in the same cup, but diluted with water, survived only by the strength of his constitution, and the antidotes he made use of; but found himself too weak to execute the pernicious schemes he had formed. *Borgia* being universally detested, kept possession of the vatican, and the castle of *St. Angelo*, with ten thousand men; and the cardinals who were to elect a new pope were in doubt how to proceed. *Borgia*, by promising to give his interest to a *French* cardinal, prevented that army from entering *Rome*; but *Picolomini*, cardinal of *Sienna*, was chosen pope, and he took the name of *Pius III*. In the mean while,

while, the *Colonnæ*, and the *Ursini*, had taken possession of *Rome*, and obliged *Borgia*, with his friends, to take refuge in the castle of *St. Angelo*, when the new pope *Pius* died on the the twenty sixth day of his pontificate.

Julius II.
pope.

He was succeeded by *Julian de la Rovere*, nephew of *Sixtus IV*, chiefly by *Borgia's* interest; and he took the name of *Julius II*. He was one of the most active and war-like pontiffs that had ever filled the holy see; but upon his accession to the pontificate he found himself too weak, all at once, to recover the possessions of the church from the *Venetians*, *Borgia*, and other petty tyrants who had usurped them. *Borgia* had still great power, and *Julius* endeavoured to prevail with him to resign all the church dominions into his hands, that he might take from the *Venetians* the pretext they made use of that they did not make war upon the church, but upon duke *Valentino*. *Borgia* demurred to this proposal. The pope arrested him, and required the cities of *Romagna* to submit to the holy see; but they hanged up his messengers, on pretence that their lord was in durance. *Julius*, however, soon found means to oblige *Borgia* to give up all his right in the *Romagna*; and thus all the wicked schemes of *Alexander VI*. for the aggrandizement of his family were blasted, and served only to aggrandize *Julius*. *Borgia* escaped to *Naples*, where he found all the long laboured texture of his politics to be a mere cobweb. The king of *Spain*, who was a greater politician, and a much wiser man, than himself, ordered him to be sent prisoner to the castle of *Medina*, where he remained for three years. Escaping from thence, he went to the court of the king of *Navarre*, whose sister he had married, and he soon after died an ignoble death in a skirmish with some *Spaniards*.

His war-like qualifications.

Julius filled the popedom with a courage and intrepidity that did honour to his station, as the head of a civil community. He overawed the *Venetians*, and he interposed with the kings of *Spain*, and *Portugal*, in favour of the *Saracens*, whose friendship he courted. He recovered from the *Venetians* all they held in *Romagna*, and winked at their keeping possession of *Faenza*, and *Rimini*. *Lewis XII*. was then king of *France*, and still held the dutchy of *Milan*, where he presided with an independency that gave umbrage to *Julius*. The latter seeming to adopt the cause of the house of *Austria*, which was now become formidable, brought *Lewis* to accept of his terms, and they entered into a strict alliance in the year 1506, against the *Venetians*, whose power was now intolerable to all the princes and states upon the continent. This alliance with the *French* was a favourable circumstance to *Julius*, who immediately marched in person, habited like a military general officer, and reduced *Perugia*, and *Bologna*. The *Bentivoglio* family was still in possession of the last mentioned city, and depended

depended on the *French* for protection; but being deceived they retired to the *Milanese*, while the pope, to secure the possession of *Bologna*, indulged the inhabitants with a phantom of liberty, by giving them leave to chuse their own magistrates; who were no better than slaves to his legate.

Next to the aggrandizement of the papacy, the reduction of the *Venetian* power was the favourite view of *Julius*. The *Venetians* had offered to hold *Faenza*, and *Rimini*, as tributaries to the holy see; but refused to submit to any arbitration for restoring them. The *French* king, and the emperor *Maximilian*, had, by this time, secretly formed a league against *Verice*, but they disguised it, under the pretext of a confederacy against the *Turks*. To justify themselves they required the *Venetians* to deliver up *Faenza*, and *Rimini*, though at that juncture *Julius* had taken part with the *Genoese*, who had thrown off the *French* yoke, but in the year 1507, were obliged to resume it. *Lewis XII.* had renounced his claim to *Naples* in favour of *Ferdinand*, king of *Arragon*, who claimed it as heir to his father's brother, *Alphonso I.* His wife *Isabella*, of *Castile*, was now dead, and he was the most powerful prince in *Europe*; the *Spanish* monarchy, the *Two Siciles*, and all that had been discovered in *America* being now in his possession, without a rival, or partner. He had been left regent of *Castile*, by his queen *Isabella*; but the death of *Philip*, his son-in-law, freed him from all restraint in his own, or his wife's, dominions. Being void of all resentment of friendship, or gratitude, he grew jealous of *Gonsalvo*, his great general, to whom he owed the kingdom of *Naples*, and with his new queen, *Germana*, he repaired to that kingdom; and took the administration upon himself. Every circumstance fell out in his favour. His daughter *Jane*, who was the undoubted heiress of *Castile*, was so affected with the death of her husband *Philip*, that she was incapable of acting in any office of life. His connections with the *French* king gave him some uneasiness, as he had engaged to restore the *Anjouvine* barons to their estates; a promise he could not perform without injuring those of his own party. He got over even this difficulty by his artful management; and leaving the count of *Ripagorza*, his viceroy in *Naples*, he had an interview with the *French* king at *Savona*, where they put the finishing hand to their league against the *Venetians*. *Ferdinand*, who was the best served of any prince ever known; and deserved it the least, carried with him to *Spain*, *Gonsalvo*, whose accomplishments had gained him so much esteem from all the other powers of *Europe*, that he was afraid to express his intentions till he arrived in *Spain*, where he confined his great captain to his own estate. One of his motives for entering into the league against the *Venetians*, was their detaining in their hands some towns on the coast

History of
the league
of Cam-
bray;

coast of *Naples*, as pledges for money that they had advanced to his predecessors. The history of *Venice* becomes now the capital object in that of *Italy*.

Which
the *Vene-*
tians

counteract

See
Vol. IX.
p. 86.
et seq.

Notwithstanding the great secrecy with which the confederacy against that republic had been formed, the senate more than suspected the transaction, and did all they could to avert the blow. They might have succeeded, had not *Julius II.* been as sagacious, penetrating, and resolute as themselves; and kept to his main point by rejecting all offers of an accommodation. The *Venetians* had endeavoured to disjoint the alliance that was formed against them, by dividing the emperor and the *French* king, but they were reconciled by the pope; and the reader, in a former part of this work, may consult the history of the league of *Cambrai*, which threatened destruction to that republic. *Maximilian*, and *Lewis* embraced each others interest from dread of the *Venetians*; though in other respects their views were quite opposite. The *Venetians* were in alliance at that very time with *France*, and had obtained great advantages over *Maximilian*. All parties negotiated with the most profound dissimulation, and all of them lost in the event. The *Venetian* policy was too finely spun to be successful. They had, by an ill-judged imitation of the *Roman* republicans, disobliged *Maximilian*, by decreeing triumphal honours to their general *Alviano*, a weak man, but a great commander, who had taken *Trieste*, *Goritz*, and many other places from the emperor. *Maximilian*, though a mean, interested prince, when necessity pressed him, could not brook the haughtiness of the republic; and dropped all resentment against the *French* king, that he might humble the *Venetians*. He revived the imperial claims upon all their possessions on the continent; and, perhaps, no state ever had greater reason to dread ruin, than the *Venetian* republic had at this juncture.

The
French
join with
the king
of *Naples*.

The *French* king, by his possession of the *Milanese*, was now a principal power in *Italy*; *Ferdinand* was king of *Naples*; the *Florentine* republic was flourishing and hated the *Venetians*; and we have already seen the reasons that induced the pope to enter into, or, rather, form the league of *Cambrai*. There scarcely was a power upon the continent of *Europe* that had not a demand upon the *Venetians*. Even the king of *Hungary* claimed their possessions in *Dalmatia*. The duke of *Savoy* complained that they had usurped the kingdom of *Cyprus*, to the prejudice of his family; and the republic was too powerful a neighbour to the *French* king, as duke of *Milan*. The duke of *Ferrara* had likewise claims upon the republic, which held *Rovigo*, and the *Polesin*; and though he and the *Florentines* were but inconsiderable parties in the league, yet they were useful in the confederacy by their situations. We must not omit to mention, that the concessions of *Sforza* to the *Venetians*, by which

which great part of the *Milanese* was separated from that dutchy, founded a capital article for inducing the *French* king to enter into the confederacy. Cardinal *Amboise*, and *ibid.* *Margaret of Austria*, the governess of the *Low Countries*, put the finishing hand to all the differences between the *French* king and the emperor; and it was finally agreed at *Cambray*, that all the contracting powers should endeavour to recover the places and dominions which had been usurped from them by the *Venetians*. In this league, we are to observe a most important circumstance in the history of *Italy*, that the *French* king agreed to take the investiture of the dutchy of *Milan* from the emperor.

We cannot agree with some authors, that the *Venetian* Haughtiness was entirely ignorant of this league till they felt its effects. It is most probable, that the same dissimulation which had influenced the allies, prevailed among them to disguise their knowledge of their enemies intentions. This dissimulation was partly owing to haughtiness. The *Venetians* knew the vast extent of their power and riches, and tho' they had behaved with the greatest submission to avert the impending storm; yet they were determined to face it. The pope animated the whole confederacy, and he stipulated that *Ravenna*, *Corvia*, *Rimini*, *Faenza*, and some other places possessed by the *Venetians*, should be ceded to him. *Verona*, *Padua*, *Fayenza*, the *Trevisan*, *Friuli*, and all the tract on the coast of the *Adriatic*, were to revert to the emperor; while the *French* were to hold the *Bressan*, the *Cremese*, *Crema*, and all that the *Venetians* had taken from the *Milanese*. The emperor assembled a diet at *Constance*, on pretext of going to *Italy* to receive the imperial crown, which created some jealousy in *Lewis*, and, at his request, the *Venetians* denied a passage to his troops; but in the month of *February* 1508, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, he and his army were within four leagues of *Verona*. The *Venetian* general *Alviano*, upon the emperor's being obliged to return to *Germany*, attacked and defeated his troops in the valley of *Cadorino*, the imperialists leaving five thousand dead upon the spot, while the *Venetians* extended their conquests over the house of *Austria* both by sea and land; but all of a sudden they were deserted by *Trivulzi*, who had received intelligence that the league of *Cambray* was concluded. The emperor repaired the loss he had received in his late defeat, by raising a new army, but it mutinied for want of pay; and the *Venetians* took *Trieste*. A scene of dissimulation ensued, in which the haughtiness of the *Venetian* republicans surmounted their prudence, by provoking the *French* king, at a juncture when an artful management, and proper compliances, could have broken the league of *Cambray*. This confederacy startled even the dauntless pope *Julius II.* least it should erect a power in *Italy* still more formidable than that of the *Venetians*.
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The latter, when it was too late, endeavoured to disunite the allies; and finding their endeavours fruitless, they recalled their ambassadors from the *French* court.

Progress
of the
league of
Cambray.

The *Venetians* applied for assistance to the king of *England*, but without success, as he had some thoughts of acceding to the league of *Cambray*; but they raised an army of about twenty thousand men, and fitted out a fleet to act against the *Neapolitan* coasts. The army of the republic consisted of raw undisciplined troops, and the councils of her senate were divided between the operations proposed by *Petiglian*, and *Alviano*, their two chief generals; the former of a cautious, and the latter of an enterprising, character. The parties in the league of *Cambray* endeavoured to distress the *Venetians*, by ordering their subjects, even under pain of death, to leave the dominions of the republic; but the *Venetians* wisely issued other orders, by which they detained all the hands that were useful in manufactures and commerce.

Successes
of the
French

By this time, the *French* army had entered *Italy*, and had taken one thousand of the *Venetian* infantry, who were in garrison at *Treviglio*; but the place was retaken by *Petiglian*, who industriously avoided a battle. *Lewis*, who was at the head of his army, cut off the communication between the *Venetians* and the *Cremonese*, from whence they derived their subsistence; and this produced a battle, in which *Alviano*, the brave *Venetian* general, was defeated, with the loss of five thousand men. The cautious *Petiglian* declined being engaged in this battle, and his conduct was approved of by the *Venetians*, though in consequence of their defeat they lost *Caravaggio*, *Brescia*, and *Bergamo*. The *Venetians* now became fully sensible of the danger that threatened them, and saw the vanity of trusting to the refinements of policy. They applied to the pope, who would hear of no terms, and who had already reduced *Faenza*, *Ravenna*, *Rimini*, and other places which he had claimed in the beginning of the war. The emperor was equally inexorable, though they had offered to resign all the places they had taken from him; so that the republic had then no option, but that of defending herself with vigour. The rapidity of the *French*, and the emperor's conquests, baffled all their prudence; but they magnanimously refused the assistance offered them by the *Turks*. The petty dukes of *Ferrara*, and *Mantua*, took from them the *Polesin*, with the towns of *Azole*, and *Lunet*; and the duke of *Brunswick*, the imperial general, had recovered *Trieste*, *Feltri*, and *Belluno*. In short, the conquests of the allies were so quick, that it was proposed in the *Venetian* senate to abandon all their possessions on the continent, and to collect all their strength at *Venice*. *Padua*, and *Treviso*, refused to submit to the imperialists, who besieged the former city; but the inhabitants defended it

in *Italy*.

it so nobly, that the duke of *Brunswick* was forced to raise the siege with loss and disgrace.

Notwithstanding this, the *Venetian* republic must have been annihilated, had it not been for the dissensions that arose among the confederates. The needy emperor *Maximilian*, was for besieging *Venice*, in hopes of plundering her immense treasury; but the king of *Spain* refused to assist him with a fleet. The pope was no longer the enemy of the republic after regaining the places he claimed; and a coldness sprung up between him and the *French* king. The *Venetians* perceived this, and it redoubled their efforts for defending themselves, especially as his holiness gave them private assurances of his friendship, and that he was only overawed from publishing it, by the kings of *France*, and *Spain*. Their recovering *Vicenza*, was one of the first earnest of their returning good fortune. They raised money to pay their troops; they encouraged the people to stand on their defence at first, but afterwards to attempt the recovery of those places which had submitted to the confederates, chiefly because they thought that the republic was too weak to protect them. They soon reduced the *Polesin*, *Feltri*, and some other places; they divided their forces into three parts, and they even besieged *Ferrara*, but the *French* general, *Chaumont*, obliged them to desist with considerable loss. This misfortune was followed by the surrender of *Padua*, which had continued so long faithful to the *Venetians*; but was now betrayed to the emperor by its intestine divisions. *Maximilian* would, at this time, have embraced the peace, as his finances were in no condition to continue the war; and he had been, by the pope, rendered jealous of the *French* king. His demands were too exorbitant, and the *Venetians* not only rejected them, but resolved to attempt the recovery of *Padua*. This could not be done without the greatest secrecy, to which the senators bound themselves by oath. *Gritti* was intrusted with the execution of this design; and finding means to introduce some troops into the fortress in covered waggons, the imperial garrison were made prisoners, and that important city was recovered by the *Venetians*. So bold and spirited a stroke, at a time when their enemies were every where else triumphant, gave a wonderful turn to the affairs of the *Venetian* republic.

Pope *Julius* immediately took off the interdict from the republic, and even suffered his subjects to enlist in their service, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the emperor, public and the *French* king. He tampered with the king of *England* to declare war against *France*. He brought the *Swiss* to the abandon *Lewis*, and to take pay under the *Venetians*; and he shewed himself now as active in assisting them to recover their affairs, as he had been before in distressing them. *Julius* had altered his conduct upon interested principles. The *Venetians* not only quitted all the *Romagna* to him, but

gave a free navigation in their gulph to his subjects. No sooner was the treaty, concluded between him and them, known, than he was severely upbraided by the emperor, and the *French* king, though they did not as yet see into the whole depth of his design ; which was that of driving both *Lewis*, and *Maximilian* out of *Italy* ; but chiefly the former. He had practised various methods to bring the *Venetians*, and *Maximilian* to unite against the *French* ; and at last a congress was appointed at *Scala*, where the bishop of *Gurck* managed for the emperor, and the bishop of *Perusa* for the pope ; but the pride and poverty of *Maximilian*, who demanded the *Paduan*, *Vicenza*, and *Trevisan*, to be ceded to him, and an immense sum for the expences of the war, occasioned the conferences to be broken up without any effect. *Julius*, notwithstanding this, did all he could to dissuade the diet of *Germany* from seconding the emperor's views in *Italy* ; but with so little success, that his nuncio was turned out of the assembly ; the *Venetians* were put to the ban of the empire, and an offensive and defensive treaty was concluded with the *French* king.

Pope *Julius* breaks with the *French* king.

Julius, far from being daunted by the renewal of this confederacy, which was become formidable by the accession of the *Germanic* body, brought *Henry VIII.* of *England*, a vain, aspiring, but powerful, young prince, over to his cause ; and the *Venetians*, after recovering several of their towns, laid siege to *Verona*, and made an attempt upon *Genoa*, but were defeated in both by the *French*. *Lewis*, at that time, had many reasons for keeping well with the holy see ; but the impetuosity of *Julius* frustrated all his schemes for a reconciliation. The storm fell upon the duke of *Ferrara*, who continued still to be attached to the *French* king, and on pretext of his having made some invasions upon the patrimony of the church, he marched with an army into his dominions. *Lewis* could not be diverted from supporting the duke of *Ferrara*, though at the same time he was threatened with a revolt in the *Milanese*, and in *Genoa*. Finding all his endeavours to reconcile *Julius* to be vain, he consulted his clergy, who agreed to support him in opposing the temporal encroachments of his holiness ; while *Julius* carried on a war against the duke of *Ferrara*, gave to *Ferdinand* the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples*, and reduced the tribute to be paid to the holy see to a purse of two thousand crowns, besides the white palfrey. This investiture did not, however, entirely answer the views of *Julius*, as *Ferdinand* was too cool, and too cautious, to enter precipitately into a war with the *French* king. *Julius* took into pay twelve thousand *Swiss*, and formally declared war against *Lewis*, who offered to withdraw his protection from the duke of *Ferrara* ; but the haughty pontiff rejected all other terms than those of

of the *French* entirely evacuating *Italy*. Towards the end of *September*, he marched, habited like a temporal general, at the head of his army, to *Bologna*. He soon made himself master of *Concordia*, but the *French* garrison of *Mirandola*, which he likewise attacked, checked his progress for some time. Leaving *Bologna* on the twenty second of *January*, 1511, he repaired to his camp before *Mirandola*, where, against the advice of the ambassadors and cardinals in his train, he led on his troops in person to the assault of the place, and pressed the siege so vigorously, that having forced it to capitulate, he entered it at the head of his army through the breaches he had made, and obliged the inhabitants to pay him a sum of money to be exempted from plunder. He then granted the investiture of *Mirandola* to *John Francis Picus*, for twenty thousand crowns; and would have formed the siege of *Ferrara*, had he not been prevented by the vigilance of the *French*. The great powers of *Europe* were at this time concerting measures for calling a general council to depose the turbulent pontiff; and both the emperor, and the *French* king, had sent ambassadors to *Mantua*, to negotiate an alliance against him; but their interests were so incompatible, that they concluded upon nothing. *Julius* laid hold of this opportunity to endeavour to detach the emperor from the *French* king; and he prevailed with the *Venetians* to employ their fleet in an attempt against *Genoa*, but it was unsuccessful, and the *Venetians* lost some of their ships.

Personal
valour of
the pope.

ibid.
p. 89.

Trivulzi had, at this time, the command of the *French* in *Italy*; and his master being apprehensive that *Maximilian French* might be prevailed on, either through inconstancy or poverty, to join the pope, he ordered that general to observe no farther measures with his holiness, and to prosecute the war with all possible vigour. *Trivulzi*, accordingly took *Concordia*, and being joined by *Bentivoglio*, the descendant of the lords of *Bologna*, he marched towards that city, which was defended by the pope's general, *Ursini*, and his legate the cardinal of *Pavia*, while he himself had retired to *Ravenna*. Upon the approach of the *French* to *Bologna*, the pope's army fled, and left most of its baggage and artillery in the hands of the *French*. Its two generals repaired to *Ravenna*, where the disputes between them ran so high, that *Ursini*, who was nephew, as well as general, to the pope, stabbed the cardinal to the heart with a dagger; but the murder was overlooked by *Julius*.

The pope's want of caution, his assuming a temporal character, the injustice of his claims, and the turbulence of his disposition, had given his enemies vast advantages against him; and nine of his cardinals, joined with the bishop of *Gurck* and the *French* party, in affixing public citations for a general council to be held at *Pisa*, to which the pope was summoned to appear in person, because the members were

Wonder-
ful firm-
ness of the
pope.

determined

determined to proceed to the reformation of the church, *Julius* endeavoured to disconcert this confederacy, which struck at the very root of his authority. He offered to treat with the *French* king, and the cardinals who were assembled at *Milan*; but finding all his advances to be in vain, he appointed a general council to be held at *Rome*; and formed a new alliance against *Lewis*, and *Maximilian*. It is amazing, how one obstinate old man could, by the force of his character alone, notwithstanding the universal detestation of his person, make head against the greatest powers in *Europe*. The secret bigotry and superstition of *Lewis*, with regard to the pontifical authority, never suffered him to act against it with vigour. His declared intention of expelling the barbarians (for so he called the *French* and *Germans*) out of *Italy*, rendered him so popular there, that the *Pisans* treated the *French* and other prelates assembled there to hold the council, with such contempt, that they removed their sessions to *Milan*, where they met with the like insults, tho' that city then belonged to the *French* king. This general dislike of the *French*, encouraged the pope to thunder out his anathemas, not only against all the revolted cardinals and ecclesiastics, but against all the temporal princes who should protect or patronize them. This vigour soon had the desired effect, and the council at *Milan* was now regarded as an assembly of pragmatical schismatics.

Who
makes a
new
alliance a-
gainst the
French.

We cannot reflect on the stupendous conduct of *Julius*, without admiring the wisdom of his councils, and the interpidity of his behaviour. He knew that *Ferdinand of Spain*, continued to behold the *French* power in *Italy* with an evil eye; and as the daughter of that prince, *Catharine of Arragon*, was the wife of *Henry VIII. of England*, he resolved to avail himself of his late connections with *Ferdinand*, by engaging *Henry* to attack the *French*. He could not have a more favourable subject to work upon than *Henry* was, and *Julius* flattered him with the thoughts of having the title of most christian king transferred from *Lewis* to himself, and his becoming the champion and protector of the church. *Henry* fell into the snare, but affected a shew of moderation, by sending a herald to *Paris*, requiring the *French* king to desist from the impious war he was waging against the holy see. No regard being paid to this message, *Henry* would have found it difficult to have engaged his parliament in a papal war, had he not made a requisition of all the antient patrimonial provinces in *France*, that had formerly belonged to *Henry's* ancestors; and this determined the *English* parliament to support him in the war. *Henry* was as open and unsuspecting as his father-in-law was crafty and designing. The cause of *Henry*, and the pope, obtained now the appellation of the holy league; and *Ferdinand* had the art to persuade his son-in-law to send an army under the marquis of *Dorset*, to *Fontarabia*, where

Expedi-
tion of the
English in
Spain.

where his true design was, that the *English* should assist him in conquering the kingdom of *Navarre* for himself. The marquis saw through the interested views of *Ferdinand*, and refused to join him in his operation, without fresh orders from *England*. While he was waiting for those, the troops under his command were suffering all kinds of hardships from sickness and famine : and without waiting for the return of the messenger they mutinied, and obliged their commanders to carry them back to *England*.

An incident happened about this time, that gave some War in indications of peace ; for an universal report prevailed of *Lombardy*. the pope's death by an apoplectic fit. He recovered however, and proceeded against his enemies with greater vigour than ever. He engaged in his service sixteen thousand *Swiss*, who marched into *Lombardy*, where they overawed the *French*, and the fathers at *Milan*. He put *Florence*, and *Pisa*, under an interdict, for having favoured the schismatical council ; and when he received the succours that had been stipulated by the king of *Spain*, he reduced all the places belonging to the duke of *Ferrara*, in the *Romagna*. In the beginning of the year 1512, he ordered the cardinal *de Medici*, who commanded his army, to retake *Bologna* ; but it was relieved by the brave *Gaston de Foix*, the *French* general. The *Venetians* at this time became masters of *Brescia*, by the revolt of its inhabitants from the *French*, and were besieging the citadel. *Gaston* flew to relieve it, and after defeating the *Venetian* army with a far inferior force, he took the city by storm, and put its garrison, to the number of five thousand men, to the sword.

The *French* king perceiving that nothing less than the *Gaston de* total expulsion of the *French* out of *Italy*, would satisfy the *Foix* gains pontiff, ordered his general *de Foix* to attack the pope in the battle *Rome* itself, and a legate on the part of the council of *Ra-* *Milan* was appointed to attend, to receive, in the names of *venna*, but those fathers, the places conquered from his holiness. The loses his *Swiss* had been for some time the flower of the *French* life. armies, and the conquest of *Milan* had been chiefly owing to them. Sensible of their own importance, they had demanded from *Lewis* an augmentation of their pay, which, out of a mistaken frugality, he refused them, and the pope had very politically engaged them in his service ; but *de Foix*, who was an excellent general, was at the head of twenty thousand good troops, and thought himself a match for the confederate army ; the chief strength of which consisted of the *Swiss*, and the *Spaniards*. He endeavoured to bring them to a battle, but as they expected great things from the diversion of the *English* in their favour, they declined it, till he besieged *Ravenna*. This brought on a general engagement, in which *de Foix* totally defeated the allies, who lost above seven thousand men ; but his own army was ruined at the same time, and himself killed in the pursuit,

The
French
ruined in
Italy.

They are
abandon-
ed by the
emperor.

Maximi-
lian
Sforza
duke of
Milan.

purſuit. This victory was the deſtruction of the *French* intereſt in *Italy*. *La Palice*, who ſucceeded *de Foix* in the command, took poſſeſſion of *Ceſena*, *Imola*, *Forli*, and *Ravenna*; all which he delivered into the hands of the cardinal *Sanſeverino*, with whom, however, he differed. The ſucceſſes of *la Palice*, ſeemed only to render the pope more obſtinate againſt a peace; but, by way of precaution, he ordered ſome gallies to be in readineſs to carry him from *Rome*, in caſe *la Palice* had advanced with his army to that capital; which his holineſs ſoon underſtood he was in no condition to do. *Lewis*, continuing his ill judged frugality, had neglected to ſupply him with men, money, provisions, or ammunition, which rendered the mercenaries he had hired from the princes of *Germany*, and who were the flower of his troops, mutinous; while a new deſcent from *England* upon the coaſt of *France*, obliged him to recall part of his army out of *Italy*.

The fathers at *Milan*, elated by the protection of a victorious army, and ignorant of the true ſtate of affairs, had ſuſpended *Julius* from the pontificate; but without acquiring either ſtrength or credit to themſelves. The pope, on the other hand, opened the *Lateran* council at *Rome*, in which he emitted new fulminations againſt the council at *Milan*; and he had ordered a new body of *Swiſs*, which he had taken into his pay, to penetrate into that duchy. This laid *la Palice* under a freſh diſability for proceeding to *Rome*, and he was obliged to return towards the *Milanefe*. Every thing now contributed to the glory of *Julius*. The needy emperor, *Maximilian*, complained that he had been rather a loſer than a gainer by the league of *Cambray*, and had, for ſome time, entered into a ſecret negotiation with the king of *England*, which was managed by *Julius*, and *Ferdinand*; and by the force of *English* money he was brought into their views. He publiſhed a decree called the *Avocatoria*, by which he recalled out of the *French* ſervice all German ſoldiers, on the pain of being treated as traitors to their country; and to complete the ruin of the *French* in *Milan*, the *Swiſs*, as if intended to make amends for their treachery to the father, had proclaimed the ſon of *Lewis the Moor*, duke of *Milan*. No fewer than five thouſand *Germans* having, upon the emperor's avocatory letter, deſerted the *French*; *la Palice* was obliged to retire to the *Paveſe*, and *Trivulzi* was expelled from the city of *Milan*, and forced to take refuge in *Piedmont*, to which country the fathers of the ſchiſmatic council likewise retired. In the mean while, the *Swiſs*, and *Venetians*, recovered *Cremona*, and *Bergamo*, *Pavia*, *Lodi*, and ſeveral other towns; which they held for the members of the holy league. *Julius* laid in his claim to *Parma*, and *Placenza*, which ſubmitted about the ſame time, as being places that had belonged to the antient exarchate of *Ravenna*. *Fregoso*, the *Genefe* doge, drove the *French* out of that

that city; and *Bologna*, with all the *Rômagna*, returned to the obedience of the pope; who, had he lived longer, would have destroyed *Bologna* for its disaffection.

The expulsion of the *French* from *Italy* did not complete Schemes the mighty designs of *Julius*. The *Spaniards* and *Germans* of *Julius* continued still to have a footing there; and it was necessary in *Italy*, they should be expelled also. Both *Ferdinand*, and *Maximilian*, had an eye upon the *Milanese*, as a convenient establishment for the younger branches of their families; but both of them were disappointed, for *Julius* gave the investiture of it to *Maximilian Sforza*. The *Medici* had for some time been expelled from *Florence*, and the cardinal of that name, who had been employed by the pope, had been taken prisoner at the battle of *Ravenna*, from whence having made his escape, the pope resolved to re-establish his family in *Florence*, and thereby fix the two great states of *Lombardy*, and *Tuscany*, under the dominion of *Italian* families. He accordingly compelled the *Florentines* to receive for their master *Lorenzo de Medici II.* the cardinal's nephew. The council of *Lateran* was, all this while, sitting at *Rome*, and its authority was recognized by the bishop of *Gurck*, whom *Maximilian* had sent to prevail upon *Julius* to receive him as his coadjutor in the popedom; but he could not prevail.

Julius having thus wonderfully conquered all the confederacies that had been formed against him from time to time, by the greatest powers upon the continent of *Europe*; contracted, some time before his death, an unsurmountable jealousy of all connections between them and the *Italian* families he had raised. He had proceeded to abrogate the pragmatick sanction in *France*, by which the temporalities of the *Gallican* church were rendered independent upon the see of *Rome*; and he had given away, to the longest sword, the crown of *France*. He intended to have ruined the duke of *Ferrara*, and to have altered the government of *Florence*, because he thought the house of *Medici* was too much attached to the king of *Spain*: but while he was meditating those, and many other great designs, he was over taken by death, on the twenty first of *February*, 1513. His death.

The tyranny and turbulence of pope *Julius II.* though beneficial to the popedom, had been very disagreeable to the cardinals, who now resolved to chuse a pontiff of an opposite character; and such was the cardinal *de Medici*, on whom all of them threw their eyes. He was the son of *Lorenzo de Medici*, of *Florence*, and was eminent for all the arts and politeness for which *Italy* was now so much distinguished. He was, at this time, no more than thirty seven years of age, and had been made cardinal by *Innocent VIII.* when he was but fourteen. The softness of his manners, his generosity, his learning, wit, and affability, united all voices in his favour; and being unanimously chosen pope, he Succeeded by *Leo X.*

Character
of the
Italians
under
him.

he took the name of *Leo X.* We shall, in the sequel of this history, have an opportunity to observe, that his promotion was as beneficial to arts, the sciences, and learning, as it was fatal to spiritual tyranny and superstition. With all the amiable qualities *Leo* possessed, it is generally allowed, that he had no sense of religion; that he was voluptuous to the last degree, a complete master of dissimulation, and regardless of all good faith, but magnificent beyond any pontiff that had ever filled the papal throne. At the time of his accession, though *Italy* had been desolated by war, yet never, even in the time of *Augustus*, and his successors, had she been so illustrious by the practice of the fine arts, which have, perhaps, been upon the decline ever since. This seems, in a great measure, to have been owing to that policy her princes and states had for some time adopted of employing foreigners to carry on their wars; by which her natives were left at leisure to cultivate their favourite studies.

The accession of *Leo X.* created a remarkable alteration in the affairs of *Italy.* The duke of *Ferrara* was restored to all his possessions in the *Romagna*, and carried the papal banner at the coronation of the new pope, which was performed with so much magnificence in the church of the *Lateran*, that it cost him one hundred thousand crowns. The schismatical cardinals, who had translated the sessions of their council from *Milan* to *Lyons*, submitted to *Leo*, who ordered them to remain at *Florence*; but in the mean while, to lay aside their habits, till they could be regularly reinstated in their dignity; of which they had been deprived by the *Lateran* council. This tranquility of ecclesiastical affairs, however, was far from producing the like in temporal. The emperor refused to restore *Verona* to the *Venetians*, and for that, and other reasons, the latter leagued themselves with the *French* king, who prepared to recover the *Milanese.* The pope's inclinations led him to wish for peace; but he continued the plan of his predecessor's conduct so far, as to engage the *Swiss* to defend the *Milanese*, and the *English* to continue their hostilities against *France.*

The war
renewed
in *Lom-*
bardy.

The *French* king was not to be diverted from his scheme of recovering the *Milanese*; and his generals *Trimville*, and *Trivulzi*, passing the *Alps* with an army, soon retook *Brescia.* The *Venetians*, and the *French*, complained of the perfidy of *Ferdinand*, and the irresolution of *Maximilian*, and appeared more united than ever. *Alviano*, the *Venetian* general, made an unsuccessful attempt upon *Verona*; but reduced *Pescara*, and *Cremona*, which he pretended to hold for the *French* king; but the *Venetians* were defeated by the imperialists and *Spaniards*, in the *Vicentine.* When the *French* took *Brescia*, *Maximilian Sforza*, distrusting the firmness of his subjects the *Milanese*, and leaving his capital, shut himself up in *Novara*, which was immediately be-
sieged

sieged by the *French*. The approach of ten thousand *Swiss*, and a *Spanish* army, forced them to raise the siege, and the *Swiss* attacked and defeated the *French* in their camp. The *Venetian* general, upon this, was obliged to retire to the *Venese*, and from thence beyond the river *Adese*. During those combustions in *Lombardy*, pope *Leo* was negotiating a peace between *Maximilian* and the *Venetians*, whom he earnestly desired to disjoin from their alliance with the *French*. The affairs of the *Venetians*, at this time, wore a very indifferent aspect; but nothing could shake the good faith they professed towards *Lewis*, nor would they enter into a negociation with the emperor, unless he consented to yield them up *Vincenza*, and *Verona*. *Lewis* requited their firmness but poorly. Instead of reinforcing his army in *Lombardy* he courted the friendship of the pope, who upbraided the *Venetians* for having invited the *French* back into *Italy*; and encouraged the emperor to continue hostilities against their republic. A powerful confederacy was thus once more formed against the *Venetians*, by the pope, the emperor, and the king of *Spain*. Their general *Alviano*, was obliged to abandon *Rovigo*, which fell into their hands, and the bishop of *Gurck* persuaded the allies to lay siege to *Padua*; the loss of which, he said, would humble those haughty republicans.

Alviano threw himself into *Padua*, which then contained The siege
a garrison more numerous than the army of the besiegers. of *Padua*
The latter was destitute not only of money, but of every formed
thing requisite for carrying on a siege, and notwithstanding and raised.
all the bishop of *Gurck*'s efforts, they raised it, marched to
Vincenza, and subsisted upon the plunder of the country.
It is said, upon this occasion, that the viceroy of *Naples*,
who commanded the *Spanish* army in *Lombardy*, by way of
insult, fired some guns against *Venice* itself; but the *Venetians*,
rather than hazard the loss of *Padua*, would not, for some
time, consent that *Alviano* should leave that city, and take
the field against the enemies of the republic. At last, they
were persuaded to give him leave, and he reduced the vice-
roy's army to so much distress, that nothing but despair
could have saved it. Being favoured by a fog, he endeavoured
to escape, and was pursued by the *Venetians*. But
the rear of the *Spaniards*, under *Prospero Colonna*, making an
unexpected stand, the *Venetian* cavalry were seized with a
panic, and were defeated, with the loss of four thousand
soldiers, and four hundred men at arms, and a number of
prisoners. As this defeat was entirely owing to the inferior
officers having deserted their general, who had acted as a
brave and wise commander, the *Venetian* senate punished
them accordingly; and passed a decree for honouring and
supporting *Alviano*. The public spirit the *Venetians* shewed
on this occasion has but few examples in history. Their
doge *Lorctano*, threw his private fortune into their treasury.
His

His example was followed by the most wealthy of the citizens, and a new army was soon raised.

The Spaniards and their allies retreat.

Negotiations of the pope for peace.

The allies, in the mean while, as usual, were divided concerning their operations after their victory ; and *Prospero Colonna*, being secretly unwilling that either the Spaniards, or the imperialists, should raise themselves upon the ruins of the *Venetians*, dissuaded them from investing *Trevise* till they were better provided with artillery, and the necessaries for carrying on a siege. *Colonna's* policy in this was dictated by the pope, who, that he might enjoy his favourite repose, effected a temporary reconciliation between the *French* king, and the cantons of *Switzerland*, by concluding a three years truce with regard to the *Milanese*. This was followed by a truce between the kings of *France* and *Spain* ; by which it was agreed, that *Lewis* should suspend all operations against the *Milanese* during the year 1514. Nothing was now wanting for the tranquility of *Italy*, but a reconciliation between the emperor and the *Venetians*; and at last, by the indefatigable address of *Leo*, they agreed upon a truce, till a treaty could be concluded in form. The policy of *Leo* was defeated, by the insincerity of all the parties, for whom, or with whom, he negotiated. Each, notwithstanding the truces that had been concluded, seized every favourable opportunity of gaining all the advantages they could. *Alviano* actually surprized the imperialists, of whom he killed and took prisoners some thousands, and recovered several towns belonging to the republic. *Leo* still continued to labour for a reconciliation, and to settle the preliminaries of peace, between the emperor and the *Venetians*. He employed, for this purpose, his secretary the famous *Bembo*, who was himself a *Venetian*, an able politician, and a fine writer. The *Venetians* paid him great deference, but informed him, that they chose the *French* king's neighbourhood in the *Milanese*, preferably to that of the Spaniards or *Germans*. In the mean while, *Lewis* died, and was succeeded on the first of *January* 1515, by his cousin of *Valois*, *Francis* I.

This prince was still more determined than his predecessor had been in the conquest of the *Milanese*, and privately encouraged the *Venetians* to come to an accommodation with the emperor. The vast armaments which he daily made, pointed too plainly against *Italy*, for the emperor, or the king of *Spain*, to be mistaken as to their object. Pope *Leo* offered to gratify him in any thing but the re-annexing the *Milanese* to his crown ; and yet he was still less desirous to see it in the possession of the emperor. By his mediation, a peace was concluded between *France* and *England* ; and finding all his negotiations unsuccessful for a definitive treaty between the *Venetians* and the emperor, he accused the former of obstinacy, and sent a considerable body of troops to reduce *Crema*, in which attempt they were disappointed

disappointed and defeated. *Leo*, about this time, had formed a scheme for the aggrandizement of the *Medici* family (of which he was passionately fond), by expelling the *Spaniards* out of *Naples*, and giving that crown to his brother *Julian*. With this view, he had endeavoured to bring the kings of *England*, and *France* into a confederacy against *Ferdinand*, but in this he failed; and was contented with giving the emperor forty thousand crowns for the investiture of *Modena*, and *Reggio*, in his brother's favour; on whom he likewise intended to bestow *Parma*, *Placenza*, and *Ferrara*.

Among the matters that were agitated in the council of *Francis I. Lateran*; which was still sitting; the usual practice of raising money on pretence of a war against the infidels was not forgotten, and indulgences were decreed for that purpose, with heavy penalties upon all who should obstruct the papal agents in their collections; a matter that afterwards gave rise to the reformation. *Leo*, perceiving that *Francis* continued his preparations, thought to ballance the interests of *Italy*, by entering into a private confederacy with the emperor, and the king of *Spain*, into which the *Swiss* were admitted. *Francis*, on the other hand, having renewed his engagements with the *Venetians*, and confirmed his peace with *England*, passed the *Alps* at the head of near sixty thousand men. The pope, who was apprehensive that *Francis* would strip him of *Parma*, and *Placenza*, was now obliged to take off the mask, and to contribute forty thousand crowns a month for paying the *Swiss*, to oppose the *French*. At the same time, he ordered his troops to march towards *Piedmont* against the invaders. Those precautions prevented *Francis* from penetrating into *Italy* by the way of *Piedmont*; but, by a most amazing march over the *Alps*, he arrived on the frontiers of the marquisate of *Saluce*. He was chiefly apprehensive of the *Swiss*, who upon his arrival there, retired to *Novara*, in a very mutinous disposition for want of pay; and this encouraged *Francis* to make them proposals for their joining him. They were inclined to have accepted of them, when they heard that the cardinal of *Sion*, at the head of twenty thousand of their countrymen, was on his march to join them, and was possessed of money for paying all their arrears; upon which, their negociation with the *French* king was broken off.

Francis was in the flower of his age, sensible, ambitious, and vigorous. Finding all his efforts to render that formidable body of infantry his friends, he resolved to fight them; and to shew his subjects that they were not invincible. He had concerted measures with *Alviano*; he had defeated a body of troops under *Prospero Colonna*, and he marched towards *Marignan*, to effect a junction with the *Venetian* army. The pope's spies informed the *Swiss* of this, and they

they resolved to attack *Francis* before the junction could be formed. *Alviano* was in the *French* camp, when intelligence was brought that the *Swiss* were at hand, and were attacking the post where the artillery was planted, which was defended by *German* mercenaries. The impetuous onset of the *French* was too violent even for the *Swiss* infantry to bear; but the battle continued undetermined for two hours. *Francis*, and his constable, *Bourbon*, fought with amazing intrepidity, and when darkness put an end to the dispute, neither side could boast of the victory. Next day, the *French* *Swiss* were on the point of conquering, when they were attacked in the rear by *Alviano*, at the head of the *Venetians*, and forced to retreat; but they did it in good order, nor were they pursued by the *French*, who claimed the victory, and their descendants reckon it among the most illustrious in their annals; but the truth is, it was in a great measure owing to their *German* mercenaries, though their merit and that of the *Venetians* are industriously concealed by *French* historians. The *Swiss*, a credulous, but honest people, imputed their defeat to the cardinal of *Sion*, who was obliged to fly from their camp, and the *French* and *Venetians* found no resistance in taking possession of *Milan*, though the citadel, with that of *Cremona*, still held out.

A treaty
between
Leo and
the *French*
king.

Leo X. valued his quiet too much to excite confederacies, as his turbulent predecessors had done, against a victorious enemy. He had not made himself personally obnoxious to *Francis*, and by the duke of *Savoy's* mediation, a treaty was concluded between them, by which *Parma*, and *Placenza*, were ceded by *Leo* to the *French*, and the duke of *Ferrara* was to obtain possession of *Modena*, and *Reggio*, while *Francis* promised to befriend the pope, as to the sovereignty of the *Medici* family in *Florence*. *Leo* afterwards met *Francis* at *Bologna*, and they there settled the state and privileges of the *Gallican* church, each receding from his rigorous claims. They differed, however, about the duke of *Urbino*, nephew to the late pope, who was patronized by *Francis*, but whose possessions *Leo* coveted. It was easy for *Francis*, considering the disgust which the *Swiss* entertained against the imperialists, to make them his friends, which he did, and then returned to *France*.

The em-
peror in-
vades
Italy.

The part which pope *Leo* had acted, when he concurred with *Francis*, was forced and unnatural; and no sooner did the emperor *Maximilian* enter *Italy* with a powerful army, than he began to relax in his attachment to *Francis*, but without breaking with him. *Maximilian* laid siege to *Milan*, which he claimed as lord paramount of *Italy*; but being destitute of money, his army either forsook him, or entered into the *French* service, and he was forced to return to *Germany*. Pope *Leo* took advantage of his irruption, to annex the dukedom of *Urbino* to his family; and he entered into a secret negotiation with *Charles*, who by the death

death of *Ferdinand*, was now king of *Spain*, and afterwards the emperor *Charles V.* the king of *England*, and the *Swiss*; for recovering the *Milaneſe* from *France*. *Francis* detached *Charles* from this confederacy, and the *Venetians* bought *Verona* from *Maximilian* for two hundred thousand ducats. *Leo's* ſchemes being thus diſappointed, he applied himſelf for ſome time to the duties of his function, as ſupreme pontiff; and *Italy* recovered a tolerable degree of tranquillity, till the duke of *Urbino*, aſſiſted by the *Swiſs*, and *Germans*, recovered his dutchy; but *Leo* was, at this time, threatened with a formidable conſpiracy.

The cardinal of *Sienna*, and his brother *Borghefe*, think- Conſpiracy
ing themſelves neglected for the great ſervice they had done
to the houſe of *Medici*, had formed a conſpiracy againſt the pope.
Leo, for which, being diſcovered, they and their accom-
plices were put to death. Their executions rendered *Leo*
unpopular, and the prodigious expences of his court drove
him to vaſt neceſſities; which he ſupplied by the extent of
his prerogative as pope, and by his venal promotions, hav-
ing in one day created thirty one cardinals, who had pur-
chaſed their preferment with money. He never loſt ſight,
however, of the poſſeſſion of *Urbino*, and that prince being
ſupported only by mercenaries, who accidentally enliſted
in his ſervice, was obliged to yield his poſſeſſion to *Leo*,
upon certain conditions. But though the peace of *Italy* was
reſtored by this compromise, the pope's neceſſities ſtill con-
tinued. Bred up as he was to the love of every thing that
was magnificent, or elegant, he was inſatiable in his purſuits
of both; and he conceived the noble deſign of completing
the cathedral of *St. Peter's* at *Rome*, the moſt ſuperb edifice,
perhaps, that the world ever beheld. His favourite, car-
dinal *Pucci*, adviſed him to publiſh a ſale of indulgences
(the moſt ſcandalous traffic that can be conceived) all over
Europe. This commerce was carried on with the moſt
barefaced venality. They were farmed out to agents for the
benefit of the pope's relations and creatures; and the *Do-*
minicans were generally employed. The reader is here to
obſerve, that the polite arts were now making great ad-
vances in *Europe*; printing was eſtabliſhed, learning was
revived, and a ſpirit of enquiry, deſtructive of ſuperſtition
and ignorance, took place. It is inconceivable, while the
public were impreſſed with ſuch diſpoſitions, that the re-
formation of religion ſhould be owing to ſo ignoble a cauſe
as the jealouſy that ſprung between the *Auguſtine* and *Domi-*
nican friars, on account of the diſpoſal of thoſe indulgences.
The *Auguſtines* thought they had an equal right with the
Dominicans to the traffic, which was carried on with ſuch
proſtitution, that indulgences were ſtaked at tippling houſes
for ready money; and there was not a ſinful gratification
in life, which the venders were not impowered to ſell by
virtue of their commiſſions from the papal court.

Progress
of the
reforma-
tion.
See
Vol. IX.
p. 63.

Stulpitz, the vicar general of the *Augustines* in *Germany*, piqued at the preference given to the *Dominicans* in this infamous commerce, preached against the indulgences, at *Wirtembourg*, and he was seconded by *Martin Luther*, whose character we have already given. The dispute grew warm, and one *John Tetzel*, an ignorant *Dominican*, published propositions in defence of the papal authority; and as inquisitor he ordered those of *Luther* to be burnt. It was not long before the controversy became so serious that it engaged the court of *Rome* itself; but even *Luther* still venerated the pope's authority so much, that he disclaimed all intention of withdrawing his obedience from the holy see; and addressed *Leo* in the most submissive terms. His holiness was, at this time, so far from being apprehensive of the consequences which ensued, that he was negotiating a universal crusade against the *Turks*; and a diet was held at *Augsburg*, in *Germany* for that purpose, at which cardinal *Cajetan* assisted on the part of the pope. The deliberations of the diet took a turn very different from what his holiness expected, and spiritual, were, at last, incorporated with temporal interests. *Luther* was cited to appear at *Rome*, and the duke of *Wirtemberg* was charged by the pope to deliver him into *Cajetan's* custody. The state of affairs in *Germany* at that time, was not favourable for his holiness, whose rapaciousness and venality had disobliged the princes of the empire. Some of them had the courage to patronize *Luther*, and to protect him from *Cajetan*; and the breach widened so much, that *Luther*, from appealing to the pope, who was his bitter enemy, appealed to a general council, which he held to be an authority superior to any pope. *Leo* continued to disregard *Luther's* opposition, but admonished the elector of *Saxony* to withdraw from him his patronage; but this, far from damping, increased the number of *Luther's* followers.

Luther's
obstinacy
against the
pope.

It was in vain for *Leo*, by pompous authoritative bulls, and edicts, to endeavour to regain the implicit belief of his infallibility in *Luther's* followers. His cause lost ground every day, and *Luther*, at last, set his own judgment on a level with that of the pope, by declaring that he would not recant his opinions until he was convinced of their being erroneous. *Charles V.* was, by this time, elected emperor of *Germany*, and was king of *Naples*, in right of his grandfather, *Ferdinand*. The pope dreaded him, but gave him the investiture of *Naples*, and kept him firm to his interest. This retarded the progress of the reformation, though it began now to gain footing, not only among the *German* princes, but in *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and some parts of *Switzerland*. In *England*, the seeds of it had been sown long before; and tho' the vanity of *Henry VIII.* had induced him to take *Leo's* part, yet the bulk of his people were enemies, both to the papal religion and power. *Erasmus*, a great luminary

luminary of learning, began then to enlighten the world by his writings, which were equally learned and elegant, but the complexion of his religion was doubtful; for while he combated the doctrines of popery, he submitted to its authority; nor did he ever openly espouse the cause of *Luther*. *Leo* finding that he was but coldly supported by the emperor, and that the reformation was every day gaining ground, assembled a council at *Rome*, where he condemned *Luther's* doctrines, ordered his works to be burnt, and excommunicated him and his followers, unless they recanted their opinions in sixty days. This proceeding cut off all hopes of accommodation between *Luther* and his holiness; and the latter prevailed with the emperor *Charles*, to put him to the ban of the empire. *Henry VIII.* of *England*, about the same time, dedicated to *Leo*, a book in vindication of his authority, by which he obtained from him the ostentatious title of "Defender of the faith".

Leo was now greatly bewildered in his politics. He had an understanding equal to the greatest of his predecessors; but he was sunk in voluptuous, luxurious, habits, and could not exert himself in prosecuting what he knew to be for his advantage. We may add to this, that his thoughts were totally engrossed by the aggrandizement of his own family, and that of the papal power. He was passionately desirous of recovering *Ferrara*, *Parma*, *Placenza*, and of expelling both the *French* and *Germans* out of *Italy*. For this purpose he formed a confederacy against *France*, with the emperor, and the king of *England*; and by the assistance of the *Germans* he reduced almost all *Lombardy*, *Parma*, and *Placenza*; but died on the second of *December* 1521, as was thought, by poison. The *English* cardinal, *Wolsey*, the celebrated favourite of *Henry VIII.* flattered himself with the hopes of succeeding *Leo*, but he was deceived. The emperor *Charles*, though almost inaccessible in his own disposition to personal affections, had a kindness for his preceptor, *Adrian*, a *Fleming* by birth; and being well acquainted with his virtues, thought his preferment to the papedom might allay the ferment raised by *Luther*, which was now an object of his most serious attention. *Charles* himself was sensible of the degeneracy and corruption of the *Romish* church; but knew not how to side with the reformed, without wounding his imperial authority. He chose a middle way, and managed so well, that *Adrian* was chosen pope. *Charles*, however, pretended the greatest friendship to *Wolsey*, and promised him his interest upon the next vacancy; which, considering the great age of *Adrian*, could not, as he said, be far distant.

Ambition
of the
pope.

His death.

Succeeded
by *Adrian*
VI.

Wolsey appeared to be satisfied, and he suffered his master to enter into a new alliance with *Charles* against *France*. *Adrian's* honesty and uprightness proved the chief obstacle to his passion for reforming the church. During the short time

Who fa-
vours the
emperor.

time of his pontificate, he reconciled himself to the dukes of *Ferrara*, and *Urbino*, and he annulled all the bulls that had been published against them by his two immediate predecessors. He openly acknowledged the necessity of a reformation in the church, and *Luther*, with his followers, laid hold of that acknowledgement, by drawing up a memorial containing a hundred grievances, under which *Christians* lay, from the power of the popedom. *Adrian*, far from contradicting their allegations, confirmed them, and manifested, on all occasions, his dislike to *Italian* prelates and cardinals. Perceiving that the *French* king was making preparations to recover the *Milanese*, he published a monitorial bull, addressed to all *Christian* kings, for a triennial truce; but finding it had no effect, he joined the confederacy that had been formed against *France*; in which the emperor, and the king of *England*, and almost all the states of *Italy*, were parties. The *French* army was now in the heart of *Italy*; and *Adrian*, after gratifying the emperor in all he desired, died, in the sixty fifth year of his age, on the fourteenth of *September*, 1523.

His death.

He is

succeeded
by *Clement*
VII.

The popedom, notwithstanding the progress of the reformation, was still a desirable object of ambition, and the cardinals remained for thirty days in the conclave before they elected a successor to *Adrian*. The dispute lay between the cardinals *Colonna*, and *Medici*, the first being recommended by the *French*, and the latter by the imperial faction; but the election was carried in favour of *Medici*, who took the name of *Clement VII*. He was reputed to be the natural son of *Giulian de Medici*, though he found means to create a belief in the public that he was begotten in lawful wedlock. His character, at the time of his election, was so fair, that his name contributed greatly to the restoration of tranquility in *Italy*, and both the emperor, and the *French* king courted his friendship. He returned civil answers to both, and affected a neutrality, from which, however, he was soon driven by the violence of the *German* reformers, and the address of the emperor *Charles*, who found his authority necessary for driving the *French* out of *Italy*. *Charles*, by way of diversion, had besieged *Marseilles*, but *Francis* obliged him to abandon his enterprize, and shelter himself in *Lombardy*, which *Francis* entered with a great army. The event of his expedition, which terminated in his being taken prisoner by the imperialists, has been already recorded in this work. *Clement* was equally the dupe of his pusillanimity and policy. Being overawed by *Francis*, he had entered into a treaty with him; but upon the captivity of the *French* king, he was struck with the greatest dismay, and though he had it still in his power, with the assistance of the *Venetians*, to have balanced the imperial interest in *Italy*; he concluded a treaty with *Charles's* viceroy of *Naples*, by which the latter agreed that

The
French
defeated
in *Italy*.
ibid.
p. 101.

Clement

Clement should dispose of all ecclesiastical livings in the kingdom of *Naples*; but that the investiture of the *Milanese* should be given to *Francis Sforza*; and the *Florentines*, whom *Clement* now considered as his subjects, were to pay *Charles* two hundred thousand crowns, upon his holiness being put in possession of *Reggio*. *Charles* refused to ratify this treaty, and *Clement* entered into a correspondence with the marquis of *Pescara*, the imperial general, (to whom he promised the investiture of *Naples*) the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Milan*. The marquis of *Pescara* discovered this treaty to the emperor, who upon that seized the *Milanese*, and *Clement* was forced to conclude a treaty against the emperor, with the *French* king, who had now regained his liberty, and the *Venetians*, whose forces joined those of the pope under the duke of *Urbino*. As the yoke of the imperialists, and the *Spaniards*, was excessively detested in *Lombardy*, nothing but the duke of *Urbino*'s misconduct could have prevented them from being expelled out of that country. He suffered the imperialists to strengthen themselves, and they took the castle of *Milan* from *Sforza*, while the *Colonna* family at *Rome*, forced the pope to consent to recall his troops from the *Milanese*. *Clement*, on second thoughts, refused to ratify that treaty, and the cardinal of *Colonna*, in the emperor's name, cited him to appear before a council, that was to be held at *Spire*. *Clement*, to be revenged, deposed the cardinal before a council, declared his family rebels, and plundered their general possessions. The progress of the reformation was now such, that the *Lutheran* princes in *Germany*, by the connivance of the emperor, were at liberty to indulge their subjects in the public profession of their religion; and his imperial majesty insisted upon a general council being immediately called, and at the same time poured troops into *Lombardy*, and *Naples*, out of *Spain*, and *Germany*.

In 1527, the seat of war was transferred by the pope, the *Venetians*, and the *French*, to *Naples*, which was governed by *Lanoy*, as viceroy for *Charles*. The *Anjouvine* faction was not yet wholly extinct, and the pope invited the prince of *Vaudemont* into *Italy*, to head it, as he claimed to be the heir of the house of *Anjou*. *Lanoy* took the field against the pope's general, *Renza di Ceri*, who surprized *Aquila*, and some neighbouring places; while the *French*, and *Venetian* galleys, plundered the *Neapolitan* coasts. The prince of *Vaudemont* took the title of king of *Naples*, was constituted lieutenant general to his holiness, and in the beginning of *March* seized upon *Castello a Maro*, *Torre del Greco*, *Sorrento*, and *Salerno*. The duke of *Bourbon* was then general of the imperialists, and commanded in *Lombardy*; from whence he led his army towards *Rome*. This daunted *Clement*, who was but poorly supported by the *French* king, and he applied to *Lanoy* for a truce, which was granted him for eight months, upon his giving orders for evacuating all

the towns his troops had taken, and paying sixty thousand crowns to the imperialists. The duke of *Bourbon* alledged, that *Lanoy* had no power to agree to such a truce, and continued his march towards *Rome*, where he expected to indemnify his army, most of whom were *Lutherans*, for their long want of pay, by the plunder of that capital.

The death
of the
constable
of *Bour-*
bon,

whose
army sacks
Rome.

ibid.
p. 104.

It has, (not without reason) been supposed, that the transaction between *Lanoy* and the pope, had been dictated by *Bourbon* himself, if not by the emperor, that *Clement* might dismiss his army, and restore the places; both of which he faithfully did, almost to his own ruin. On the other hand, perhaps, if *Bourbon* had ratified the truce his army would not have stood by him; so violently were the soldiers bent upon the plunder of *Rome*, before which he arrived on the fifth of *May*, and demanded a passage for his troops to *Naples*. That being denied him, next day he prepared to assault the city; but he was shot dead as he was applying a scaling ladder to its walls. His troops, however, stormed it that same day, and amply revenged themselves for the loss of their general, and their own sufferings. They omitted no species of cruelty or torture, that could force the richest and most illustrious of the *Romans* to disclose, and deliver up their treasure and effects. The repositories of the dead were rifled. The churches were despoiled of their ornaments, and it was remarked, that the *Italians*, and *Spaniards*, though *Roman* catholics, exceeded, if possible, the *German Lutherans*, in rapaciousness and cruelty. The plundering continued for six or seven days, during which time, his holiness, and his chief cardinals, shut themselves up in the castle of *St. Angelo*, where they entered into a negociation with the prince of *Orange*, who succeeded the constable of *Bourbon* in the command of the imperialists. We have already mentioned the exquisite dissimulation of *Charles* on this occasion; but it is certain, that he became the dupe of his own over refined policy, and avarice. The pope agreed to deliver up to him the castle of *St. Angelo*, *Civetta Vecchia*, *Citta*, *Castellana*, *Parma*, *Placenza*, and *Modena*, and pay to the imperialists four hundred thousand ducats; the payment of one hundred and fifty thousand of which was to entitle him to his liberty.

Even that sum was more than *Clement* could raise, so greatly were his finances exhausted; and he continued a prisoner for six months longer, though the plague was then raging at *Rome*, and even within the walls of the castle, where he was confined. To complete his mortifications, the *Florentines* drove the princes of his family out of their city; demolished his statutes, with those of *Leo X.* and restored the antient form of their constitution under a gonfalonier. The dominions of *Charles*, large as they were, were not so extensive as the scenes of business in which he was now engaged. There was scarcely a power in *Europe*,
with

with whom he was not embroiled, or to whom he did not pay subsidies; and he trusted for the payment of his armies in *Italy* to the plunder of the places they took; but without executing any scheme for recruiting them. *Francis* prevailed on *Henry VIII.* of *England*, to enter into a new treaty with him and the *Venetians*, by which they agreed formed to transfer the seat of war from the *Netherlands* to *Italy*. against Both princes resolved to pay no regard to the council that the emperor had been indicted by the imperial authority; and to take peror. into their own hands the ecclesiastical government of their respective kingdoms during the pope's captivity. This treaty had for its profest object the reduction of the *Austrian* greatness, in the person of *Charles*, which now appeared so formidable, that it seemed to abolish the deep rooted animosities that had so long subsisted between the *French* and the *English*. It was formed and animated by the resentment of *Volsey*, who never could forgive *Charles*, for having disappointed him of the popedom. A message was sent by *ibid.* the two monarchs, requiring him to comply with their demands; and upon his refusal, *Lautrec*, the *French* general, marched with an army towards *Italy*, took *Alexandria*, with other frontier places, reduced *Genoa*, and set out about the middle of *October* in his march against *Naples*.

Lautrec's successes restored his holiness at once to his *Henry* liberty and his importance; for *Charles* now courted his *VIII.* of friendship, especially after *Clement* had, by the assistance of *England* cardinal *Colonna*, escaped from the castle of *St. Angelo*, to solicit *Orvieto*. He, however, agreed to all that the emperor had the pope proposed, and refused to become a party in the triple league for a divorce. against *Charles*; but soon found himself involved in a matter of the utmost consequence and delicacy. *Henry VIII.* of *England*, affected to entertain some scruples with regard to the lawfulness of his marriage with *Catharine of Arragon*, who was the widow of his eldest brother, *Arthur*. Those scruples were perhaps, not a little influenced by the charms of *Anne Bullen*, whom he had made marchioness of *Pembroke*; and it is certain, that both the *French*, and *Spaniards* entertained great doubts as to the legitimacy of the princess *Mary*, the issue of that marriage, and, at that time, the heir of *Henry's* crown. The *English* divines in general, were disposed to pronounce the marriage unlawful, and *Henry* for some time had ceased to cohabit with *Catharine*; but thought that he could not attain to the completion of his wishes without a bull from the pope, declaring his marriage to be unlawful. *Clement* had smarted so severely under the emperor's indignation, that he professed a neutrality between him and the confederates, and avoided giving any determined answer to *Henry's* application for a divorce. The friendship of that prince was, however, a matter of so great moment, that he seemed disposed to gratify *Henry*, and even recommended his request to the consideration and examination

examination of his divines and cardinals ; but still without coming to any positive resolution, for fear of exasperating *Charles*, who was deeply concerned for the interest of his aunt, and her daughter. After various delays, he granted a bull to the cardinals, *Wolsey*, and *Campegio*, dissolving the king's marriage ; but with an express injunction, that they should not make it public without his leave ; so much was he overawed by the emperor.

Lautrec
forms the
siege of
Naples,

but loses
his army
and his
life.

The progress of *Lautrec* in *Italy*, awakened *Charles* at last, to a sense of his danger, and he ordered his army to evacuate the ecclesiastical dominions, and march to the defence of *Naples*, where *Lautrec* had already made a great progress. His army consisted of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. He had stormed *Melphis*, and taken *Ascoli*, *Barletta*, *Venosa*, *Capua*, *Nola*, *Acerna*, and *Aversa*, while the *Venetians* took possession of other places, and the *French* fleet insulted the coasts of the kingdom. *Lanoy* was now dead, and he had been succeeded by don *Hugo di Moncada*, who threw a strong garrison into *Gaeta*, and withdrew all his troops from the outports, to the defence of the capital. His measures were attended with success, and though the *Neapolitans* were in the utmost consternation when the siege of their city was formed, on the last of *April*, by *Lautrec*, yet they resolved to make a vigorous defence. *Moncada* was killed in a sea engagement with the *French*, and the prince of *Orange* succeeded him as viceroy ; but the affairs of the *French* were ruined by the defection of the famous admiral, *Andrew Doria*, from that king, and an infection which invaded the *French* camp, destroyed their army, and cut off their general *Lautrec*, prince *Vandemont*, and other officers of distinction. The marquis of *Saluce*, who succeeded to *Lautrec's* command, found it impracticable to continue the siege, and withdrew his army towards *Aversa*, but it was now so weakened, that it was easily defeated, and the *French* were once more driven out of that kingdom, and lost most of their conquests in it.

By this time, the emperor had many reasons for making *Clement* his friend ; but the chief was, that he might prevent his proceeding in *Henry's* divorce. He engaged him privately to promise to oppose it, or to raise such delays and difficulties as might entirely evade it ; and to make *Clement* the more hearty in the cause, he promised to assist him in re-establishing his family in the sovereignty of *Florence*. The chief motive of *Clement* for closing with the emperor, and accepting of those fair proposals, and others, was the bad success of the *French* in *Italy*, and the ruin of their army. He was at this time at *Viterbo*, and seemed wholly ingrossed in crushing the growth of *Lutheranism* ; but, in reality he was meditating how to impose upon the allies. The emperor promised to oblige the *Venetians* to restore all their conquests in the ecclesiastical state ; upon which, *Clement* sent orders to *Campegio* to burn the bull of
Henry's

Henry's divorce, and enter into stricter connections than ever both with *Charles*, and his brother *Ferdinand*, king of *Hungary*. June 1529, his holiness agreed to give *Charles* The pope the investiture of *Naples*, for the sole tribute of a white horse, and *Charles* was to make *Clement's* grand nephew, emperor *Alexander de Medici*, sovereign of *Florence*, and to give him the investiture of annual revenue of twenty thousand ducats. He engaged *Naples*, farther to restore his holiness to the possession of *Cervia*, *Ravenna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Rubiera*, and to assist him in reducing the duke of *Ferrara*, and the *Lutherans*, to his obedience.

The moderation of *Charles* did not suffer him to carry The re-measures to extremity against the *French*. The quiet of formation *Germany* was threatened by the *Turks*, and the *Lutherans*; gains and upon the diet of *Spire* revoking the toleration for re-ground. ligion, the reformed princes of the empire protested against that revocation, by which they obtained the name of *Protestants*. This measure had been rendered necessary by the close union that had been formed between *Charles* and *Clement*, and terminated in the league of *Smalcald*, which the protestants afterwards entered into for their own defence. The pope had an interview with *Charles* at *Bologna*, where he brought that prince to adopt part of his scheme for a ballance of power in *Italy*; but could not prevail on the *Florentines* to restore his family to its power in their state. The duke of *Brunswick* had now arrived in *Lombardy* with an army of twelve thousand veteran *Germans*, and joined the *Spanish* army, which was commanded by old *Antonio de Leva*, who, though above seventy years of age, and bowed down with infirmities, was still one of the most accomplished and active generals of his age. *Charles* had restored the *Sforza* family to the duchy of *Milan*; but the *Venetians* held *Lodi*, which was besieged by the duke of *Brunswick*. The duke of *Urbino* was then the *Venetian* general, and he acted with so much address, that he forced the duke to abandon the siege, and to return to *Germany*. It is thought that *Charles* himself was not fond of the duke's presence in *Italy*, and favoured the dispositions of the *Venetians* in opposing him, and even cutting off part of his army in his retreat.

Though *Francis* had lost a fine army in *Naples*, yet it did The not cure him of his fatal passion for conquering that king- *French* dom; and he sent the count of *St. Paul* with a fresh army again en- to join the duke of *Urbino*, in *Lombardy*. *Leva* had no ter *Italy*. more than eight thousand troops in that country; but he took his measures so wisely that he maintained his ground, while the confederates wasted their time in forming the sieges of *Vigevano*, and *Pavia*. *Andrew Doria* took that opportunity for executing the generous design he had long formed for delivering *Genoa*, his native city, from the tyranny

tyranny of the *French*, which he nobly effected, by representing to his countrymen the shame of living under a foreign yoke. He was favoured by the weakness of the *French* garrison, which had been thinned by the plague, and took possession of the city without bloodshed, *Trivulzi*, the *French* general, who held the citadel, being obliged to capitulate. This glorious proceeding entitled *Doria* to a magnificent statue, with a proper inscription, erected at the public expence; and to every other mark of honour and gratitude that his country could bestow. The war was still going on in *Lombardy*, where the confederates had reduced *Pavia*; but all their schemes were disconcerted by the revolt of *Genoa*. *Leva* was so hard pressed, that, to maintain his army, he had monopolized all the wheat and flour in the *Milanese*, and obliged the people to purchase it at the exorbitant price of a crown, each loaf. This saved his army, but many thousands of the poor died for want. The inhabitants massacred a number of his officers, and would have put himself to death, had they been supported by the confederates, who sacrificed their interest in *Milan* to the desire they had to recover *Genoa*.

Magnanimity of the *Venetians*.

All parties were now heartily tired of the war, and negotiations for peace employed the winter of the year 1529. The pope insisted upon the *Venetians* restoring to him *Cervia* and *Ravenna*; while a league actually was concluded at *Cambrai*, between the emperor and the *French* king; the latter being extremely desirous of recovering his children, who remained still hostages in *Spain*. This peace cost *Francis* two millions of crowns; but his *Italian* allies complained that he had sacrificed them to his fears. The moderation of *Charles* soon restored the public tranquility; and though *Leva*, who had received a reinforcement from *Spain*, was victorious in the *Milanese*, where he had taken the *French* general, (*St. Paul*) prisoner, yet he listened to an accommodation with the *Venetians*, who were at last persuaded, to yield up *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, to his holiness, together with *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Rubiera*. This relaxed the fury of the war both in *Lombardy*, and in the kingdom of *Naples*, and *Francis*, to excuse his defection from his league with the *Venetians*, acted as mediator for a general peace in *Italy*. The *Venetian* senate proceeded at this juncture with great magnanimity. They were sensible of the disorder into which the progress of the *Turks*, and the protestants had thrown the emperor's affairs in *Germany*; they kept their armies on foot during the negotiation, and they insisted upon the *Milanese* being immediately restored to the house of *Sforza*, which was agreed to by the emperor, who was then at *Bologna*. He had ordered the prince of *Orange* to march against the *Florentines*, whom he compelled again to submit to the house of *Medici*. The tranquility of *Italy* being thus restored, the *Venetians* sent a complimentary embassy to the emperor at *Bologna*;

Bologna; and *Charles*, who knew how to be magnificent on occasion, loaded the ambassadors with rich presents, which were however, deposited in the treasury, as belonging to the republic. After this, a mutual openness and hospitality prevailed between the imperialists, and the *Venetians*; but the long continuance of wars had introduced habits of licentiousness and profligacy all over *Italy*.

The pope was now in a situation far more desirable than he had reason to expect, from the pusillanimity, and the unsteadiness of his conduct. He had not only recovered all that had been wrested of late years from the ecclesiastical territory; but he had succeeded in his favourite scheme of establishing the sovereignty of his family among the *Florentines*, though by a most cruel and shameful exertion of force on the part of his holiness. On his birth-day, the twenty-fourth of *February* 1530, *Charles* received from *Clement* the imperial crown at *Bologna*, and then he returned to *Germany*, as *Clement* did to *Rome*. Notwithstanding the conclusion of the late peace, the affairs of *Naples* continued still in a deplorable situation. Of late years, its viceroyalty had been exercised by foreigners, who had most unmercifully oppressed the people of all denominations; and cardinal *Colonna* succeeded the prince of *Orange*, who was accused of having encouraged a licentiousness of manners among his soldiers, and had actually put some of the chief nobility to death; and confiscated the estates of others, on pretence of their favouring the *Anjouvine* faction. *Colonna* was, in his manners more rapacious and licentious than the prince; and notwithstanding the exhausted state of the kingdom, he sent three hundred thousand crowns, which he raised among the *Neapolitans*, to the emperor at *Bologna*, and obliged them to agree to a tax of six hundred thousand ducats upon houses. Upon the death of *Colonna*, don *Pedro de Toledo* was appointed viceroy, and he introduced a severe police into *Naples*, to remedy the universal degeneracy of the inhabitants, who were, under his government, most terribly harried by the famous *Turkish* pirate *Barbarossa*.

Though the emperor and the pope continued upon a disagreeable friendly footing, yet each of them had exceptions at the conduct of the other. *Charles* could not prevail with *Clement* to act with vigour against the king of *England*; and *Clement* thought *Charles* too remiss in his endeavours to extirpate the *Lutheran* heresy. *Charles* had likewise thrown out to his holiness some hints of the necessity of a general council for the reformation of the church; which were very disagreeable to *Clement*, and he brought his cardinals to join with him in remonstrating against any such assembly being called; while the interests of religion were endangered by the growing power of the *Turks*. It is certain, that the pope grew every day more and more uneasy with regard to the

A peace
concluded

the religious sentiments of *Charles*, who continued to press the convoking a general council, and thought it was high time to check the pope. He had soon an opportunity of doing this, by interfering in the disputes that remained between his holiness and the duke of *Ferrara*. *Charles* befriended the latter, and adjudged to him the possession of *Modena* and *Reggio*, upon his paying the pope one hundred thousand ducats. *Clement* objected to this decision, and the duke accused him of carrying on a secret correspondence with the kings of *France* and *England*. The religious distractions of *Germany* did not suffer *Charles* to examine this charge to the bottom; and after agreeing to grant liberty of conscience to the *Protestants*, who now offered to serve him against the *Turks*; he returned to *Italy*, where he was considered by *Clement* as little better than a *Lutheran* heretic. Being attended on his march by cardinal de *Medici*, the pope's nephew, as cardinal legate, he put his eminence under arrest for having encouraged some very irregular proceedings of the *Italians* in his army against the *Germans*; but he soon set the legate at liberty, and proceeded to his interview with the pope at *Bologna*. This measure was dictated by their mutual conveniency. The kings of *France* and *England*, continued still united, and the latter was every day making wide strides towards throwing off the papal authority. The emperor having forced the *Turks* to retire, disengaged himself so far as to overawe *Francis* in *Italy*; but *Henry* actually married *Anne Bullen*, without waiting for any divorce from *Rome*; upon which *Clement* laid him under an interdict. His holiness was then intent upon a marriage between his own niece, and *Francis* II. son of the duke of *Orleans*, and under the pretext of a meeting between him and *Francis* for settling an expedition against the *Turks*; he and his court embarked at *Pisa*, and sailed to *Marseilles*, where the interview between him and *Francis*, the *French* king, took place, and the marriage, which was afterwards fruitful of so many calamities to the *Christian* world, was concluded on, and afterwards celebrated; but *Francis* still endeavoured to affect a reconciliation between his new ally the pope, and his brother of *England*.

Charles
disobliges
Clement
a fresh.

Clement was the more desirous of this, as he was heartily disgusted with the emperor for the award he had pronounced in favour of the duke of *Ferrara*, and because the loss of *England* deprived the holy see of its most beneficial acquisition. He agreed, that if *Henry* would send a proxy to *Rome*, he would form the process, and pronounce the sentence of divorce between him and *Catharine of Arragon*. *Henry*, on the other hand, at the earnest request of *Francis*, by his ambassador *Bellay*, bishop of *Paris*, offered to refer his cause to the *Roman* consistory, provided the imperial cardinals were excluded from it. *Bellay* went to *Rome*, where

where he had *Henry's* consent, which was no more than verbal, before the pope, who insisted upon the king's reducing his agreement to writing; but before that could be done, some violent agents had exasperated the pope, by informing him that *Henry* had encouraged a libel against his person and authority, and that he had ordered a farce to be acted, in which he was ridiculed, as being the head of the church. This account exasperated *Clement* so much, that forgetting his usual moderation, he entered the consistory with his furious cardinals, pronounced the marriage between *Henry* and *Catharine* to be valid, and that *Henry* should be excommunicated if he refused to adhere to it.

This disconcerted the scheme that *Francis* had long laboured for, which was a reconciliation between *Henry* and his holiness; at the time when the public thought that it was on the point of taking place. All payments to the apostolic chamber were stopt, and the papal authority in *England* was utterly abolished, or gave way to the regal. *Campegio*, whom *Henry* had made bishop of *Salisbury*, was deprived of that see, as was *Guinucci*, another *Italian*, of that of *Worcester*; and *Henry* pushed his resentment so far, as to cut off the princess *Mary*, his daughter by *Catharine*, from her succession to his crown. *Clement* discovered, when it was too late, that he had mistaken his measures. He had trusted to the opposition which he hoped would be formed by the people and clergy of *England* against such an alteration of religion; but he was deceived, for the *English* were so unanimous in supporting him in every step he took against the pope, that even the emperor found it was in vain for him to interpose; and this amazing revolution was brought about with little or no bloodshed, if we except the deaths of Sir *Thomas Moore*, and *Fisher*, bishop of *Rocheſter*.

The re-formation takes place in *England*.

Among other matters, it had been verbally agreed between *Francis* and *Clement*, that the house of *Sforza* should be stripped of the *Milanese*, which was to be given to the duke of *Orleans*. This was among the last acts of *Clement's* life, excepting his excommunicating *Henry VIII.* upon his return from *Marseilles* to *Rome*. He died on the twenty fifth of *September* 1534, in the fifty seventh year of his age. He had many of his family's good qualities, but he reckoned dissimulation and ambition among the virtues of a prince. His passion for the advancement of the house of *Medici* hurried him into many measures that were highly disagreeable to the *Italians*, by whom he died universally detested. He had the glory however, of procuring a royal match for his niece *Catherine de Medici*, by which he aggrandized that house beyond that of any *Italian* prince.

Death of *Clement*.

He was succeeded in the pontificate by cardinal *Farnese*, Successor-bishop of *Oſtra*, who, under infirm appearances, had art-fully concealed a vigorous constitution both of body and mind; and he assumed the name of *Paul III.* He was by birth

The pope
excom-
municates
Henry
VIII.

Promotes
an expe-
dition to
Algiers,

and in-
dicts a
general
council.

birth a *Tuscan*, which rendered him very agreeable to the *Italians*, who were now disgusted with the house of *Medici*. He trod in the paths chalked out by his immediate predecessors. The aggrandizement of his own family was one of his chief objects, and he created two of his nephews, said to be his natural sons, cardinals. He prosecuted *Henry VIII. of England*, with great, but ineffectual, acrimony, not only with his spiritual arms, but by exciting against him the *Roman catholic* powers in *Germany*, by feeding them with the hopes of his convoking a general council. He endeavoured, for the same purpose of exterminating the protestants, and recovering *England* to his allegiance, to effect a reconciliation between *Charles* and *Francis*; but the *German* protestants entered into closer connections than ever with the king of *England*, and refused to acknowledge any council where the pope should preside, or that was not held in *Germany* according to the promise that had been made them by his imperial majesty. One of *Paul's* great purposes was to encourage *Francis* and *Charles* to erect themselves into maritime powers, not only that they might be more able to defend the coasts of *Italy* against the infidels, but that in case a union of the *Roman catholic* powers could be formed, they might make a descent upon *England*; a scheme that was afterwards carried into execution by *Charles's* son.

He succeeded so far, by granting the tythes of the *Gallican* church to the *French* king, and those of the *Spanish* churches to the emperor, that the latter was able to fit out a very considerable fleet, to which the pope added thirteen of his own gallies; and this joint force made a descent upon *Algiers*, where *Charles* restored the prince of that country to his throne, from which he had been driven, and then returned in great triumph to *Naples*, where the *French* king, while *Charles* was absent on this expedition, made preparations for seizing upon the *Milanese*, in his family right, as descending from the house of *Orleans*; *Francis Sforza* being now dead without heirs. At the head of a powerful army he attacked his uncle, the duke of *Savoy*, dispossessed him of the greatest part of his dominions, and had entered the *Milanese* about the time that *Charles* had returned to *Naples*; and just as *Paul* had thundered out the most dreadful excommunications against the king of *England*, whom he pretended to depose, and to absolve his subjects from their allegiance. *Charles* came to *Rome*, where he was entertained by his holiness with the highest splendour, and bitterly inveighed in public against the ungenerous proceeding of *Francis*, who had, during his absence on an expedition against the infidels, attacked an undisputed fief of the empire, and an ally of the house of *Austria*. The pope offered to mediate, but declined entering as a principal into either party, and all the emperor could do, was to obtain from him a bull for appointing

appointing a general council to be held at *Mantua*, which was to commence the twenty second of *May* 1537.

The pope continued still to consider *Henry* as his capital enemy, and sent the famous cardinal *Pole*, one of his near relations, to negotiate with the *French* king for a descent upon *England*. *Henry* hearing of this, demanded *Francis* to deliver *Pole* up as his rebel subject, and the pope was obliged to recall him, and to appoint him a guard for his protection, as he pretended, against *Henry*, who had offered a large sum for his head. *Paul* was more successful with *James V.* of *Scotland*, a young prince, who had parts, but was deeply tinged with an affection for popery, and a family attachment to the crown of *France*. The emperor had endeavoured to gain him over to his interest, by making him the most magnificent and flattering offers, if he would invade the dominions of *Henry*, who was his uncle; but *James* continued firm to *Francis*, and he gave the pope assurances that he would not imitate his uncle in matters of religion; but maintain that of the see of *Rome* throughout his dominions. The pope was satisfied with this answer, which was attended with suitable effects; and the duke of *Mantua* making some opposition to the council assembling in his dominions, it was ordered to be convened at *Vicenza*.

The pontificate of *Paul* III. is distinguished by the institution of the order of the *Jesuits*; the founder of which was, *Ignatius Loyola*, a *Biscayan* subaltern officer, who being wounded at the siege of *Pampaluna*, made a vow for devoting the remainder of his life to the interest of religion, and going through a course of studies upon his recovery, he met with various adventures; but at last he associated with himself six other persons, who took holy vows upon themselves, and were bound to an implicit obedience to the holy see. Presenting themselves before *Paul*, he readily confirmed the rule they had chosen; and from them sprang the order of the *Jesuits*, who were long the support of the church of *Rome*, and the pests of human society.

Many writers have, with some reason, supposed that *Paul*, in his private capacity, was no enemy to a reformation of religion; but that he was opposed in it by the venality, ambition, and bigotry of his court and clergy. The church of *Rome*, it is true, had never before, nor has she since, seen so many great and learned men her rulers, as at that time; but they were subject to human passions and prejudices. Every cardinal and bishop lived like a temporal prince. Their revenues entitled such of them as loved the fine arts to indulge their favourite passion, without concerning themselves with the affairs of religion. The few among them who had sentiments of piety, thought that a decent submission to a church, even though not perfectly reformed from error, was preferable to the wild anarchy and infernal

He negotiates with the king of Scotland.

Order of the Jesuits founded.

State of the Romish church.

spirit which actuated many of the *German* reformers ; neither did they see that the heads of protestantism were agreed among themselves in almost any one point, but their hatred for the church of *Rome* ; and indeed it is certain, that the divisions among the chief reformers were, at this time, deplorable, nor did even *Henry* himself carry on his reformation with any uniformity of principle. Besides the two denominations of *Roman* catholic prelates we have already named, there was a third, which was, perhaps, more numerous than both, and who had no idea that they were separated from the laity by any distinction, but that of being enabled more commodiously to gratify their incontinence and intemperance. Many of them were men of quality, and looking upon all advances towards a reformation as so many attacks upon their rank and properties, they engaged their friends and families to oppose them. Those ecclesiastics, however, we have mentioned, were generally *Italians* and *Spaniards* ; but the revival of literature, and the discovery of printing, had now enlightened *England*, *France*, *Germany*, the northern nations, and the *Low Countries* ; and though learning had not made such a progress among them as it had in *Italy*, yet it had produced many great and eminent men, and few of the inferior clergy were now so grossly ignorant as not to be sensible that the *Romish* church stood absolutely in need of a thorough reformation, in points of doctrine and discipline, especially the latter.

Imperfect
scheme
for its
reforma-
tion.

Such was the state of the *Roman* catholic religion, when *Paul* ordered the council of *Mantua* to be indicted, and at the same time appointed a committee of four cardinals, and three ecclesiastics, for drawing up a plan of reformation ; which they accordingly did, and presented it to his holiness. It contained some severe animadversions upon the pride and ignorance of many of the clergy, and the neglects of education for holy orders. Translations from one benefice to another, reservations, non residencies, and pluralities were censured. They complained of the vast increase of convents, and proposed that some of them should be abolished, together with the shameful trade of collecting alms for the several orders of the monks, and other ecclesiastics. They proposed that the goods of the clergy, on their death, should go to the poor ; and that the vast number of beggarly priests, and pompous equipages belonging to whores, who were kept and attended by cardinals, should be reduced. At the same time they observed, that many of the ecclesiastical abuses were owing to the licentiousness of the press, which they proposed to put under a regulation ; and among other books, they thought that the *Coloquies* of *Erasmus*, in which the superstition of the church of *Rome* was freely lashed, ought no longer to be taught in schools or seminaries of learning.

The

The reader, from this small sketch of the reformation proposed by *Paul*, may easily see that it was very inadequate to the purposes proposed, and did not so much as touch at the root of all their grievances complained of by the protestants, the enormous power of the pope and the court of *Rome*. *Henry VIII.* who still loved to figure in theological disputes, published a paper, affirming, that the calling a general council did not belong to the pope, but to the temporal princes of christendom. The protestant *German* princes assembled at *Smalcald*, still refused to acknowledge any council in *Italy*, where the pope, who was their greatest enemy, was to be their judge likewise. In this state of uncertainty, as to religion, the pope had concluded a treaty with the emperor, and the *Venetians*, and each party had furnished its quota in fitting out a strong naval armament for acting against the *Turks*, under the command of *Andrew Doria*; but though this fleet assembled at *Corfu*, *Barbarossa* still remained master of the sea.

An expedition against the *Turks*.

ibid.
p. 110.

The emperor had by this time driven *Francis* out of *Piedmont*; but had been unsuccessful in an attempt he made against *Marseilles*, and had been forced to retire to *Italy* with the remains of his broken army. This gave the pope an opportunity of effecting a negotiation at *Nice*, between *Francis* and *Charles*, at which his holiness was present, and he prevailed upon them to agree to a truce for ten years. It was, however, remarkable, that those two sovereigns did not meet in person, but negotiated through the pope, who artfully prevented any interview between them from taking place, that he might the better complete the views he had in favour of his grandson *Octavian Farnese*. This prince was the grand-son of *Peter Lewis Farnese*, whom his father *Paul III.* had made at first duke of *Castro*, and *Camerino*, and then of *Parma* and *Placenza*; and his history is one of those events that are inscrutable through the policy and deep dissimulation of those concerned.

A truce between the emperor and the *French* king.

Though reasons of state and interest suffered *Charles* to wink at the aggrandizement of the *Farnese* family; yet he could not, with any secret complacency, see two such noble seigns of the empire vested in *Peter Lewis*, as those of *Parma*, and *Placenza*. *Lewis* was of a most turbulent and unamiable nature; and it is said, that he intermeddled against the emperor's party in the affairs of *Genoa*, where he encouraged the *Fiesquese*, and opposed *Andrew Doria*. *Charles*, however, was too profound a politician to resent this conduct in *Lewis*, farther than to enter complaints against it to his indulgent father, who overlooked them. It was not long before *Lewis*, by his irregularities, effected his own ruin. He generally resided at *Placenza*, where he had begun to build a strong citadel, which the nobility of the dutchy disliked, as they thought it to be intended to bridle them, and to secure *Lewis*, who was of a very amorous disposition,

History of the *Farnese* family.

from his daily invasions of the chastity of their wives and daughters. They communicated their disgust to *Gonzaga*, duke of *Guastalla*, who was at that time the emperor's governor in the *Milaneſe*; but told him withal, that they had certain intelligence that he intended to surprize and cut off ſuch of them as he ſuſpected to be the leaſt diſavourable to his profligacy and tyranny. The complainants were the heads of the families of *Palavicini*, *Landi*, *Anguiſciola*, and *Confalonieri*. It is uncertain what answer *Gonzaga* gave them; but upon their return to *Placenza* they ſtabbed *Lewis* dead, threw his body out of the caſtle window into a ditch; and *Gonzaga*, in the emperor's name, took poſſeſſion of *Placenza*, and protected the conſpirators.

The emperor ſeizes *Placenza*.

Charles, in his letters to *Paul* upon this event, condoled with him upon the death of his ſon, and though his holineſs was entirely convinced that he had not been aſſaſſinated without the privacy of *Charles*, he diſſembled likewise; and required the emperor to reſtore the poſſeſſion of *Placenza* to young *Octavian*, the ſon of *Lewis*. *Charles* being then greatly chagrined at *Paul* not complying with his requeſt of calling a general council, raiſed difficulties to that of his holineſs. He obſerved that *Parma*, and *Placenza*, had come into the church's poſſeſſion only ſo late as the popedom of *Julius II.* a warlike prelate, and one who was by no means ſcrupulous about the juſtice of his acquiſitions. *Paul*, in answer to this, produced the grant of his grandfather *Maximilian*, confirming the poſſeſſion of the territories in queſtion to the church; but it was replied on the part of *Charles*, that ſuch grant was null and void, as being inconfiſtent with the conſtitutions of the empire. Thus this affair ſtood at the time of the negotiation at *Nice*; but the pope prevailed with *Charles* to agree to a marriage between *Octavian* and his natural daughter, *Margaret*, the widow of *Sforza*, the laſt duke of *Milan*. *Paul* was ſo much afraid that *Charles* would ſeize upon *Parma*, as he had done upon *Placenza*, that he immediately reannexed the poſſeſſion of it to the church; by which *Octavian* remained, at this time, without any territory.

Peace with the proteſtants.

The intereſt of religion, and the great concerns of the church, remained ſtill undetermined. Both monarchs left *Nice* out of humour with *Paul*; who from a viſible diſtruſt he had of the emperor, now inſiſted that the general council ſhould be removed to *Bologna*, inſtead of *Trent*, to which it had been ſummoned at the requeſt of the emperor, who found his authority in *Germany*, and that of his houſe, in a dangerous ſituation. His brother *Ferdinand*, king of *Hungary*, was unable to make head againſt the *Turks* without the aſſiſtance of the proteſtants, and both he and *Charles* endeavoured to bring the pope into milder meaſures. His holineſs accordingly ſent cardinal *Alexander Farneſe*, as his legate, into *Germany*, to effect, if poſſible, a reconciliation, which

which was found to be impracticable. The protestants, *ibid.* however, appeared very ready to join with the catholics p. 111. in defence of the empire against the *Turks*; upon which they came to the famous agreement at *Francfort*, and fifteen months longer indulgence was granted to the avowed profession of protestantism, and some provisions made for the farther continuance of the public tranquility of *Germany*. We have already seen the event of these commotions. *ibid. ibid.* The pope accused the two heads of the house of *Austria* opposed with shewing more favour to the protestants than was consistent with his dignity as head of the church; and *Charles* pope. not being at that time on good terms with his brother, discovered some backwardness in ratifying the agreement at *Franckfort*. By the advice of *Granvelle*, his first minister, he entered into a negotiation with the league at *Smalcald*, which was traversed by the cardinal legate. But *Charles* at last found himself obliged to order a diet to be held at *Hagenau*, and in the year 1541, the *Interim*, was published by *Charles*, which gave liberty to both religions, till measures could be taken for a final settlement of their interests.

During those disputes in *Germany*, the pope was employed in reducing the *Perugians*, who had been discontented at some late imposts. Beginning to find the utility of the order of the *Jesuits*, he confirmed and augmented their privileges, and reduced the number of idle monks, and clergy, that swarmed at *Rome*. There is great reason for believing, that, during the course of the disputations upon religion, which were then held between the heads of the two parties in *Germany*; the emperor was become, more than ever, a convert to the protestants, so poorly had *Contarini*, the legate, and *Eckius*, defended the cause of popery. The emperor soon after publishing the *Interim* returned to *Italy*, where he found *Paul's* court divided, with regard to the conduct of *Contarini*, who was accused by some warm *Roman* catholics of having betrayed their cause. The emperor took his part, and soon after set out on a second expedition to *Africa*, which did no service to his judgment; and he returned unfortunate to *Spain*, his fine fleet and army being ruined by tempests and other causes. Upon his return, he prevailed with the pope to appoint the council to meet at *Trent*, where he ordered three cardinals to preside as his *legates a latere*; but in the mean while he established a college of inquisition at *Rome*.

The pope, old as he was, would suffer neither *Italy* nor *Europe* to taste repose, nor could he enjoy any himself. The progress of the reformation, the dread of the approaching council, which was to be held in the *Austrian* dominions; the new connections that had been formed between the emperor and the king of *England*, but above all, the state of the *Parmesan*, and the *Placentine*, disturbed his thoughts so much, that he courted and obtained another

interview with the emperor near *Placenza*. *Charles* was deaf to all his proposals, for he refused either to restore *Placenza*, or to sell the pope the *Milanese*, the investiture of which he intended to purchase for *Ottavian*. He was equally unsuccessful in his endeavours to restore a good understanding between *Charles* and the *French* king; and returning to *Bologna*, without gaining any one point, he suspended the meeting of the council of *Trent*. About this time, the *French* king pretending it was lawful for him to call in dogs, for his defence, if he was attacked by wolves, had joined his fleet with that of the *Turks*, and they had attacked *Nice*; but the duke of *Savoy*, to whom it belonged, received such seasonable supplies from the pope, that the combined fleets were defeated, and forced to retire into *Toulon*. A peace soon after took place between *Charles* and *Francis*; and though it had been transacted without *Paul's* mediation, he expressed vast joy upon its being concluded. He found now, that he had lost great part of his authority, even with the princes of his own communion; for both *Charles*, and *Francis*, began, without consulting him, to regulate religious affairs and doctrines in their own dominions; and the emperor took upon him to order every thing relating to the convocation of the council at *Trent*. He even caused religious points to be settled in the diets of the empire. The protestants still refused to acknowledge the validity of the council; and when the emperor insisted upon their being subject to it, they threatened to withdraw their contingencies against the *Turks*.

The council at *Trent* opened.

It was the fifteenth of *December*, 1545, when the celebrated council of *Trent* was opened with great solemnity. *Charles* pretended that the pope ought not to have opened the council without his permission; but he thought fit to dissemble, and sent ambassadors to all the *Christian* powers, inviting them to be present; but without taking any notice of the pope's authority. This was so palpable an affront to *Paul*, that he repented of having proceeded so far, and would have retracted all that had past, if he could have done it with the least shew of decency, even towards the princes of his own religion. We have already, in the history of *Germany*, touched upon the various events which influenced the conduct of *Charles* on this occasion. The truth is, from being a dispute between two religions, the quarrel between the emperor and the protestants turned entirely upon temporal points, the former being resolved to support the power of the house of *Austria*, and the latter to reduce it. Those growing differences, however, operated towards a re-union between the pope and the emperor. The latter affected to lay religious matters out of the question, and to proceed against the protestants only as traitors and rebels. *Paul* offered to deposite two hundred thousand crowns in the hands of *Charles*, for carrying on the

the war against them, and to assist him with twelve thousand horse, and five hundred foot, besides granting him vast revenues out of the ecclesiastical benefices of *Spain*. This bargain being struck, the papal army began its march to *Italy*, under the command of *Octavian*, and cardinal *Farnese*, who discovered a most savage thirst after the blood of the *German* protestants.

The history of the council of *Trent*, which continued to Its frivolous proceedings, belongs to that of the church, nor, indeed, does it afford much entertainment to readers of any class in this age. The whole of it was a juggle between the pope and his legates. On its first sitting, the members were all *Italians*, excepting two *French*, five *Spanish*, and one *Illyrican* bishop. Their numbers were soon increased by some additional bishops, who resorted to it for the conveniency of subsisting upon the charity of the pope, who allowed them forty ducats a year. The time of the assembly was mostly consumed in saying masses, and performing other religious services; which variations of business, gave the legates, who were *John Maria de Monte*, cardinal bishop of *Palestina*; *Marcellus Cervinus*, cardinal priest of the holy cross; and *Reginald Pole*, cardinal archdeacon of *St. Mary in Cosmedin*, leisure to carry on a correspondence with his holiness, from whom they received all their instructions how to proceed. On the eighth of *April* no more than five cardinals, six archbishops, (of whom some were nominal) thirty bishops, three abbots, and five generals of monkish orders, composed the council, whose proceedings were of the most frivolous kind; and so far from tending to the reformation of the abuses complained of, they established the authority of traditions, vested the right of interpreting the sacred writings in the church, a vague inexplicable term, and imposed prohibitions upon the press. The emperor disliked their proceedings, and as he wanted to disunite the protestants among themselves, he admonished the fathers not to disoblige such of them as were inclined to join him; not to be too hasty in determining points of faith; but to proceed upon those of reformation, the necessity of which, was allowed of on all hands, by *Roman* catholics, as well as protestants. His remonstrances were disregarded by the pope, who was resolved to avail himself of the name of a general council, to lay down such rules of faith as were most conformable to the principles and interest of the see of *Rome*.

By this time, the troops of the pope under *Farnese*, had joined those of the emperor, whose arms proved superior to those of the protestants; but the pope accused him of favouring heresy, by the advantageous terms he granted them, and not only recalled his troops, but discontinued his subsidies; and a contagious distemper breaking out at *Trent*, the sessions of the council were provisionally adjourned to *Bologna*.

logna. This adjournment, however, was opposed by the emperor, who contended, that his consent was necessary to render it valid. We shall now, for a short interval, leave the pope amusing all christendom with the trifling ridiculous decrees of his council, to attend the history of the other parts of *Italy*.

History of *Naples*. Don *Pedro de Toledo*, the viceroy of *Naples*, found that city, when he entered on the exercise of his government, to be no better than a nest of thieves and murderers. Robberies and assassinations happened every night in the streets; and the criminals were sure of sheltering themselves in the houses of the nobles, which were held as sanctuaries for the most notorious offenders. *Toledo* gave a full scope to justice, for their punishment or reformation. He ordered some of the most illustrious of the criminals to be executed, and he published severe edicts, to which capital penalties were annexed, for reforming the police of that city, without any exception of persons; which had so good an effect, that the *Neapolitans* presented to the emperor one hundred and fifty thousand ducats, to enable him to defend their coasts against the *Turks*. This salutary severity of *Pedro*, created him a number of enemies, and those of the first rank. The marquis *del Vasto*, and the prince of *Salerno*, were at their head; and upon the return of *Charles* from his *African* expedition, they applied to him for the removal of *Toledo* from their government. They were seconded by a majority of the nobles, who in a parliament voted to *Charles* a subsidy far above their ability to raise. *Charles* knew the meaning of their liberality, and it served only to encrease his esteem for the marquis, to whom, on his leaving *Naples*, he gave more enlarged powers than ever. *Toledo* made use of them, by providing for the health, the strength, the conveniency, and magnificence of the city, and provinces. He drained unwholesome lakes; he fortified *Naples*, and stored it with salutary fountains; he established regulations to prevent the scarcity of corn, and he encreased the force of the marine, so as to be able to face the small *Turkish* squadrons that insulted the coasts. Having understood that the *Turks* were preparing for a descent; he called a meeting of the states, or, as it is termed, a parliament, and after rendering them sensible of their danger, he was enabled to raise thirty thousand men, which defeated all the attempts of *Barbarossa*. After this, he took such precautions in fortifying the sea coasts, that the kingdom of *Naples* remained for seven years secure against the invasions of the barbarians. On the expiration of that term, *Barbarossa* made a descent upon the islands of *Ischia*, and *Procida*, and cannonaded *Puzzoli*; but by the excellent dispositions made by the viceroy he was defeated in his farther attempts. One of the most memorable acts, however, of *Toledo's* government, was his establishing the bank, called

at *Monte della Pieta*, which still subsists, in order to rescue the people from the necessity of complying with the exorbitant demands of the *Jews*, who were then very numerous in *Naples*; but after the erection of the bank, they were driven from thence by the viceroy.

Toledo, with all his excellent qualities as a governor, was Who per- strongly tinctured with the *Spanish* failing, that of bigotry secutes the to the *Roman* catholic faith. The inquisition had for many protestants years been established in *Naples*, through the submission of the *Anjouvine* kings to the papal authority; and it was so great, that the inquisitors found means to establish in *Naples* an authority that was actually independent of the regal. This was so disagreeable to the people, who had heard of their barbarous proceedings in *Spain*, and had smarted under them in *Italy*, that after the *Anjouvine* race was expelled, the *Spanish* viceroys had been obliged to drive those tyrants out of the kingdom, and to engage that they should never enter it. This stipulation was of no longer continu- ance, than till the popes could recover their authority in *Naples*; for then the inquisitors recovered theirs, but without having any other objects to exercise it on, than the commission, or omission, of the lowest superstitions among the people. By degrees they extended their jurisdiction; and at last their tyranny became so intolerable, that *Ferdinand of Spain* was obliged to consent to their final expulsion with ignominy. The reformation introduced by *Luther*, had, about the time we treat of, made a progress in *Naples* that alarmed equally the pope, and the emperor, who commanded the people, on pain of death, to hold no correspondence with the *Lutheran* heretics. *Bernard Ochino*, was then the most celebrated preacher in *Italy*, and had been called to *Naples* to preach before the emperor. *Ochino* was, in his heart, a *Lutheran*, and the vast credit he acquired by his learning and eloquence, both with *Charles* and the public, gave him many opportunities of privately disseminating his favourite doctrines, which gained such root, that the *Neapolitan Lutherans* began now to associate themselves in religious assemblies, and introduced, to the public there, the works of the reformers.

Toledo exerted himself in condemning those books to the and intro- flames, and in punishing all who either read them or main- duces the tained the doctrines they contained. Not contented with inquisi- this, he published edicts, which in fact, abolished all infor- tion, mation from the press with regard to religious points, and he prohibited the future meetings of certain noble *Neapolitans*, who had associated themselves for the advancement of true philosophy and learning. Finding all his severity in- effectual, he desired the pope to send him an inquisitor, properly qualified for suppressing and punishing heretics; and such a person accordingly arrived at *Naples*, where he was soon armed with the imperial, as he had been before with the
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which is
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the papal, authority. This was no sooner publicly known, than the people of all ranks complained to the viceroy, who found them so much resolved to get rid of their new grievance, that he immediately put a stop to the inquisition; but in two months time the reformation made such a progress among the *Neapolitans*, that he re-established it. The people now, instead of remonstrating, ran to arms, tore down the viceroy's edicts, and chose a magistracy of their own. *Toledo*, who was then at *Puzzuoli*, immediately repaired to *Naples* with a body of troops, and a civil war commenced, even in the streets of the capital. Both parties applied to the emperor, but *Toledo* being reinforced with five thousand *Florentine* infantry, in the numerous skirmishes that happened, generally defeated the undisciplined citizens, and peremptory orders arriving from the emperor that they should obey the viceroy, they laid down their arms. One person out of thirty six who were excepted out of the general pardon was executed; and though a mulct of one hundred thousand crowns was imposed on the city, it never was exacted.

War with
Henry II.
of *France*,
and the
Turks.

Though the viceroy prevailed over the people in this contest, yet he afterwards acted with great moderation, and proceeded against heretics not by inquisitors, but according to the ecclesiastical canons. *Henry II.* was then king of *France*, to which kingdom the prince of *Salerno*, whose enmity against *Toledo*, still continued, fled. Perceiving *Henry* to be infected with his family ambition of gaining a footing in *Italy*, he persuaded him to attempt the conquest of *Naples*, and *Henry* was mean enough to solicit the assistance of *Solyman*, the *Turkish* emperor, for that purpose. *Solyman* ordered a fleet of one hundred and fifty galleys to ravage the *Neapolitan* coasts, which it accordingly did, and then appeared before the capital itself. In the mean while, the *French* fleet was at sea, under the prince of *Salerno*, who was unable to fulfil *Henry's* engagement to join that of the *Turks*, as soon as the latter should appear upon the coast. *Toledo* assembled the troops and militia of the kingdom, and sent for the *Genoese* galleys under *Doria*, which came to his assistance, and destroyed some of the *Turkish* ships. The superiority of the infidels, however, was too great for the viceroy to withstand, and it is said, that he employed one of the *Neapolitan* exiles to bribe the *Turkish* admiral with two hundred thousand crowns, upon which he carried his fleet back to *Constantinople*, before the *French* fleet could arrive to join them.

This danger being over, *Toledo* proceeded with severity, if not cruelty, against all whom he suspected to hold a correspondence with the prince of *Salerno*. The *Siennese* were at this time subject to the emperor; but the oppressions of his governors were such, that they drove his troops out of their city,

city, and admitted a *French* garrison. *Toledo*, by order of the emperor, sent twelve thousand troops under his son, don *Garcia*, to reduce the *Siennese*, and was preparing to follow them in person, when he died at *Florence*. He was succeeded as viceroy of *Naples*, by cardinal *Pacecco*, a noble *Spaniard*, who exercised his viceroyalty with a moderation and humanity, that endeared him to the *Neapolitans*. He resigned his functions, when the emperor *Charles V.* ceded the crown of *Naples* to his son don *Philip*; who appointed the marquis of *Pescara* to be his viceroy.

Cardinal *Pacecco* had recommended himself to the emperor by his heading the opposition against the pope, to the removal of the council from *Trent*, to *Bologna*. *Charles*, soon after, entirely defeated the protestants at *Muhlberg*; but made a more moderate use of his victory, (though he treated them with greater severity) than the pope expected or desired. His holiness sent cardinal *Sfondrato* to congratulate him upon his victory; but could not prevail upon him to consent to remove the council of *Trent* to *Bologna*, where the appearance of the prelates was as yet very inconsiderable. *Charles* was now so much master of *Germany*, that the protestant princes offered to acknowledge the authority of the council of *Trent* upon certain restrictions, which *Charles* construed into an absolute submission, and made use of it as an argument to prevail upon the pope to order the fathers of *Bologna* to return to *Trent*. *Paul* durst not disoblige him; but managed so, that the refusal of the emperor's request seemed to come from the fathers themselves, while he himself being now quite tired of the emperor's tyranny, (as he called it) most earnestly solicited an alliance with *Henry II.* of *France*, and cited the fathers, both at *Trent* and *Bologna*, to appear before a committee of his cardinals to justify their respective proceedings; affirming, that he himself was the sole judge in what place the council ought to be held. The *Trentine* fathers being countenanced by the emperor, refused to obey the citation. Those at *Bologna* appeared at *Rome*; but no decision was given, and the *Bolognese* council soon dwindled to nothing; nor would his holiness enforce his censures against the fathers at *Trent*. *Charles* had, by this time, seen how easily *Henry VIII.* had, by his temporal authority, shaken off that of the pope in his dominions, (but not without retaining some errors of popery,) and resolved to imitate that prince's example, by enforcing the observation of the interim, the ground work of which was popery; but admitted of the marriage of priests, and the administration of the communion under both kinds. This mixture was disagreeable equally to protestants as papists; and *Charles* endeavoured to put it in force by military execution.

The differences between the emperor and the pope induced the latter to make some compliances, without consulting

Death of
the pope.

Who is
succeeded
by Julius
III.

His
doubtful
conduct.

sulting the emperor, to soften the protestants; but *Charles* prohibited the nuncios he sent into *Germany* for that purpose to execute their commissions. The pope, at this time, received a sensible, and indeed a fatal, mortification, from his grandson *Octavian Farnese*, who opposed the re-annexation of the dukedom of *Parma*, and refused to accept of any equivalent for it from his grandfather. Not being able to prevail with his holiness to restore it, he left *Rome* with an intention to seize it; but failing in the attempt, he wrote a letter to his brother cardinal *Farnese*, threatening to throw himself into the hands of the imperialists, and to treat with *Gonzaga*. This letter being communicated to the pope, who was now full of infirmities, gave him such uneasiness that it finished his life on the tenth of *November*, 1549. Notwithstanding the atrocious charges brought against his memory for ignorance, wickedness, and even sorcery, he certainly had the address to maintain the rights of the holy see; which, under a less resolute head of the church, must have been swallowed up by the imperial power.

Cardinal *Farnese* had a powerful party in the sacred college; and the venerable character of the *English* cardinal, *Pole*, would have raised him to the popedom, had he not at night declined to accept it till the next day; but in the mean time, the intrigues of the conclave set him aside, and cardinal *Farnese* siding with the imperialists, cardinal *de Monte*, who had been the first legate at the council of *Trent*, was chosen pope; after passing a private promise to cardinal *Farnese*, that *Parma* should be dismembered from the church's patrimony, and given to his brother. The new pope took the name of *Julius III.* and the jubilee year being then arrived, he began his pontificate with the celebration of that festivity. He fulfilled his promise of giving the duchy of *Parma* to *Octavian Farnese*; he reinstated the *Colonna* family in their possessions, and he created, at one time, twenty cardinals, one of whom was a mean *Placentine* boy, no more than thirteen years of age. His zeal led him into all the severities of his predecessors against the heretics; but he consented to restore the council to *Trent*, with the approbation of the *French* king. The emperor had done all he could, both by force and persuasion, to stifle the contents of the protestants, who still held out against the council; but upon its being reassembled, they broke out so violently, that *Charles* was obliged to render himself answerable for the moderation of the pope, in matters ecclesiastical as well as civil.

Though *Octavian Farnese* had not only received possession of *Parma* from the pope, but a pension of two thousand crowns a month; he was dissatisfied with *Placenza* being still in the hands of the emperor. He applied to *Julius* to prevail on *Charles* to restore it, and received a favourable answer;

answer; but his solicitations were so cold, that *Octavian* resolved to become his own agent; and he repaired to the emperor, who was then holding a diet at *Augsbourg*, with a most magnificent equipage. *Charles* received him with vast marks of esteem and affection, but gave him only fair words and promises in answer to his request; so that *Octavian* returned greatly disappointed to *Italy*. He renewed his applications to the pope, who had neither the power nor the inclination to serve him, and his brother, cardinal *Farnese*, was so warm in the cause, that he pressed *Julius* to make use of ecclesiastical censures against *Charles*, if he did not comply. *Octavian* finding it to be in vain, entered into a correspondence with *Horace*, his natural brother, who was then in the service, and a favourite, of the *French* king, and a man of merit. *Horace*, at *Octavian's* desire, engaged *Henry II.* who was fond of every opportunity to check the imperial power, to assist him to recover *Placenza*. This could not be done unless *Octavian* agreed, which he actually did, to admit a *French* garrison into *Parma*.

The news of this alarmed the emperor, and he accused *Italy* the pope, in very severe terms, in acting in concert with again in- the *French* king and *Octavian*. *Julius* easily satisfied him of vaded the falshood of that charge, and they united together to by the oppose the fresh preparations made by *Henry* to invade *French Italy*, by the assistance of his new ally. *Julius* cited *Octa-* *vian* to appear before him at *Rome*, and upon his neglecting to obey, he was excommunicated, with all his aiders and abettors, in which number the *French* king himself was understood to be comprehended, if he did not instantly recall his troops from *Italy*. But by this time, they had taken quarters in the ecclesiastical state, and *Julius* flew, for protection, to *Charles*, who ordered his general, *Gonzaga*, to besiege *Parma*. A *French* army under *Brissac*, *Strozzi*, and *Horace Farnese*, who had married *Henry's* natural daughter, was then advanced to *Piedmont*, where his march was stopt by the duke of *Savoy*, to whose assistance *Gonzaga* was obliged to draw off part of the troops he had employed in the siege of *Parma*. *Octavian* growing tired, and apprehensive of his *French* allies, entered into a correspondence with the pope, who offered him a pension of fifteen thousand crowns a year, and the dutchy of *Camarino*, if he would resign his right to *Parma*. *Julius*, at the same time, secretly entered into another negotiation with *Henry*, whom he endeavoured to withdraw from his connections with *Farnese*. He was so far from succeeding, that the *French* troops having forced their way into *Italy*, desolated all the ecclesiastical state; and upon the death of *Horace Farnese*, who was killed by the fall of a tower, *Octavian* resolved to quit his *French* alliance, and threw himself upon the protection of the emperor, to whom he submitted all his

on ac-
count of
Parma.

his claims upon *Placenza*; but he died without obtaining his suit.

The council suspended.

Upon the breaking out of hostilities between the *French* king and the emperor, the former threatened to withdraw his prelates from the council of *Trent*, and to disclaim its authority. This did not prevent the proceedings of the fathers, which were, all of them, in favour of the *Roman* catholic religion; but, at the emperor's desire, they granted a safe conduct for the protestant deputies to repair to *Trent*. In the year 1552, the pope concluded an accommodation with the *French* king; but the protestants, who had been admitted to the council of *Trent*, demanded that the papal legates should not preside in it, but that the points they contended for should be referred to an impartial arbitration. They insisted, at the same time, that the fathers of the council should suffer their confession to be publicly read in their assembly; and receiving no satisfaction, they printed and published it. The war which then recommenced in *Germany* between the emperor and the protestants, under prince *Maurice of Saxony*, who was advancing to *Trent*, drove many of the fathers from thence to *Verona*, and the council was suspended for two years. The pacification of *Passau*, which ensued, first established the profession of the protestant religion in *Germany*, on a footing that rendered it independant of the emperor, or the *Roman* catholic powers.

Queen
Mary of
England
restores
popery
there.

It received, however, a terrible shock at this time, by the accession of *Mary*, daughter to *Henry VIII.* to the crown of *England*; and a treaty of marriage that was proposed between her and the king of *Naples*, to whom *Charles* likewise offered to resign the crown of *Spain*. *Julius* dispatched cardinal *Pole*, as his legate, to complete the reconciliation between the holy see and *England*; but *Charles* had formed many unforeseen objections to this commission. He suspected there might be some secret clause in *Pole's* instructions that might set aside the proposed marriage, and that *Mary* might prefer the cardinal to the king as her husband. On pretence of mitigating the terms that were to be proposed to be *English* parliament, *Charles* even ordered *Pole* to be arrested, on his journey, and detained him till the queen consented to the match, and the parliament approved of it; and soon after it was consummated. *Julius* having received the welcome news of this event, sent a new commission to *Pole*, the terms of which were dictated by the emperor; and he gave him leave, at the same time, at the request of *Charles*, to have an interview with the *French* king, for restoring the public tranquillity. This negotiation proved ineffectual, but *Julius* had the glory of seeing the *English* ambassadors sent to *Rome* to complete the reconciliation of their nation with that see in the most ample manner. *Julius* sent cardinal *Moron* to *Augsbourg*, to persuade

persuade the protestant princes assembled there, to follow the example of *England*, by being reconciled to the church; but, in the mean time, he died on the twenty third of *March* 1555.

His successor, *Marcellus II.* during the short time of his pontificate, expressed so earnest a desire for reforming the church, that he was carried off by poison. A conclave being held for a new election, it fell upon cardinal *Caraffa*, who took the name of *Paul IV.* He had the character of being a virtuous and learned prelate; but he had scarcely mounted the papal throne, when he declared himself of the *French* party, and gave specimens of his severe disposition by encouraging the inquisition, which he had always favoured. Though magnificent and expensive in his own person, he reformed the luxuries and excesses of his clergy; but gained the affections of the *Romans* so entirely, that an hundred of their nobles formed themselves into a life-guard for his person. His taste for grandeur and majesty was gratified, to the full, by the reception he gave to the *English* ambassadors, who had been sent to his predecessor, and who prostrated themselves at his feet in the consistory, beseeching him to restore their country to the bosom of the church. Though he granted their request, he insisted upon a restitution of all that had been taken from the church during the two last reigns, and the re-establishment of the payment of *Peter's pence* in *England*. The ambassadors, who were the bishop of *Ely* and the lord-viscount *Montague*, not being instructed to treat of this matter, returned home; but his holiness insisted with so much vigour upon his demand, that it was thought *Mary* would have been weak enough to grant it, had it not been opposed by the emperor *Charles*, as tending to raise a rebellion in *England*.

Paul had formerly received several affronts, and some injuries, from the *Germans*; and, being now strengthened by the accession of the holy see to his authority, he ventured to threaten *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, with his indignation, if he should confirm the treaty of *Passau* with the protestants. The influence of *Philip*, queen *Mary's* husband, prevented his menaces from taking place; and this increased his hatred to the house of *Austria*. The first measure he pursued against it, was his entering into a confederacy with the *French* king for stripping *Philip* of the kingdom of *Naples*. He then created one of his nephews duke of *Paliano*, and made him general of the troops of the church. He raised another to be a cardinal, and he gave the marquisate of *Montebello* to a third. In all his conduct, he acted in a manner that, in another man, would have been accounted frenzy; but such were the dispositions of the *Christian* powers at this juncture, that in him it appeared to be firmness. His hatred for the house of *Austria* led him to court the friendship of the *French* king, who was unable to assist him, while the

Marcellus II. and *Paul IV.* popes successively.

Insolence of *Paul*,

who violently opposes the house of *Austria*.

niards were in possession of *Naples* and the *Milanese*. The truce that, about this time, took place between the emperor and *Henry II.* gave him great disquiet; and he sent his nephew, the cardinal, to *Henry*; who, being backed by the solicitations of the powerful house of *Lorrain*, persuaded him to break the truce; for which he received absolution from the legate. Cardinal *Pachecco*, the viceroy of *Naples*, was, by *Philip*, appointed to reside at *Rome*, to watch the motions of his holiness; and the famous duke of *Alva*, governor of the *Milanese*, was made viceroy of *Naples*. *Paul* pretending that the *Spaniards* had formed a conspiracy against his person, imprisoned *Philip's* ambassador at *Rome*; and the preparations made in *France* for the invasion of *Italy*, leaves us in doubt as to the nature of the engagements between *Paul* and *Henry II.*

His firm-
ness
amidst his
dangers. *Paul*, having fortified *Rome*, the ecclesiastical state, and *Paliano*, upon the confines of *Naples*, was waiting for his *French* allies; when the duke of *Alva*, in *September*, 1556, after all his proposals of accommodation had been rejected by *Paul*, attacked and subdued the dominions of the church to the very gates of *Rome*; which he might have entered likewise had he not been over-awed by the sanctity of *Paul's* character, which induced him to conclude a truce for forty days. The duke then returned to *Naples*, where he made preparations for opposing the *French* army, which was then in *Piedmont*, under the duke of *Guise*.

His vir-
tues *Paul's* danger, and his disappointment of being supported by the *French*, did not abate the rigour with which he treated all the friends of the house of *Austria* at *Rome*. Though *Ferdinand*, the emperor, solicited him to confirm his election, he never could be brought to acknowledge him in that character. He deprived the *Colonna* family of their estates and dignities, and he imprisoned all the cardinals whom he knew or suspected to be in the *Spanish* or *Austrian* interest. To maintain the war against the duke of *Alva*, he had rendered his subjects miserable by his taxes and oppressions; and, amidst all the terrors of surrounding hostile armies, he founded the order of the *Theatins*; enforced the penalties of the inquisition against heretics; formed the famous *Index Expurgatorius*, by which the keeping or reading prohibited books was rendered highly penal; and he put the laws rigorously in execution against ecclesiastics who were guilty of luxury, simony, or other vices; and, in the mean while, his own life was irreproachably blameless.

gain him
friends. Such were the virtues that inspired even the enemies of this obstinate pontiff with a veneration for his person, which was increased by the public justice he executed upon his own unworthy nephews, who had most scandalously abused his indulgence. He stripped, in a full consistory, the cardinal of all his preferments, and banished him to *Patricia*. He took from the duke of *Paliano* all his commands, both by
land

land and sea ; and he confined the marquis of *Montebello* to his own castle. The instruments of their oppressions were punished ; and *Paul* was heard to declare, that he never had been pope before.

The victory of *St. Quintin*, gained by *Philip* over the *French*, by the assistance of the *English*, obliged the duke of *Guise*, who had left the *Milanese* that he might carry the war into *Naples*, to return to *France* ; by which *Paul* was once more left defenceless, and destitute of support against the powerful enemies he had raised ; and he was then obliged to conclude a peace with the *Spaniards*, who had defeated his troops, and retaken all the places that had been seized by the *French* in *Naples*. The terms of this accommodation, which was concluded on the thirteenth of *September*, 1557, were, That *Paul* should renounce his alliance with the *French* ; that he should be put in possession of all the places the *Spaniards* had taken from the holy see, but that their fortifications should be demolished ; that a pardon should be passed on both sides to all offenders, the *Collonnas* excepted, whom *Paul* never could be brought to forgive ; and, that the duke of *Alva* should repair to *Rome*, where he was to ask pardon for all he had done against his holiness.

Philip had such a veneration for the pontiff, that he made public rejoicings for this peace, as if he had gained a victory ; and *Paul* proceeded, as before, in his severe and unrelenting exercise of government. He imprisoned cardinal *Moron*, whom he suspected of favouring heretics ; and he took from cardinal *Pole*, whom he had formerly branded with heresy, his legantine power in *England*, and recalled him to *Italy*. As *Pole* was inoffensive, and even virtuous, in his manners, and had been an eminent sufferer for his attachment to the see of *Rome*, to which he had likewise done the most important services, we are to ascribe the rigorous ingratitude of his holiness, next to his own fiery implacable disposition, to *Pole* being the favourite of *Philip's* wife, and not sufficiently active in spreading the flames of religious persecution in *England*. *Paul*, however, before his death, had the sensible mortification of seeing *Elizabeth*, whose sentiments were known to be in favour of the reformation, succeed to her throne. Her peaceable accession astonished and disconcerted all the powers upon the continent. Even the protestants had but feint hopes of her declaring in their favour ; and the *Roman* catholics, with *Paul* at their head, were in hopes of gaining her by formally acknowledging the legitimacy of her birth. When *Elizabeth* appeared to be unmoved, either by hopes or fears, upon that head, *Paul* publicly declared, that, without his approbation, she could not succeed to the crown of *England* ; but that declaration only rivetted the affections of her subjects the more strongly to her title and person.

Paul, about this time, was eighty-four years of age; and, perceiving his end drawing near; he assembled the consistory in his own apartment, and recommended the continuance of the inquisition to their care. This being published, and that he was then probably lying on his death-bed, the *Romans*, in an insurrection, demolished the buildings of the inquisition, together with the pope's statues and arms; and would have burned down the convent of the *Dominicans*, had not the guards interposed. *Paul* died on the sixteenth of *August*; but so much hated by the *Romans*, that they did whatever was in their power to obliterate the memory of the *Caraffa* family during the vacancy of the papedom, which lasted above four months.

Pius IV.
pope.

Paul IV. was succeeded by the cardinal of *Sancta Prisca*, a *Milanese*, who took the name of *Pius IV.* He began his pontificate by pardoning the excesses that had been committed during the late vacancy; and by bringing the nephews, agents, and creatures of the late pope, to exemplary punishment. The nephews, and some of their kindred, were imprisoned and prosecuted; and several prelates of their party were deprived of their bishoprics. Those proceedings were, in general, thought to be rather popular than equitable; but his holiness soon gave a signal proof that he was far from disliking nepotism, by the honours and preferments he bestowed upon his own family; one of whom, *Charles Borromeo*, afterwards so celebrated for his piety and virtues, he created a cardinal, though he was but twenty-two years of age. *Pius*, about the same time, set cardinal *Moron* at liberty, and took him into his most intimate friendship.

Tho' *Pius*, in some cases, checked the exorbitant power of the inquisition, yet he encouraged and set on foot the persecutions of the reformed in *Piedmont* and *Savoy*; and, by his rigorous adherence to his pontifical prerogative, he endangered the entire defection of the kingdom of *France* from the see of *Rome*. The *French Roman* catholic clergy, in general, were for a reformation of their church by a national council, which should proceed without the authority of the pope; and in this they were so warmly seconded by the laity, that his holiness revived the council of *Trent*, as being the only means of preserving his authority over the *Gallican* church, notwithstanding all the opposition made to so disagreeable a measure by the imperial and *French* courts.

He continues the council of *Trent*,

Pius sent nuncios to invite all the princes of christendom to this continuation, as he called it, of the council of *Trent*; but, in general, they were coldly received; and the *German* princes returned his letters unopened, while the other protestant powers refused to admit the nuncios into their dominions. Even the *Roman* catholic princes objected to re-assembling of the council, as it was to be a continuation of the former, which was so disagreeable to the bulk of their subjects.

subjects. The protestant interest became so prevalent in *France*, during the minority of *Charles IX.* that the queen-regent, *Catharine of Medicis*, demanded from the pope a licence for the administration of the communion under both kinds; but the pope, who knew that she made that request only from compulsion, refused it with great firmness, tho' the huguenots had been already indulged with the free exercise of their religion, and had been suffered to defend it in several disputations held in presence of the court; which, as usual in such cases, ended only in widening the breach. It was in vain for *Pius* to publish bulls of indulgence for the members who should repair to the council at *Trent*, where the appearance of prelates was so thin, that its opening was deferred to the eighteenth of *January*, 1562. The duplicity of the queen-regent of *France* was of great service to his holiness during these debates, as it occasioned a violent civil-war in that kingdom.

At the opening of the council, it plainly appeared that no reformation from its proceedings was to be expected. The papal legates were instructed to oppose all motions tending to confirm the divine right of bishops, which they maintained to be entirely dependent upon the papal pleasure; and, after many tiresome, but ineffectual, debates, the most important points were left undecided. The strenuous opposition made by the *French*, *German*, and some of the *Spanish* bishops, to the legates, encouraged several princes to send their ambassadors and prelates to attend it; in hope of prevailing, by the superiority of numbers, over the legates: but the pope had a reserve of *Italian*, nominal, and needy bishops, whom he poured in to counterbalance all the voices of the reforming party. The arrival of cardinal *Lorrain*, who was considered as the leader of the *Gallican* church, and who inveighed bitterly against the papal usurpations and abuses, served only to renew the ridiculous disputes about the pre-eminence of the *Roman* see; and, when the emperor, *Ferdinand*, complained that nothing was suffered to be proposed in the council but by the legates, who received their instructions from *Rome*, he was answered by *Pius* only with vague excuses, and empty compliments of his holiness being ready to crown him at *Bologna*, if his imperial majesty would consent that the council should be translated to that city. *Ferdinand* refused to agree to this proposal, and the *French* ambassadors presented to the assembly a proposal, containing thirty-four articles of reformation, which struck at the very vitals of the papal power and grandeur. A negative was imposed upon the reading of those articles by the legates, at the command of the pope; upon which the cardinal of *Lorrain* went to *Ipsburgh*, where he had an interview with the emperor *Ferdinand*, who seemed greatly affected with the scandalous management of the pope and the legates.

which is
opened.

The
pope's le-
gates op-
posed.

Transac-
tions of
the coun-
cil

The affairs of christendom were, at this time, in great disorder, chiefly on account of religion, which seemed rather to be injured, than benefited, by the council of *Trent*. The pope, though alarmed by the accounts of an irruption of the *German* protestants into *Italy*, and the growing prevalence of the protestant interest in *France*, seemed to rise in his demands of submission and homage to the holy see; and deposed several *French* bishops, whom he suspected of favouring the hugonots: but the master-piece of his conduct lay in his dividing the opposition to his legates; which was, in some measure, effected by the imprudence of the protestants. *Catharine* of *Medicis* thought that they encroached too much upon the royal authority in *France*; *Philip II.* was naturally their determined enemy; and the emperor, *Ferdinand*, complained that they had reduced the imperial authority in *Germany* to be a meer shadow. The cardinal of *Lorraine*, who hitherto had been the most formidable opponent of the pope in the council, saw that the queen-regent's compliance with the protestants was merely the effect of compulsion, and knew that the pope had it in his power at any time to gain her over, began to cool in his opposition to the legates; and taking a journey to *Rome*, he there entered into all the views of his holiness for the extirpation of the *French* hugonots, who were the cardinal's declared enemies. The *French* ambassadors, however, continued firm in their opposition; and the pope had the address to introduce into the assembly a plan for the reformation of princes themselves; which was so derogatory to their temporal prerogatives, that the ambassadors protested against its being received, and retired to *Venice*. *Pius* considered their contumacy as proceeding from the queen of *Navarre*, a professed hugonot, and the patroness of that party in *France*; and was so far from being dismayed by the resistance he had encountered, that he cited her to appear at *Rome* upon a charge of heresy, and continued the sentence of excommunication that had been pronounced against her.

in favour
of the
pope.

It is dis-
solved,

The council continued its session, and every meeting produced some favourable decree for the encrease of the papal authority and the confirmation of religious absurdities and superstition, through the vast superiority of *Italian* bishops who had been sent by the pope to the council; but, at last, it was dissolved. Its decrees were subscribed by the four legates, two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, and other bishops, abbots, and generals of orders, to the number of two hundred and sixty-five; of whom one hundred and fifty were *Italians*, and entirely devoted to the pope. It was remarked, that, during the last session, no *German* prelate attended; and, through the whole, none appeared from *England*, *Scotland*, the *Low Countries*, *Sweden*, or *Denmark*.

Thus

Thus ended this scandalous assembly, after establishing, instead of abolishing, abuses. All their decrees of reformation consisted of suppressing, or regulating, a few superfluous offices about the pope's court; and he was so sensible of the services the members had done him, that, understanding, to his great joy, the council was dissolved, he created nineteen of his creatures, who had attended it, cardinals; but affected to enforce the residence of bishops upon their respective diocesses.

The protestants, and many *Roman* catholics, both in and dis-
France and *Germany*, refused to acknowledge the validity of owned by
the council's decrees; and the futility of its proceedings the pro-
was fully exposed by the protestants all over *Europe*. But testants.
the pope's security lay in the bigotry and the divisions of the
European powers. Though *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*, who
were successively emperors of *Germany*, insisted upon the
reformation being carried farther than it had been by the
council, that their priests should be permitted to marry, and
their subjects be allowed to communicate under both kinds;
nay, though they refused to profess obedience to the pope,
yet he knew that they were compelled to what they did
by their dread of the protestants; and he prevailed upon
them and the king of *Spain* to employ their good offices, to
persuade *Charles IX.* king of *France*, to revoke the privileges
that had been granted to the hugonots.

The *Greeks* and *Nestorians*, who, at this time, resided in
the *Two Sicilies*, and enjoyed the exercise of their religion,
being accused of spreading heretical notions among the na-
tives, had their privileges cut off by *Pius*. They were then
forced to conform themselves to the *Latin* church; and the
pope soon discovered, and severely punished, a conspiracy
that had been formed against his person by a set of reforming
enthusiasts.

Amongst the last actions of his life, was his sending a Death of
seasonable supply of men, money and amunition, to the *Pius*.
assistance of the knights of *Malta*, who had been besieged
by the *Turks*; by which the infidels were compelled, with
disgrace and loss, to abandon their enterprize. In the midst
of the rejoicings for that happy event, *Pius* was carried
out of the world, as was said, by a surfeit; leaving his
name memorable for the art and address by which he had
brought the fathers of *Trent*, who were assembled to abridge
the power of the popedom, to contribute to its enlarge-
ment.

The cardinals *Farnese* and *Borromeo*, who had the greatest Succeed-
sway in the conclave, were sensible of the necessity, at ed by
that time, of giving their church a head that should join *Pius V.*
great experience in business to a zeal for reforming the
manners of the clergy, but, at the same time, jealous of
the power and dignity of the pontificate; and such a one
they thought they found in the person of the cardinal of

Alexandria; who, being unanimously elected, took the name of *Pius V.* His birth was mean, but, being an *Italian*, he had gone through many of the chief posts of the church, during the last two pontificates, with great regularity and severity of manners; and was likewise distinguished by his eloquence. He had, under *Paul IV.* been supreme inquisitor; a place of so unlimited a power, that it has ever since been annexed to the popedom.

His zeal,
virtues,
and vices.

Upon his accession, his hatred of nepotism prevailed with him to remove his relations from *Rome*; but he gave a cardinal's hat, though with some difficulty, to *Bonello*, one of his nephews. He then proceeded upon the work of reforming the public vices, with a mixture of virtue, good sense and enthusiasm; for he prohibited physicians from attending any patient who did not, in three days after they fell ill, confess their sins to a priest. He restored the *Caraffa* family to the honours and dignities they had lost by popular clamour; but, above all, he proceeded with unrelenting severity against heretics of all ranks and denominations. He ordered his legate, *Commendam*, to threaten the emperor, *Maximilian*, with deposition, if he suffered religious matters to be agitated in the diet, whose attention was now turned entirely upon the means of opposing the formidable progress of the infidels. *Commendam*, therefore, being under no necessity of producing his unpolitic instructions, presented the emperor with fifty thousand crowns, as a subsidy from the pope against the *Turks*; which prevailed with him, and the *Roman* catholic princes of the empire, to receive the decrees of the council of *Trent*.

His
friendship
for *Mary*,
queen of
Scotland.

However defective *Pius* might be in that kind of policy which modern popes have been obliged to act by, in order to preserve their small remains of authority from utter contempt and rejection, yet he acted in his pontificate with a sincere zeal in all he undertook, and thereby obtained an entire mastery over the consciences of those who were still the unalterable votaries of the *Romish* see. He made a present of twenty thousand crowns to *Mary*, queen of *Scotland*, to enable her to make head against her rebellious subjects; and, during his pontificate, he was a generous and faithful friend to that unfortunate princess. He ordered supplications to be made at *Rome* for the duke of *Alva's* success against the revolvers in the *Netherlands*; and he sent four thousand five hundred foot, and nine hundred horse, to serve against the *French* hugonots. He subdued the spirit and conscience of *Philip of Spain*, who was impatient at the arbitrary manner with which *Pius* governed the *Spanish* clergy, by commanding them to pay nothing to the civil power without his consent; and he even brought that prince to back him in the menaces he vented against the emperor, who was inclined to enlarge the indulgences enjoyed by the *German* protestants.

The senate of *Venice*, whose laws and resolutions are less *Pius* erects liable to alteration than those of arbitrary princes, gave *Tuscany* *Pius* some uneasiness about a bull which he published, into a threatening all secular princes with excommunication who great should, by their own power, levy any taxes or subsidies up- dutchy. on their clergy; nor was it suffered to be published in their dominions. He took the offices of the inquisition into his special protection; and, for the zeal which the duke of *Florence* had expressed against the *French* hugonots, he sided with him in a dispute with the duke of *Ferrara* about certain salt works; and he created him and his successors great dukes of *Tuscany*. This was an uncommon stretch of prerogative in his holiness, as both the emperor and the king of *Spain* had claims upon *Tuscany*; the former, as head of the empire; and the latter, as the elder branch of the house of *Austria*. *Pius*, however, carried his point, and the title remains acknowledged to this day.

Pius, during his pontificate, had three great points in Views of view, which he pursued with the most unremitting zeal. *Pius*. The first was a union of the chief *Roman* catholic powers against the *Turks*; the second was a perpetual enmity to the person and title of queen *Elizabeth*; and the third was the suppression of the *French* hugonots. With regard to the See first, we have given a full account of it in a former part of Vol. VIII. this work. All that remains for us to observe here is, that p. 161. *Pius* V. had the glory of being the soul of that confederacy which, in the battle of *Lepanto*, gave so dreadful a blow to the naval power of the *Othmans*, that they never have since recovered their marine. The parties in this confederacy Confede- were, his holiness, the king of *Spain*, and the *Venetians*; racy and the negotiation by which the confederacy was formed against was conducted by *Pius* in a most masterly manner, though the *Turks*. he was unsuccessful in his endeavours to prevail either with the emperor, the *French* king, or the king of *Portugal*, to join it. The *Turks*, by this time, had conquered the island and kingdom of *Cyprus*; and they were masters of such an extent of sea-coast, that they bade fair to be the greatest maritime power in the world. *Pius* very wisely enabled the king of *Spain* and the *Venetians* to pay great part of their armaments by the subsidies which he empowered them to raise upon the ecclesiastics of their dominions. He had farther formed a noble plan for supporting a standing marine, which was to consist of two hundred gallies and one hundred large ships, with fifty thousand foot and four thousand five hundred horse on board, and he provided the proper funds for that purpose; but the decisive battle of *Lepanto* rendered that precaution unnecessary.

As to the second favourite object of *Philip*, the deposing, Miscon- and indeed destroying, queen *Elizabeth*, he acted with an duct of the equal portion of barbarous zeal and mistaken policy. This, pope in in a great measure, seems to have been owing to his igno- *England*, rance

rance of the temper and disposition of the *English* nation. He had received his information from bigots and zealots, who had served in foreign armies, or had been immured in religious cloisters, and who had misrepresented both the power and the principles of the *English Roman* catholics. The former was inconsiderable, excepting in the northern parts of *England*; but even there the nobility, as well as the people, disowned the deposing power of the pope, and continued firmly attached to the queen's person and government, till an inundation of *English* and *Irish* priests staggered them with regard to the future succession of *Mary*, queen of *Scots*, and her issue, to the crown of *England*. This raised a feeble insurrection, which was easily quelled, though headed by the two powerful earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmoreland*.

The intemperate zeal of the pope and his clergy against queen *Elizabeth*, served only to fix her throne in the greater security. The numerous bulls, sentences of deposition and excommunication, published against her by *Pius*, form great part of the *English* history at that period, but have very little relation to that of *Italy*; and the repetitions of them render them tiresome and uninteresting to the reader, as they were attended with no other effect than that of bringing the unhappy agents who published and dispersed them to racks and gibbets. The reader, in the history of *France*, will find that of the pope's efforts for supporting the *Roman* catholics of that kingdom.

The rejoicings and thanksgivings made at *Rome* upon the victory of *Lepanto*, were excessive; and *Colonna*, the pope's admiral, who was second in command, made a triumphal entry into that capital. An opportunity then presented, had the ardour of *Pius* been seconded, to have dispossessed the infidels of all *Greece*. In a council of war it was resolved, chiefly through the influence of don *John*, to go into harbour; though it is certain, that, had they speedily pursued their blow, they would have found *Constantinople* itself unprepared to resist them. *Venieri*, the *Venetian* admiral, whose division sustained the greatest loss during the fight, thought he saw a rising jealousy of the republic's glory gaining ground among the *Spaniards*; and the tempestuous season of the year served him as a pretext for agreeing to don *John*'s proposal; so that the fleet sailed in a body to *Corfu*, where the admirals divided their plunder; and the reader, from the following account, may form some idea of the importance of the victory.

Division
of spoils
at the bat-
tle of *Lé-
panto*.

The *Spaniards* had, for their share, sixty-four capital ships, called gallies; sixty-eight large cannons, eight bombs, with smaller artillery and ammunition in proportion; and one thousand, seven hundred and thirteen prisoners. The *Venetians* had, for their share, forty-four gallies, and a great many ships of an inferior rate; a hundred and thirty-one pieces of cannon, and about twelve hundred prisoners. The share allotted to the pope was according to the quota he had contributed

contributed to the fleet; and consisted of twenty-one galleys, with a number of vessels of an inferior rate; fifty-four pieces of artillery, and near nine hundred prisoners. But his allies made him a present of their two most illustrious prisoners, the two sons of *Hali*, the *Turkish* admiral, who had been killed in the late engagement. Before *Venieri* returned to *Venice*, he took some small places belonging to the *Turks*; and don *John*, with *Colonna*, entered the port of *Messina* with the most pompous display of their naval trophies.

As the *Venetians* had borne the greatest expence in fitting out this victorious armament, many of them blamed *Venieri*, for not pursuing his advantage by making a descent against the *Morcia*; and *Pius* was of the same sentiment. He renewed his most earnest applications to the other *Roman* catholic powers to join the confederacy; but he was unsuccessful, and all the preparations they made were for celebrating the victory with public rejoicings. Though his holiness continued still to have great credit with *Philip*, yet that prince was at this time, so much embarrassed by his differences with *England* and *France*, which were every day widening, that he was very slow in his motions for future action against the *Turks*. *Pius* on the other hand, more animated than ever, dispatched a nuncio to the imperial court to persuade the emperor to break his truce with the *Othmans*, and both he and the *Venetians* joined in representing to the sophy of *Persia*, the fair opportunity that then presented for his recovering the provinces that the *Turks* had dismembered from his kingdom. The *German* emperor excused himself from renewing hostilities with the infidels, who remained his superiors by land on the side of *Hungary* especially, and when the battle of *Lepanto* was mentioned to the sophy, he compared the loss of the *Turks* to the cutting off a beard which would grow again; but your masters, added he to the *Venetian* ambassador, by losing the kingdom of *Cyprus*, have lost an arm. While those unsuccessful negotiations were on foot, pope *Pius* died at *Rome*, on the first of *May*, 1572, of a suppression of urine, in the sixty eighth year of his age. The great blemish of his pontificate, was his unchristian behaviour towards the queen of *England*, which can be excused only by the inherent bigotry of the *Romish* priesthood, and his encouraging the inquisition, to which he was inclined by his natural disposition. The purity of his life and manners was such that it has been unimpeached even by the protestants, whom he so much hated and persecuted. The *Romans* revered his memory, as *Rome* for many centuries before had not beheld the spoils of her enemies; and since his death he has been canonized.

Pius V. was succeeded by *Buoncompagno*, cardinal of *St.* who is *Sixtus*, a *Bolognese*, who was esteemed an excellent civilian, succeeded and he took the name of *Gregory XIII.* The zeal of *Pius* by *Gregory* against *XII.*

Back-
wardness
of the
Spaniards
against the
Turks.

ibid.
p. 162.

Obliges
the *Vene-*
tians to
make a
disadvan-
tageous
peace with
the *Turks*.

against the *Turks* attended him to his grave; for at the time he expired, *Colonna* was on his journey to put the fleet in readiness at *Messina*. *Colonna* returned, and obtained from the new pope a renewal of his commission, he sent an account to the *Venetians* of his being continued in his command, and that *Gregory* was resolved to pursue all the engagements into which his predecessors had entered against the infidels. When the confederate fleets rendezvoused at *Messina*, *Suranza*, the *Venetian*, and *Colonna*, found a backwardness in *Andrada*, the *Spanish* admiral, to proceed upon any vigorous enterprize. *Gregory* sent messengers to don *John*, to quicken the *Spaniards*; but both he and *Andrada* answered with great dryness, that they could not leave the island of *Corfu*, where their fleet lay, without farther orders, which depended upon the turn which affairs might take in other parts of *Europe*, particularly in *Navarre*, and the *Low Countries*. While the *Spaniards* were waiting for these orders, many quarrels sprung up between them and the *Venetians*, who accused not only *Philip*, but the *Spanish* nation in general, of deceiving them into a war by their fair promises, which they had broken on all occasions; and that don *John* had been blamed by the *Spanish* ministry for venturing their fleet against the *Turks*, though it had produced the glorious victory of *Lepanto*. The *Spaniards* were unmoved by those and many other charges, and still pleaded the necessity *Philip* was under of guarding against the *French*. The *Venetians* declared themselves unable by themselves to carry on the war against the *Turks*, and threatened to make a separate peace with that emperor. In the mean while, they sent an able minister to the court of *France*, and another to that of *Spain*, to reconcile them, so as that the war which wore so favourable an aspect might proceed vigorously against the infidels. The reader, has already seen the sequel of this year's operations, which were unsuccessful through the persevering backwardness of the *Spaniards*, and the antipathy that still continued between them and the *Venetians*.

When *Colonna* went on board the ecclesiastical fleet, which was in excellent order, he was attended by the duke of *Mayenne*, brother to the duke of *Guise*, and many of the young *French* nobility, who were all of them ambitious of serving as volunteers under so distinguished a commander; and don *John*, at last, signified to the confederates, that he had leave from *Philip* to join them; he recommended, however, circumspection and caution in their conduct, and that they should attempt nothing of consequence till the whole of the confederate fleet was joined. The *Venetians* exclaimed against this backwardness, as it endangered the loss of the island of *Candy*, the *Turkish* fleet being now almost as powerful as it had been before the battle of *Lepanto*. Nothing could quicken the *Spaniards*, and the *Venetians* continued their negotiations for peace at
the

the *Porte*. Happily for them, though the *Turkish* fleet was manned to the full, yet most of their best and bravest sailors had been killed in the battle of *Lepanto*; nor would their admiral *Kilij Ali*, hazard a battle, though greatly superior to the confederates in strength. Don *John* had not yet joined with his division, and *Kilij* failed in an attempt he made to interrupt the junction, which was at last formed, and don *John* took upon him the command in chief. He renewed his exhortations for caution, which the *Venetian* admirals resented so sharply, that *Colonna*, who acted with more coolness, could scarcely keep them from separating. At last they failed, but the dilatory measures of don *John* prevented any enterprize of moment from being undertaken, though the confederates were now equal in force to the infidels; and thus the season was spent, without any thing remarkable, but a gallant attack made by *Colonna's* division upon the *Turkish* fleet, which must have been destroyed had he been properly seconded. Don *John* was ashamed and vexed at the reproaches with which not only the *Venetians* but *Colonna* himself now loaded him.

Navarino was besieged by don *John*, but he abandoned its terms: the siege on pretext that the unwholesomeness of the rains was prejudicial to his troops. The combined fleet returning home thus ineffectually, the *Venetians* applied themselves in good earnest to obtain a peace with the *Turks*, through the mediation of the *French* king, which, ingloriously for the *Venetians*, stipulated that they should pay a large sum of money to the infidels, who were to restore none of their conquests, though the *Venetians* were to deliver up all theirs. This peace was concluded *February* 1574. As the negotiation had been very secret, *Gregory* had no knowledge of it till it was published through all the courts of *Europe*, by the *Venetian* ambassadors. *Gregory* had been some time before employed in public devotions and thanksgivings at *Rome*; where he even celebrated a kind of jubilee, for the great blow that had been given to the protestant cause, by the infamous massacre of the *French* hugonots, on the eve of *St. Bartholomew's* day. He made the like rejoicings on account of the duke of *Alva's* bloody conquests in the *Low Countries*, and he even ordered medals to be coined in grateful commemoration of both events. When he heard of the peace between the *Turks* and the *Venetians*, he was exasperated beyond measure; but the latter soon convinced all *Europe* that they had been forced to make it through the backwardness and perfidy of *Philip*, who coolly bore all the blame, without either shewing resentment, or denying the charge.

Henry, brother to *Charles IX. of France*, had been by Conduct this time, chosen king of *Poland*, and had promised some of the indulgences to his protestant subjects, which *Gregory*, by presenting him with a consecrated rose, prevented him from fulfilling. The year 1575 brought on the periodical jubilee, which

which was celebrated by the pope with the usual pomp and ridiculous ceremonies; in the midst of three hundred thousand foreigners, whom curiosity or devotion drew to *Rome* on the occasion. The affairs of *Genoa* now attracted the attention of his holiness, and indeed of all *Europe*. The government of that republic had been always a bone of contention, and for ages past had filled it with factions and parties. After their liberties had been rescued from the *French* by *Andrew Doria*, the old nobility complained, that too great regard was paid to the plebeians, and that too great a number of them were admitted to places of power and profit. Of four hundred members who composed the grand council, scarcely one third of them were of antient noble families. In short, the democratical powers of their constitution had almost swallowed the aristocratical. *Lommelin*, the doge, persecuted *Senarega*, first chancellor, and secretary of the republic, who was accounted one of the most consummate politicians of the age; and was the oracle of the young nobility. Several incidents too tedious and particular to be mentioned here, encreased the public animosities; and it was with difficulty that the wisest and most respectable citizens could keep the two parties from coming to blows. At last, the city was divided into three factions; but the young nobility, and the people joining, they were reduced to two, the young nobility, by the assistance of the plebeians, being in hopes of turning the old nobles out of the senate, by propagating a notion that the old nobility were about to throw themselves into the arms of the *Spaniards*. These and various other reports to the disadvantage of the senate, soon filled every quarter of the city with murder, rapine, and confusion; but the people were somewhat appeased and brought into order by the eloquence of *Senarega*.

where the
plebeians
are out-
witted.

The young nobility did not, however, lose sight of their claims, and demanded a general assembly to be summoned, in which they were sure of a majority, for totally altering the form of their government. The old nobility called upon *John Andrea Doria*, the nephew, and heir of their deliverer, who at first quieted them, but in a short time, the public commotions were renewed so violently, that the old nobility were forced to shut themselves up in their houses, which were guarded by the tenants they drew from their estates in the country. The *Spanish* ambassador *Idiaquez*, prevailed on both parties to agree to a truce for three months; and the old nobility accordingly laid down their arms, and dismissed their tenants; but the populace, instigated (as was supposed) by the young nobility, renewed the tumults with more fury than ever, and drove from their posts the foreign guards that had been hired by the senate for keeping the public peace. A few of the old nobility, were for suffering the most cruel extremities rather than yield to

an insolent lawless rabble, who demanded a repeal of the most fundamental law of their state, that of keeping up a distinction between the antient and the young nobility; but the law was abrogated through the fear the senators had for their own persons. It was not long before the plebeians perceived that they had been made the dupes of the young nobility. The latter ordered the subjects of the republic in the valley of *Poseveri*, to take possession of all the passes by which any foreign troops could march from *Lombardy* to *Genoa*; as they knew that the old nobility depended upon the *Spaniards* for protection. They were however, obliged to give way to the new modelled government; but many of them left the city with disgust and indignation, and refusing to appear before the general assembly, their posts and dignities were taken from them, and given to young noblemen. The old nobility, who remained in the city, disapproved of the secession of their brethren, but with all their address and authority they could not dispossess their antagonists, who raised troops, and sent their oracle *Senarega* to *Rome*, to implore the protection of his holiness, pope *Pius V.* and his mediation for restoring the tranquility of the republic. The old nobles sent another agent at the same time, but *Senarega* carried his point; and the pope, who was strongly disposed in favour of the new nobility, sent a legate, with power to accommodate all differences. The public divisions increasing on account of the animosities which prevailed in the other towns, who had each separate privileges; and the people becoming now sensible, that they were to expect no advantages from the new model of their government, inclined to restore the old nobility, but they were diverted from this resolution by the arts of the young nobility, who represented the old, as intending to seize *Savona*, and when they had recovered that, to enlarge their powers, and perpetually engross the administration of government.

Civil dis-
sentions at
Genoa,

The legate sought to moderate matters. *Lercari*, and in which *Stephen Mario*, two of the most respected members of the old nobility, were sent to *Genoa*, where they gained the *Spanish* ambassador, and the nuncio to their party; upon which, the plebeians renewed their violences, and forced the deputies once more to quit the city. Their party then raised troops, and offered the command of them to *Doria*, who declined it, unless he was authorized by the catholic king, but having applied for leave to *Philip*, in whose service he was, it was refused. As *Philip*, and don *John* had often declared themselves in favour of the old nobility, both parties construed this refusal as proceeding from a design that his catholic majesty had formed of making himself master of *Genoa*; and the emperor thought that juncture favourable for interposing in favour of the imperial rights over the republic. His mediation by his deputies was received, and
for

as does
the French
king.

The old
nobility
court
Philip.

for some time he acted with great impartiality between both factions; but when the new nobility consented to admit *German* troops into the city, they were opposed by the old administration. It was thought not without reason, that don *John of Austria*, by *Philip's* permission, had an eye to the sovereignty of *Genoa* for himself, and he had advanced some troops towards that city, though without declaring his intention; but thirty thousand *Genoese* putting themselves in arms to oppose him, he returned to *Naples*. *Henry III.* of *France*, was not backward in taking part in the dispute, as his ancestors had formerly possessed the state of *Genoa*; but the new nobility and the people were now so firmly united, that all his endeavours, as well as those of don *John* proved to be in vain; and the estates of the old nobility in *Genoa*, who had seceded from the government, were actually confiscated, and sold to pay the expences of the public in maintaining its independency upon all foreign princes.

The *Genoese* of both parties, now understanding that *Philip* was not a little jealous of don *John's* conduct, in aspiring without his leave to the sovereignty of *Genoa*; applied to his catholic majesty for protection. *Philip* affected vast moderation, and without declaring for either side, he told them that he could not interfere in the dispute without involving all *Italy* in a war; but strongly recommended the restoration of unity among themselves. His moderation overawed the antient nobility, who had depended on his favour, and who had raised a considerable force. They however, secretly employed three nobles, who had been exiled from *Genoa*, to get possession of *Novi*, and *Spezzia*; but their design was defeated by the appearance of a *Spanish* squadron under the duke of *Gandia*. The old nobility took that opportunity to clear up their conduct to *Philip*, and to convince him that they had given no encouragement to don *John* farther than to offer to submit to him all the differences between them and their antagonists; which proposal had been obstinately opposed by the new nobility, who thereby incurred the resentment of his holiness, and his catholic majesty, as well as don *John Doria*, who being now at the head of the old nobility, repaired to *Naples* with twenty five gallies. Don *John* solicited the great duke of *Tuscany* to prohibit his subjects from furnishing the *Genoese* government with arms or ammunition; but the new nobility not daunted with this, having then all the power in their hands, hired foreign troops, and made dispositions for defending themselves to the last extremity. Some foreign ministers at *Genoa* still undertook a mediation, which was seemingly accepted of by deputies appointed by the old nobility, who retired as soon as *Doria's* fleet appeared off *Genoa*; and the negotiation was broken off. *Doria* acted with such vigour and was so well supported by don *John*, that he carried all before him without the walls of
Genoa;

Genoa; and his progress gave such umbrage to the great duke of *Tuscany* that he raised an army of ten thousand men to watch the motions of *Doria*, who, at last besieged *Novi*. It was bravely defended by *Figarella*, the governor, but, *Spinula*, who commanded under *Doria*, at last took it, though with great loss. The town of *Gavi*, after this, surrendered, but the citadel held out so vigorously, that *Spinula* thought proper to raise the siege, and to advance towards *Genoa*, where his approach struck the minds of the inhabitants with the most dreadful consternation.

Not only *Doria*, and *Spinula*, but the antient nobility in *An* general, began now to tremble for the fate of *Genoa*, least either *Philip* or don *John* should become its master. The immense riches from all quarters lodged in its bank, rendered it a most interesting concern to all the powers of *Europe*; and their ministers were endeavouring to mediate a peace between the two parties, to which the old nobility was now the better disposed, as *Philip* had for some time stopt the interest due upon the immense sums he owed them. In the year 1576, the accommodation was completed, chiefly through the unremitting labours of the pope. All distinctions between the old and new nobility were abolished. Trade was deemed to be no disqualification for nobility. A new body of four hundred nobles were chosen to form the chief tribunal of the republic; proper checks were invented to prevent the election of vicious, weak, or immoral persons into public offices, and a kind of censorial power, was erected for regulating the manners of all ranks of citizens. Such, with a few alterations, are the foundations of the present *Genoese* government.

Cardinal *Borromeo*, at this time, was archbishop of *Milan*, Charitable and amidst the universal profligacy which then prevailed among all the *Italian* ecclesiastics, he exhibited a striking cardinal pattern of *Christian* charity and beneficence, by his behaviour in his see, during a most dreadful pestilence, which during a desolated the northern parts of *Italy*, especially the *Milane* pestilence. Without any dread of the infection, he visited the chambers of the sick, and sold the furniture of his palace, even to the bed he lay on, for the relief of the poor. His example was imitated by the bishop of *Verona*; while his holiness assisted the afflicted by sending indulgences and pardons to those who died without confession. He continued a similar kind of liberality to the *French* king, to enable him to make head against the hugonots, by empowering him to alienate church lands to the amount of fifty thousand crowns a year. He founded some colleges at *Rome*, and in imitation of his predecessors he sought to gain a character by labouring for the conversion of the *Maronites*, about *Mount Libanus*, who being miserably poor, professed great conversion, accepted of his bounty; but secretly both detested and despised his missionaries and their doctrines. He laboured

boured in like manner in the conversion of the people in the *East Indies*, and other distant countries ; he established two colleges, one at *Rheims*, in *France*, and another at *Rome*, for the education of *English* exiles in the most detestable principles, there being nothing so wicked that they did not undertake ; witness their repeated attempts upon the life of queen *Elizabeth* by assassination.

The pope encourages Philip to invade England and Ireland.

He encouraged the expedition of don *Sebastian*, king of *Portugal* to *Africa*, where he lost his life ; and when *Philip* of *Spain* had defeated don *Antonio*, the pretender to that crown, *Gregory* endeavoured to persuade *Philip* to lay down his arms, till he should decide the differences between them ; but *Philip* refused to obey him, and entered into possession of the throne and kingdom. The most unfortunate quarrel that this pontiff was engaged in by his zeal and bigotry, was that with queen *Elizabeth* of *England*. He persuaded *Philip* to expend immense sums, and to send large armaments in support of the *Irish*, who had rebelled against her, and who were the slaves of ignorance and superstition. Their priests however, outwitted both his holiness and his catholic majesty ; they had emissaries in *Spain*, *Italy*, and the *Low Countries*, who magnified the power of the rebels far above the truth ; and, as many of them served with great courage and reputation in the *French* and *Spanish* armies, *Philip* made no doubt of becoming master of *England*, provided he could reduce *Ireland*. Every supply of troops and money he sent to that island was attended with numbers of priests, who by endeavouring to perpetuate their own power amongst the ignorant inhabitants, persuaded them to trust to charms and miracles instead of arms. Thus the *English* conquered them with as much ease as the *Spaniards*, about the same time, did the savage *Americans*, while their auxiliaries being, through the indolence and neglect of the *Irish*, destitute of all means of subsistence, were obliged either to re-embark, or deliver up their arms to the *English*.

The imposition of the Jesuits.

Gregory extended his negotiations to the most remote parts of the globe. *St. Francis of Xavier*, a *Jesuit*, and the apostle of *India*, made an incredible progress in converting its natives to *Christianity* ; but the *Jesuits* who succeeded him made a very bad use of his labours, which were undoubtedly sincere and pious, in imposing upon the public by fictitious embassies from the *East Indies*, and false accounts of their numerous conversions there. The popes never failed to receive those ambassadors, and give them audience with a pomp so ostentatious, as makes it reasonable to think that they were not unconscious of the impositions practised by the fathers ; and that they encouraged them merely to raise a high idea of the progress of *Christianity*, and the credit of the *Romish* see, in those distant, but populous and wealthy, regions. Those practices were so often

often repeated, that the iniquity began to be suspected, on occasion of a splendid embassy from three kings of *Japan*. The ambassadors prostrated themselves before his holiness, who shed tears on the occasion in a public consistory, and were most magnificently entertained by his catholic majesty, and the grand duke of *Tuscany*. Some *European* merchants who were just arrived from *Japan*, and were well acquainted with that country, declared that they never heard there of any king being converted to christianity, or of any preparations being made for such embassies; and as their language was unknown to all but the *Jesuits* who attended them, the whole was looked upon as a juggle of that order; perhaps, with *Gregory's* connivance.

Whatever may be in this, yet all *Europe*, protestant as well as popish, is indebted to this pontiff for that noble reformation of the calendar, which is distinguished by his name, and which, though long rejected by protestants through the hatred and prejudices they bore against the see of *Rome*, is so consonant to the principles of truth and astronomy, that it is now universally used in *Europe*, and has been adopted by the *British* legislature. While he was intent on this great work, he was accused by the *English* protestants of employing assassins to take away the life of queen *Elizabeth*, and one *Parry* was executed on that account. That *Gregory* was privy to certain commissions to be executed by *Parry* in *England*, was proved by a letter addressed to him from the cardinal of *St. Como*, who in *Gregory's* name exhorted *Parry* to persevere in his pious purposes; but it does not absolutely appear that they were directed against the life of queen *Elizabeth*. It is, however, difficult to determine to what lengths a man of *Gregory's* easy, credulous disposition might be led. While all *Italy* was distressed with a famine, he suffered his relations to increase the miseries of the poor, by buying up all the corn, and retailing it at an exorbitant price. Those oppressions filled the country of *Italy* with banditti and murderers, who sometimes, to screen themselves from justice, took refuge in the palaces of the nobility, who pretended that they had a privilege to protect them. This occasioned some disputes between the nobility and the *sbirri*, and other officers of justice, which, for some days, filled all *Rome* with blood and confusion; but it was at last quelled by the punishment of the most culpable on both sides.

Gregory, before his death, made a promotion of nineteen cardinals; and declared himself an enemy to the holy league, because he thought it was chiefly intended to raise the duke of *Guise* to the crown of *France*. He was a great friend to the seminaries of religion, and public institutions for the conversion of infidels; especially, the *Jews*. Besides the king of *Persia*, he held a correspondence with the emperor of *Abissinia*; and he exhorted both those princes to

make war upon the *Turks*. He died of a quinzey on the tenth of *April* 1585, in the eighty fourth year of his age. A general dissolution of manners prevailed in the ecclesiastical state, and indeed all over *Italy*, at the time of his death; but during the succeeding vacancy of the holy see, it rose in *Rome* to an avowed resistance to all law and government. Robberies and murders were no longer practised in private; the richest palaces in *Rome* were broken open and rifled, and those who defended them, butchered in the day time.

Who is
succeeded
by *Sixtus*
V.

When the cardinals, on the twenty first of *April*, to the number of forty-two, entered the conclave, they were divided greatly in choice of a successor to *Gregory*. The necessity of giving a head to the ecclesiastical state was so pressing, that the cardinals agreed to the choice of cardinal *Montalto*, who was seemingly so feeble and decrepid, that it did not appear probable he could outlive a few months, during which time the electors might agree upon giving a more vigorous head to the church. *Montalto*, during the time of the scrutiny, acted his part exquisitely well; but he no sooner found that it had gone in his favour, than he threw aside every appearance of debility, with the cloak that covered and the crutch that supported him; and attuned the *Te Deum* with a strength of lungs that promised a life of many years. The cardinal dean, pretending there was a mistake in the scrutiny "I know (replied he with knitted brows) there is none," and the cardinals, on examining his person, found him to be tall, strong, and vigorous, and in a green old age. When he was asked, according to the usual form, whether he was willing to accept of the papacy, he said that the question was absurd, as he had accepted of it already; but that he was sorry they had not two papacies to offer him, as he found that he had strength and spirit sufficient to manage them both. In all his discourse he treated the astonished cardinals with a vivacity which marked the contempt he had for their undertakings, in suffering themselves to be his dupes; and when the people, as was common, called out for plenty and justice, he told them, if God gave them plenty, he would give them justice. It was not long before the public began to tremble before the decrepid old man, whom they had so long revered and pitied, nor could they find the least appearance of cardinal *Montalto* in the person of *Sixtus* V. which was the pontifical name he assumed.

His rigid
character,

The rigid, inflexible temper of *Sixtus*, would have been cruel and tyrannical in a time of less general profligacy than that in which he governed. He proceeded against the banditti and malefactors of all kinds with the most unremitting severity; and one of his usual sayings was, that he chose to see the gibbets full rather than the prisons. An officer of justice was in his eyes criminal if he shewed the least

least tenderness or backwardness in the rigorous execution of his office. He treated the foreign ministers, cardinals, and princes of the first rank, with contempt and indignation, when they interceded for the condemned, be the case ever so favourable; and he ordered twelve executioners to patrol the streets of *Rome*, each with a halter in one hand, and an axe in the other.

The behaviour of *Sixtus* shewed him to be a very extra- and extraordinary man in every respect; and he affected to appear ordinary superior not only to the weaknesses of human nature, but behaviour to the force of habit and the prepossessions of education. He was, by his original profession, a swine-herd, and got his learning by pertinaciously insisting upon a friar, whom he had served as a guide to his convent, retaining him as one of his menial servants, telling him, at the same time, that he would undergo the pains of purgatory, if they could make him a scholar. His parents giving their consent, he was received into the convent, which was a *Franciscan* one, at *Ascoli*; and he soon distinguished himself, by the progress he made in his studies, so much, that he was patronized and promoted by several of the leading men of the church. Though he had great ambition, yet it was of a very singular kind, for he sought to gratify it by a turbulent, insolent, overbearing behaviour, which was so disagreeable, that it was with difficulty the most powerful of his patrons, among whom was *Pius V.* could protect him against the resentment of those he offended. Being inquisitor general at *Venice*, he endangered his life more than once, by his disrespectful treatment of the senate; but when he was by *Pius V.* admitted into the college of cardinals, he immediately formed the plan of his advancement to the popedom, by practising the deep dissimulation we have described, and which he carried to such a degree, that his brother cardinals used to call him, by way of derision “the ass of *La Marca*.”

He had a sister and a niece; the former had a daughter, Account and two grandsons, and *Sixtus* having called them from of his their obscure situation to *Rome*, they were richly habited family. by three cardinals; but the pope, when they appeared before him, obliged them to disrobe themselves, and return in their usual dresses. He then assigned them magnificent houses and appointments; but created the eldest of his grand-nephews, *Alexander Peretti*, (afterwards famous by his abilities) a cardinal. He declined, however, the offers made by the king of *Spain*, and the great duke of *Tuscany*, to enoble his sister, but seemed well pleased, when his former enemies the senators of *Venice*, admitted cardinal *Peretti* to the degree of a noble in their state.

His plan of policy for the reformation of the ecclesia- and his sical state was executed upon the best civil principles. He maxims of appointed four supervisors of the poor, to compel all the policy. *Mendicants* who were capable of working, either to earn their

their own bread or to depart his dominions ; nor would he suffer a stranger to settle or marry at *Rome*, unless he could prove that he was able to maintain himself and his family without being burdensome to the public. He was the patron of arts and manufactures ; he bought up the debts of those who refused to pay them, though in a condition to do it, and he admitted of no privilege to screen them, having deprived the cardinals and the nobles of the power to protect such public nuisances. He enforced such wise measures that he cleared the ecclesiastical state of banditti and robbers, and capitally punished even nobles and ecclesiastics who could be proved to shelter them from justice. He ordered returns to be made by all magistrates of vagrants and vagabonds, and other disorderly persons who were found within their jurisdictions ; and he judged the syndic of *Albano* to be publicly whipped for having omitted his nephew in one of his returns. His spies were without number, and in all corners ; and to shew how much he disregarded the canons of the church when they clashed with the execution of civil authority, he forced even priests to reveal confessions that criminals might be brought to punishment..

He joins
the *French*
league,

While *Sixtus* was thus reforming his subjects, he projected a plan for reannexing the kingdom of *Naples* to the holy see ; and he had it so much at heart that he could not avoid dropping some ambiguous expressions on that head to the *Spanish* ambassador, which alarmed *Philip* so much, that he ordered the duke of *Oguna*, then viceroy of *Naples*, to put the frontiers of that kingdom in a state of defence. *Sixtus* imagining that the king of *Navarre*, a protestant, had too much influence with *Henry III.* who had prohibited a nuntio from entering his kingdom, approved, at last, of the holy league, which had been formed by the *Guise* family ; and excommunicated the king of *Navarre*, the presumptive heir of the *French* crown, with the prince of *Conde*, and all their adherents ; declaring them incapable of ever succeeding to the crown. The king of *Navarre* resented this treatment in so bold and spirited a manner, that *Sixtus* never would afterwards contribute any money for the support of the league, and declared that he knew only of two monarchs in the world whose friendship, were they not heretics, he would court, *Henry of Navarre*, and *Elizabeth of England*. It is said, that out of hatred to *Philip of Spain*, he was not displeased at *Elizabeth* having interested herself in supporting the revolt of the *Low Countries*.

and em-
bellishes
Rome with
many
magnifi-
cent
works.

In the first year of his pontificate he promoted eight persons, all of unexceptionable merit, to be cardinals, and having established the internal tranquility of his dominions, he proceeded to embellish his capital with those stupendous remains of antiquity, and those elegant but magnificent structures, which to this day do so much honour to the memory

memory of his pontificate, but are too numerous to be particularized here. It is sufficient to say, that he exceeded the greatest of his predecessors in improving and ornamenting *Rome*, and the ecclesiastical state, in which he employed daily some thousands of workmen; and that by the abilities of that great architect *Fontana*, he erected the stupendous obelisk, that now stands before the church of *St. Peter*, which is seventy eight feet high, and consists of one entire piece of granite. The aquaduct, which supplied with water his palace on *Monte Cavallo*, was twenty two miles in length, and one of the hospitals he erected contained two thousand people.

Sixtus V. filled every department of government with equal abilities. He restored his authority among the popish cantons of *Switzerland*, he limited the number of cardinals to seventy; and, being determined to prosecute his designs upon the kingdom of *Naples*, he not only formed and disciplined a regular militia, but built a fleet, and fortified all the towns upon that frontier. He appointed magnificent palaces for his nuntios residing at foreign courts, and in every respect he lived with a splendor and elegance that was equalled by no crowned head in *Europe*. Compared to his, the court of *France* was barbarous, and its buildings rude. The nobility of *England* was then the most learned in the world; but they lived in a tasteless extravagance amidst prodigious plenty, and, though the nation was rich, ingenious, and could produce more great officers both by sea and land than all *Europe* besides, yet the fine arts had scarcely then got a footing in *Great Britain*; so that *Sixtus V.* may be said to be the only prince of his time, who, was lodged, and lived, as a prince. The *Romans* were so sensible of their happiness under his government, that they erected his statue in the capitol, and he restored or established fifteen congregations of cardinals for the administration, under him, of affairs both civil and temporal. He supported *Ernest of Bavaria*, who had succeeded to the electorate and archbishopric of *Cologne*, upon the former elector turning protestant, and upon the death of the great duke of *Tuscany* without male heirs, he regulated that succession by suffering his brother duke *Ferdinand I.* to resign his cardinal's hat when he was fifty two years of age, and to succeed his brother. He sent twenty two thousand crowns to enable *Maximilian*, archduke of *Austria*, to make good his pretensions to the crown of *Poland*, against his competitor, the prince of *Sweden*; and upon the barbarous murder of *Mary* queen of *Scots* in *England*, he excommunicated queen *Elizabeth*, and renewed against her all the old papal fulminations.

The conduct of pope *Sixtus* with regard to the invasion of *England* by the famous *Spanish Armada*, is to this day mysterious; but the most probable opinion is, that though he encouraged

with re-
gard to
England
and *France*

encouraged it, he did not wish it success. He was indeed lavish in his promises of assistance, but he performed them only by loading the sea and land officers with indulgences, pardons, agnus dei's, crucifixes, and other cheap trinkets of popery; and when the *Armada* was defeated, he laid the blame of its miscarriage upon the misconduct of *Philip's* generals. While *Philip* was exhausting the incredible treasures he received from *America* in his wars with *England*, and against the *United Provinces*, and all under pretext of zeal for the *Roman* catholic religion, *Sixtus* was amassing stores of money for depriving him of the kingdom of *Naples*; and though he gave a splendid reception to the ambassador sent him from *Persia* to implore his assistance, and that of the *Christian* princes against the *Turks*, yet he dismissed them only with fair words, and a few insignificant presents. It must be acknowledged, that *Sixtus* had a peculiar art in substituting marks of honour and distinction, for solid proofs of his friendship, and by that means he amused the vanity and superstition of *Philip II.* notwithstanding all the mortifications he gave him. Through all the course of his conduct it appeared plainly that he sought to support his interest in *Europe* in the cheapest manner possible; and when he heard of the assassination of the duke of *Guise*, in *France*, he coolly said, that if that duke had been his subject, he would have punished his insolence in the same manner. He affected, however, great resentment and rage when he heard that the cardinal of *Guise* had been put to death without proof or trial; and that the cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the archbishop of *Lions* had been imprisoned. He even threatened to excommunicate the *French* king on that account, while the *French* cardinals and ambassadors left *Rome*; but he declined giving any encouragement to the deputies of the league, who applied to him for an absolution from the oath of allegiance they had taken to their king.

He pub-
lishes an
Italian
translation
of the
Bible.

Matters, however, were proceeding to great extremities between *Sixtus* and the *French* king, when the latter was assassinated by *Clement*, a *Dominican* friar, on the first of *August* 1589. Though *Sixtus* approved of this assassination in terms equally impious and indecent, yet he was willing to see whether *Henry IV.* who succeeded to that throne, might not be converted to popery for the sake of enjoying his crown in tranquility. This was apparently the reason of his fluctuating conduct between that prince and the league, and plainly enough intimated, that the accession of *Henry* would be agreeable to him, provided he would turn *Roman* catholic. The behaviour of the pope was the more disagreeable to the king of *Spain*, and the bigotted papists, as, about this time, he published an *Italian* translation of the Bible, of which, notwithstanding all the pains taken to suppress it, several copies are said to be still extant. This publication

publication drove *Philip* from his usual moderation, and he ordered *Olivarez*, his ambassador at *Rome*, to present a paper to the pope on the most public occasion he could find, intimating his intention to call a general council in *Spain* by his own authority. The pope hearing of the design of *Olivarez*, ordered the captain of his guards, and an executioner, to precede him in all his public processions; and to hang up any man who should present him with a paper. This deterred *Olivarez* from executing his order, and *Philip* was so much a bigot to the papal authority, and so averse to come to extremities with his holiness, that he never resented it, nor did he ever call the council.

Sixtus gave *Philip* still more evident marks of his displeasure for the intended presumption of *Olivarez*, by forcing him to recall him as his ambassador, and to send the duke of *Sessa* in his room; *Philip* bore all this, being still in hopes that the pope would declare himself head of the league in *France*; but in this he was deceived, nor would he even enter into an alliance with *Philip* for placing a catholic king on the throne of *France*, pretending that such a power was vested in the pope alone. He was even displeased with *Cajetan*, his legate, for siding too openly with the leaguers, and checked him for suffering his chaplains to preach against the king. A most dreadful famine, which at this time visited the ecclesiastical state, furnished *Sixtus* with an opportunity of shewing how well he deserved to fill a throne, by his alleviating the miseries of his subjects, to whom he remitted their taxes, and, in particular cases, gave money. Though the poor were then forced to feed on the flesh of the most loathsome animals; and though the price of bread was equal to six shillings and sixpence the pound, yet no public commotion happened, nor was any private robbery complained of. *Sixtus* on that occasion, made a severe trial of his people's submission to his laws, by ordering a waggon load full of bread to be bought up at a distance, and driven through *Rome*, and it passed without the smallest attempt made to rifle it. Before his death, he passed a sumptuary law, which was most punctually conformed to, and he ordered a body of troops to march towards the frontiers of *Naples*, intending (as was thought) to complete his great design of reannexing that crown to the holy see; and under pretence of visiting the works for draining the marshes about *Terracina*, he followed them in person. The *Spaniards* were apprized of his design, and opposed him with an army; but in the mean while, the pope having for some months been in a bad state of health, died on the twenty seventh of *August* 1590, and in the sixty ninth year of his age.

His hatred
of king
Philip.

His death

The character of *Sixtus* is best seen in the prosperous and general condition of the pontificate at the time of his death. He found his subjects sunk in sloth, over-run with pride and poverty, and general cha-
racter.

poverty, and lost to all sense of civil duties ; but he recovered them from that despicable state to industry, and then to plenty and regularity. He effected this by a plain maxim, the practice of which, however, none but a great genius could have enforced ; which was, that a people not prest by taxes are apt to grow indolent, and that industry is the only source of riches and plenty to a state. Though *Sixtus* sat no more than six years on the papal throne, he found the truth of this maxim remarkably verified. By forcing his subjects to work that they might pay the heavy taxes imposed on them ; he rendered them happy and contented, and himself rich and powerful. *Sixtus* did not, however, require them to perform impossibilities. Though frugal of his money, he furnished materials for industry to the poor, who could not afford them, and paid himself out of their labour ; and he was so severe a justiciary over the petty magistracy who executed his orders, that there was scarcely a beggar in his dominions, excepting those who were disabled by age, sickness, or accidents, and who were provided for in the public hospitals. Those offices about his court which were profitable, but required no great abilities to fill them, were put up to sale for his own profit ; and by striking off a number of expensive, but useless, employments, he is said to have augmented his revenue sixty thousand crowns a year. *Sixtus*, after all, seems to have been a hater of mankind, and to have had very little regard to distributive justice ; for he often made no scruple of converting punishment into pecuniary mulcts when the parties could afford it ; and to be accused before him was almost the same thing as to be condemned. No part of the public business or revenue was too minute for his inspection ; and though profuse in enriching his relations, he left in his treasury five millions of crowns, which he had amassed for executing the designs he had formed upon *Naples*. His nephew, the cardinal *Montalto*, besides possessing an annual revenue of a hundred thousand crowns, was presented by his uncle with two hundred and fifty thousand in ready money, houses, jewels, and furniture. He married one of his nieces into the *Colonna*, another into the *Ursini* family, two of the noblest in *Italy* ; and besides giving a portion of one hundred and twenty six thousand crowns to *Colonna*, who married the eldest, he lent him four hundred thousand out of the public treasury for ten years, without interest, to pay his debts. He provided for his other nephew, *Michael Peretti*, (which was the name of his family) an estate of sixty thousand crowns a year, besides giving him a principality, a marquisate, and an earldom, and procuring him an alliance with the *Colonna* family.

Urban *Sixtus* was succeeded, as had been foreseen in his life time, VII. pope by cardinal *Castagna*, who was esteemed to be the worthiest member of the sacred college, and took the name of *Urban* VII.

VII. but he died on the seventeenth day of his pontificate, before he was inaugurated. He was succeeded, after a vacancy of two months and nine days, by *Sfrondrati*, cardinal of *Cremona*, who took the name of *Gregory XIV.* Upon his accession he affected to act with less rigour than *Sixtus V.* had done; and he gave donatives to his electors, on account of the scarcity of corn and provisions which still continued in *Italy*. He was a warm partizan for the holy league in *France*; and ordered his nuntio, the bishop of *Placenza*, at *Paris*, to publish his letter, by which he promised to supply it with fifteen thousand crowns a month; and he sent his nephew, *Hercules Sfrondrati*, with an army across the *Alps* to support it. He excommunicated *Henry IV.* but, before he could signalize his pontificate with any great action, he died, on the fifteenth of *October*, 1591, after creating seven cardinals, one of whom was his own nephew.

The cardinal *Santi Quarto* was unanimously chosen to *Innocent* succeed *Gregory*, and he took the name of *Innocent IX.* He IX. pope. had begun to take measures for relieving his subjects under the distresses they suffered from the famine; when he died, in the seventy-third year of his age, after filling the papal throne only two months.

He was succeeded, on the twenty-eighth of *January*, *Clement* 1592, by cardinal *Aldobrandino*, who took the name of *Cle-* VIII. ment VIII. He assumed the pontificate seemingly with great pope. diffidence and dejection; nor would he mount the papal throne without falling upon his knees before the altar. He signalized his entrance upon his government, by visiting churches and religious houses, and by his zeal to suppress robbing and duelling; and he entered warmly into the interests of the *Parisian* league. The royal party remonstrated against all the bulls which he published to their prejudice; and sent the cardinal *de Gondy*, and the marquis of *Pisani*, to disabuse his holiness, as to the prejudices he entertained against *Henry*, who, about this time, to the confusion of all his enemies, renounced the protestant, and embraced the *Roman* catholic religion. It was, however, with vast difficulty, and not without great management, that *Gregory* prevailed upon to give his majesty absolution, and not before his ambassadors, the cardinals *Perron* and *Ossa*, had received from the hands of his holiness, a flagellation, which he insisted to be due to their master for his heresy. One of the conditions upon which this mighty favour was conferred, was, that *Henry* should cause the decrees of the council of *Trent*, to be received in *France*. The restoration of tranquillity in that kingdom, left *Clement* at liberty to send two thousand horse and eight thousand foot to the assistance of the emperor against the *Turks* in *Hungary*; where they did eminent service in the victories which the *Christians* obtained over the infidels in that and the succeeding year.

Clement

Gregory
absolves
Henry IV.
of *France*.

See
Vol. VIII.
p. 177,
180.

Clement was likewise very solicitous to negotiate an alliance between the imperialists, *Poles*, and *Transylvanians*, against the infidels, but with very little effect. His legate, cardinal *de Meaici*, whom he sent to *France* with a confirmation of *Henry's* absolution, was received by that prince in person with the highest honours, and his instructions were registered by the parliament of *Paris*. Next year, *Clement* repaid those honours to the duke of *Luxembourg*, *Henry's* ambassador at *Rome*; and it was greatly owing to his holiness that the conferences for peace were opened at *Vervins*, in 1597; which, next year, terminated in a treaty. But we are now to attend the history of other parts of *Italy*.

History of
Naples
under the
duke of
Alcala

In the year 1559, *Philip of Spain*, appointed the duke of *Alcala* his viceroy over the kingdom of *Naples*; which was equally harrassed by the *Turks* and the banditti. The former were so bold in their descents, that they plundered even part of the suburbs of *Naples*; and the latter chose for their head one *Beradi*, who assumed the title and ornaments of a king; but his followers were soon dispersed by the royal troops.

The reader, in our history of the papacy, has seen the pretensions which the popes, from time to time, formed upon that kingdom; and which *Alcala* opposed with great vigour. Though he suffered the decrees of the council of *Trent* to be printed and published in his government, yet he would allow none of those which were derogatory to the royal authority to be executed; nor would he enforce the acceptance of them by affixing to them the royal permission. *Alcala* prohibited all the other extravagant bulls published by the haughty pontiffs, to the prejudice of the royal authority; especially that called *In Cæna Domini*; and in many other respects checked the encroachments of the see of *Rome* upon his master's prerogative. He was particularly careful, towards the latter end of his government, in fortifying the sea-coasts against the descents of the *Turks*, which were often attended with prodigious ravages; but he died in the year 1571, with the character of being a virtuous, wise, and vigilant viceroy.

and cardi-
nal *Gran*
welle.

Cardinal *Granvelle* succeeded him in his government, and, being a man of great abilities, the *Two Sicilies*, under him, fitted out a considerable naval armament which did great services in the battle of *Lepanto*. Upon the conclusion of the separate peace between the *Turks* and the *Venetians*, don *John* carried a fleet and an army from *Naples*, and reduced *Tunis*; but the *Turks* soon dispossessed him of that kingdom, and pillaged the city of *Castro*. The prodigious expences of *Philip's* government, and of the wars he carried on in almost all the parts of the world, obliged him to make frequent demands upon the *Neapolitans* for money; and it is said that cardinal *Granvelle*, during four years of his administration there,

there, raised upon the *Neapolitans* two million, three hundred thousand ducats, exclusive of the money arising from the sale of titles, and other perquisites; all which were sent out of the kingdom. The cardinal, however, was as vigorous as his predecessors had been in maintaining the royal, against the papal and ecclesiastical, prerogative. He ordered the prison belonging to the archbishop of *Naples* to be forcibly broke open, and tried and executed, by the civil authority, a felon whom he took out of it. The archbishop excommunicated the officers of the viceroy, and the latter had the spirit to punish those of the archbishop, who had published the excommunication, by imprisonment and other penalties, to sequestrate the archbishop's revenues, and to banish his vicar out of the kingdom. This resolute proceeding intimidated the pope and his consistory, so that they did not dare openly to resent it. Don *John* of *Austria* had presumed too much on his great services and his relation to *Philip*; for he considered the kingdom of *Naples* as being little other than a provision for himself; but he was opposed by the cardinal, and don *John* secretly solicited his recall from the viceroyalty. *Philip* sent the marquis *de Mondejar*, who was known to be no friend to don *John*, to govern *Naples*. The marquis, on his arrival there, affected an independency upon the cardinal as well as don *John*, and made both of them his enemies; so that, though he was an able governor, he was so much hated by the *Neapolitans*, that the benefit they received from his administration was attributed, not to him, but to their patron, *St. Januarius*; and even the glory he acquired by defeating the *Turks*, when they made a descent upon the kingdom, was ascribed to his generals. The hatred of the *Neapolitans* would have been far from discrediting the marquis in *Philip's* eyes, had he not violated the rights of a convent, by attempting to force a nun, who was a rich heiress, to marry his eldest son. This gave such a handle to *Granvelle* against him that he was recalled.

The viceroy punishes the archbishop of *Naples*.

The marquis of *Mondejar*.

His successor, the prince of *Pietra Persa*, reaped the benefit of his many wise regulations and edicts for the good of the people. Upon his arrival at *Naples*, he ordered fifteen hundred crowns, that had been appropriated for defraying the expences of his entry, to be given to a public charity; and he obtained from the parliament of *Neapolitan* barons and freeholders twelve thousand crowns. This money he laid out on a considerable armament, which he sent to the assistance of *Philip*, under the command of the prior of *Hungary* and cardinal *Spinelli*, to serve in the reduction of *Portugal* to *Philip's* authority. *Philip* finding the inconveniences of long viceroyalties, they were limited to the term of three years; at the expiration of which the prince left *Naples*, universally esteemed and beloved for his wisdom, affability, and moderation.

His

and the
duke of
Offuna,
viceroy.

The count
de Miran-
da vice-
roy.

His successor, the duke of *Offuna*, having been bred in camps, could not, at first, reconcile himself to the habits of civil life. He, however, in the course of his government, succeeded so well, that he obtained from the parliament subsidies to the amount of two million, four hundred thousand ducats; and, at last, by his care, assiduity, and public spirit, he became popular. He was succeeded by the count of *Miranda*. This nobleman found *Naples* over-run by banditti, who had formed themselves into a regular army under their leader, or, as they called him, their king, *Benedetto Mongone*. The government's troops had been often baffled by those of the banditti, whose numbers encreased to a formidable head after their expulsion by *Sixtus V.* out of the ecclesiastical state. They even besieged and took towns, and acted, in all forms, like disciplined soldiers, had they not been paid by the plunder they made and the military contributions they raised. *Mongone* being taken, and put to death at *Naples* by tortures, was succeeded in his command by one *Sciarra*, who assumed the title of king of *Campagna*, and became formidable to the pope himself; so that he gave the viceroy permission, at all times, to enter the territories of the church in pursuit of the banditti.

The pope
intends to
invade
Naples.

His holiness had not foreseen the use that *Philip* made of this permission; for the viceroy had secret orders, under pretext of pursuing the banditti, to observe the motion of the pope's troops, who was then *Sixtus V.* and who, as we have already seen, died just as he was about to have attempted the conquest of *Naples*; in which, according to some authors, he was to have been assisted by queen *Elizabeth* of *England*. As the forces sent by the viceroy to the ecclesiastical state, were chiefly designed to watch the pope, and not numerous, they were defeated by the banditti, who then redoubled their ravages to such a degree, that pope *Clement VIII.* found it necessary to unite his troops under those of the viceroy, which were commanded by the count of *Conversano*. *Sciarra* being, about this time, invited into the *Venetian* service, the banditti chose his brother, *Lucca*, to command them; and they still continued to give great uneasiness to the viceroy. *Lucca*, at last, being betrayed and put to death, the count entirely suppressed the banditti, and entered *Naples* as triumphantly as if he had returned from a foreign conquest.

During the count *de Miranda*'s government, which, by triennial prorogations, continued for nine years, he raised no less than six million of ducats upon the *Neapolitans*; great part of which was employed in building, equipping, and manning ships to join the *Armada* of *Spain* in its unfortunate expedition against *England*, and to defend the *Neapolitan* coasts against the repeated descents and ravages of the *Turks*. He was, upon the whole, esteemed a good governor;

nor; and, upon his being recalled, in the year 1595, he was Count succeeded by the count of *Olivarez*; who, for twelve years, *Olivarez* had been minister from *Philip* at the court of *Rome*; during which time he had acted with uncommon address, patience, and penetration. The severity of his manners and education led him to discourage the expensive modes of living, and the useless exteriors of government. He therefore applied himself entirely to the administration of justice and to the maintainance of order, peace and plenty, throughout all parts of the kingdom: but, at the same time, he embellished the city of *Naples*, by employing the famous architect *Fontana* upon public works that, for elegance, utility and magnificence, are not inferior to those of the first cities of the world. Being no favourite of *Philip* III. of *Spain*, upon that prince's succeeding his father, *Philip* II. *Olivarez* was removed from his government, and succeeded by the count and count of *Lemos*, who arrived at *Naples* on the sixth of *July*, *Lemos*, 1599. viceroys.

As that year was the eve of a new century, it gave an opportunity for one *Tommasa Campanella* to form a most extraordinary scheme for expelling the *Spanish* government out of *Naples*, and rendering that kingdom independent of the pope. This person had lived and talked so freely, that he had been clapped up in the inquisition at *Rome*; where he had been so severely disciplined, that he had formed this plan of revenge. From the prison of the inquisition he was sent to be confined in a convent at *Stilo*, where he was born; and where he met with spirits that, by their gloomy habits of life, were susceptible of enthusiasm, and could relish the most extravagant propositions. *Campanella* soon acquired a vast reputation for his skill in judicial astrology, and he made use of it in awakening the attention of the monks and friars to certain prodigious events, in the kingdom of *Naples*, that were to usher in the approaching century. Having fixed in their minds a firm opinion of his prescience, he proceeded to declare, that these events were no less than those we have already mentioned. As the persons he conversed with were *Neapolitans*, they the more readily believed him; because they equally hated the papal, as the *Spanish*, government: and the number of his profelyted followers, all of them monks, amounted to three hundred. In their sermons they inveighed against the *Spanish* tyranny; and the infection spread so far, that it was caught by the bishops of *Nicastro*, *Giraw*, *Melito*, and *Oppido*, as well as some of the chief noblemen of the kingdom.

As to *Campanella* himself, his history is remarkable. In History of learning he had an uncommon genius, and, with great *Campanella's* penetration, he saw and blamed that of *Aristotle*; and laid *nella's* a plan for a fundamental reformation of philosophy. It is conspi- by no means improbable that *Campanella's* confinement and racy. sufferings in the inquisition had touched his brain; and, among

among other articles with which he and his followers were charged, one was, that they intended to have killed all the jesuits, and to have called in the *Turks* to their assistance. The conspirators assembling in a body of about eight hundred, their design took air; and, before their numbers grew formidable, they were quelled by *Carlo Spinelli*: their ring-leaders were seized, and many of them put to death. As to *Campanella*, the tortures he underwent are incredible; but, by his inflexible resolution, he surmounted them all, and was delivered from them by pope *Urban VIII.* who, however, could not protect him; but he sent him to *France*, where he became a kind of favourite with *Lewis XIII.* and cardinal *Richlieu*; and he died peaceably at *Paris*.

Dispute
about the
possession
of *Ferrara*.

Clement VIII. being now closely united with *Henry IV.* of *France*, he had the courage to assert his claim to the duchy of *Ferrara*, upon the death of *Alphonso*, its last duke, who had bequeathed it to one of his kinsmen, *Cæsar de Este*, whose legitimacy was disputed. *Cæsar* was in possession of the late duke's estates, and intimated his title to them to the pope, *Clement VIII.* amongst other princes. *Clement* treated *Cæsar's* letter, and the person who presented them, with the utmost indignation; tearing the one, and driving the other out of his presence. He then sent his nephew, cardinal *Aldebrandini*, with a body of troops, into the *Bolognese*; but, in the mean while, he cited *Cæsar* to appear before him at *Rome*; and ordered him, under pain of excommunication, to renounce his pretensions to the *Ferrarese*. *Cæsar*, disregarding these citations, assembled an army and beat the pope's troops; upon which his holiness, cloathing himself in a suit of armour, which is still shewn in the *Vatican* at *Rome*, marched at the head of his army (which was far stronger than any that *Cæsar*, though he was well beloved by the *Ferrarese*, could raise) to *Ferrara*; which *Cæsar* was obliged to abandon at one gate, while the warlike pontiff entered it at another.

The pope
takes pos-
session of
Ferrara.

Clement owed this important acquisition to the friendship of *Henry IV.* of *France*, who was better pleased to see the *Ferrarese* in the hands of the pope, to whom it belongs at this day, than in those of either the emperor or the catholic king. *Clement*, after this, shewed himself very accessible to all applications in *Cæsar's* favour. He absolved him and his followers from their excommunication; he restored to him half the artillery of *Ferrara*, and the allodial possessions of his family, with the duchies of *Modena* and *Reggio*; which, with the emperor's consent, had been bequeathed to him by the late duke. *Clement* soon after visited *Ferrara*; which he took possession of in form, and re-annexed it, for ever, to the holy see.

Clement made now a very illustrious figure in the affairs of *Europe*. His legate and nuncio had mediated the peace of *Vervins* between *France* and *Spain*; and he was arbitrator of all

all the remaining differences between the *French* king and the duke of *Savoy*. He received the archduke *Albert*, and *Margaret* of *Austria*, with great magnificence at *Ferrara*; where, an illustrious person, he married him and *Isabella*, the king of *Spain's* illustrious figure; and *Margaret* to the king of *Spain*, who had sponsors. in *Europe*. Upon the return of his holiness to *Rome*, that city was visited by an inundation of the *Tiber*, which had almost totally destroyed it, and carried off one thousand of its inhabitants.

Though *Clement*, at first, was mortified by the edict of *Mentz*, which had been published by the *French* king in favour of the protestants, he was soon reconciled to *Henry*, who wanted to annul his marriage with *Margaret* of *Valois*, that he might marry one of his mistresses; and he appointed commissioners to examine its validity.

In the year 1600, the jubilee was celebrated at *Rome* to the Magnificent extent of solemnity, ceremony and magnificence; cent jubilee; and the pope, with a generous disdain, refused to proceed in the arbitration between the *French* king and the duke of *Savoy*, because the latter had been heard to accuse him of partiality to *Henry*; and refused, for that reason, to consign, as had been agreed on, the county of *Saluce* into his hands. Never since the decadence of the *Roman* empire had *Rome* seen so many sovereign princes, from all parts, within her walls, as on the occasion of this jubilee; and few popes had ever been courted so much as *Clement* was at this time, either through the policy or the weakness of the different princes of *Europe*.

The dutchess of *Beaufort*, the favourite mistress of *Henry IV.* being now dead, he declared his intention to marry *Mary de Medicis*, daughter to the late great duke of *Tuscany*; for which reason *Clement* confirmed the sentence of his commissioners, who had declared *Henry's* marriage with *Margaret* of *Valois* to be invalid. He then sent cardinal *Aldobrandino*, as his legate, to *Florence*; where he celebrated *Henry's* marriage, by proxy, with *Mary of Medici*; and, in the name of his holiness, presented the bride with a set of rich jewels and an hundred thousand ducats in ready money. The legate then proceeded to accommodate the differences between the *French* king and the duke of *Savoy*, which were at last amicably adjusted, by the exchange of *la Bresse* for the marquisate of *Saluces*, which was ceded to the crown of *France*.

Clement, having, before his accession to the popedom, been the protector of the *Scotch* nation, founded a college at *Rome* for the education of the students of that kingdom; and a Scotch and monastery for the females of his own country, who, being destitute of all provision, were a burthen upon private charity, and wandered about the streets of *Rome*; as he did a school for the poor *Roman* boys. He would have prevailed with *Henry IV.* of *France* to authorise the decrees of the the

the council of *Trent* within his dominions ; but he met with so vigorous an opposition from the parliament of *Paris*, that he was obliged to drop the design ; neither could he obtain, at this time, the ré-admission of the *Jesuits*, who had been, for some years, banished out of that kingdom. A solemn embassy came, in the year 1601, from the sophy of *Persia*, to induce the pope to prevail with the *Christian* powers to assist him against the *Turks* ; but this embassy, like most others of the same kind, proved only to be a contrivance set on foot by an *Englishman*, and some of his confederates, to cheat *Clement* and the credulous princes of christendom, of their money. *Clement*, at last, became sensible of the arts of the *Jesuits*, who had invaded his authority in several parts of the globe ; in *England*, amongst the *Roman* catholics, particularly ; and he published a bull, explaining, or curtailing, their privileges. To preserve an appearance of impartiality, however, he was present at a dispute concerning grace and free will ; and regulated several abuses which had crept into the church of *Rome* with regard to confessions. The *Jesuits* were so much nettled at his not giving the preference to their order over that of the *Dominicans*, that some of them disputed his infallibility, and denied him to be the real successor of *St. Peter*. They likewise defended the doctrine of *Molina*, one of their brotherhood, concerning grace, which had occasioned a great deal of noise between them and the *Dominicans*, and had been again and again condemned by the congregations at *Rome*.

Affairs of the *Jesuits*. But, though *Clement* was averse to the *Jesuits*, their order was, at this time, very powerful in *Europe* ; and *Henry IV.* had not only suffered them to return to *France*, but had appointed one of them to be his confessor. That prince, in the year 1603, had been shocked by the imprudent zeal of the protestants ; who, in one of their synods, had declared the pope to be the real antichrist, just about the time that his holiness had sent twelve thousand men, under his nephew, *Aldobrandino*, to assist the emperor against the infidels in *Hungary*, which they did, but with little effect. *Henry* represented the indecency of this decree to the protestants, because it implied that he was a worshipper of antichrist ; but he could not prevail upon them to withdraw it.

The glorious actions that had been performed by *Alexander Farnese*, who was first prince, and then duke, of *Parma*, and was esteemed the best general of his age, had raised that family to great consideration in *Italy*. The emperor, *Charles V.* during his life-time, never could be prevailed upon to restore *Placenza* either to *Alexander* or his father ; but *Philip* was so sensible of the high merits of *Alexander* while, in his youth, he resided at his court, that he sent an order to his governor of the *Milaneze* for its restitution, which he revoked that very night ; but the revocation did not come to the governor till after he had executed the former order.

Ranuccio

Ranuccio, the son of *Alexander*, was a favourite with pope *Clement VIII.* whose niece he married; and, being contented with the glory he acquired under his father in the *Low Countries*, he led a tranquil and inoffensive life upon his own dominions. His brother, cardinal *Edward Farnese*, was not of so peaceable a disposition; and embroiled himself with the pope's prefect of *Rome*, on account of a criminal who had taken refuge in his palace, which was beset by the officers of justice. The other princes and nobility of *Rome*, resolving to maintain their shameful privilege of protecting criminals of every kind, put themselves under arms, and carried the felon by force to a considerable distance from *Rome*. The pope, irritated at so daring a violation of public justice, deprived the cardinal of his government of *St. Peter's* patrimony, which the cardinal refused to resign. Upon this, *Clement* had recourse to force; and the cardinal thinking proper to submit, all differences between them were made up, at the intercession of his elder brother the duke of *Parma*.

Soon after this, the pope died, on the second of *March*, 1605, without making any formal decision upon the disputed points between the *Jesuits* and the *Dominicans*. His character seems to have been too severely treated by some warm protestant writers. He filled the pontificate with great dignity and moderation; nor, perhaps, were the protestants themselves entirely blameless, as to the use they made of their toleration under several *Roman* catholic princes, particularly in *France*. We know of no violent exercise of his supremacy, nor did he exert the insolent, but ineffectual, fulminations of his predecessors against the crown of *England*. On the contrary, he admonished the *Roman* catholics, both there and in *Scotland*, to a quiet and respectful submission to the civil power; and, if any examples were made, the punishments were owing to their own violence and imprudence.

Cardinal *Baronius*, the famous annalist and historian, was, at that time, in high reputation for his learning, and stood the fairest of any member in the sacred college to have succeeded *Clement* in the popedom; but he had disoblged the *Spanish* faction, which was then very powerful in the conclave, by some exceptionable passages, in which he impugned the independency of their master's right to the crown of the *Two Sicilies*, by vesting the paramount power in the see of *Rome*. He was befriended by cardinal *Aldobrandini*, who had the greatest interest of any single member in the conclave; but the *Spaniards* were powerful enough to impose a negative, not only upon his election, but upon that of the famous cardinal *Bellarmino*, the most zealous, and perhaps the ablest, advocate that ever appeared for the see of *Rome*. The choice, at last, fell upon the cardinal *de Medici*, a relation of the great duke of *Tuscany*; and he succeeded by the name of *Leo XI.*

mounted the papal throne by the name of *Leo XI.* He was adorned with his family's virtues, those of liberality, munificence to learned men, affability, and a wonderful dexterity in managing business, which had rendered his ministry at the *French*, and other, courts, very successful, and useful to the late pope. His elevation made, to appearance, no alteration upon his behaviour, but he died in the seventieth year of his age, and the seventeenth day of his pontificate.

Paul V.
chosen
pope.

Upon his decease, the conclave was again divided, and after many cavassings of the cardinals, *Camillo Borghese*, who took the name of *Paul V.* was chosen pope. He was then no more than fifty years of age; and being esteemed an excellent civilian, he had discharged several commissions with great success. Upon his election he promoted to the degree of cardinal, his nephew, by his sister, *Scipio Caffarelli*; and gave high posts to his other relations. His first care, as pontiff, was to advance the power and revenue of the holy see; and he prest the *French* king to order the decrees of the council of *Trent* to be received in his dominions. He solicited for the *Jesuits* in *Spain*, an exemption from their being obliged to pay their tythes, and he censured the commonwealth of *Lucca*, for the proneness that its inhabitants had discovered to embrace the protestant religion. It is true, the magistrates had prohibited all commerce and intercourse with the converts to protestantism; but his holiness considered this edict as an invasion of his authority, and insisted upon its being repealed, that the censures of the church might have their full effect against the delinquents. *Paul* had, likewise, some difference with the court of *Spain*, the viceroy of *Naples* having imprisoned two booksellers, who had published and sold the eleventh volume of the annals of *Baronius*. But the chief transaction which distinguished the pontificate of *Paul V.* was his celebrated difference with the republic of *Venice*.

History of his difference with the republic of *Venice*. We have occasionally remarked that the laws of *Venice* are not of so flexible a nature in matters of religion, as those of other *Roman* catholic countries, where a single person gives law. The *Venetians* had long complained of the encroachments of the church upon their civil policy; and their government had issued two edicts for preventing the increase of religious buildings, and the farther augmentation of the enormous wealth of the clergy, by prohibiting them to make farther purchases of lands or houses, without the consent of the signiory. They had likewise imprisoned two ecclesiastics by their own authority; nor could the pope prevail with the republic, as the ecclesiastics were accused of capital crimes, to give them up to the spiritual jurisdiction. *Paul V.* had in his disposition all the fiery materials of his most haughty predecessors; but was destitute of their policy and firmness in conducting great affairs. He styled himself the vicegod, the monarch of christendom,

christendom, and the supporter of papal omnipotence. His presumption and overbearing spirit was encreased and encouraged by the cardinals *Baronius*, and *Bellarmino*, men of reading, and of some abilities, in that useless controversial learning, which was then in vogue among the votaries of the *Roman* church. Like him, they were intoxicated with veneration for the papal power; and they undertook to defend *Paul* in his most absurd and ridiculous claims. As if he had really been persuaded of his own omnipotence; he sent two briefs to his nuntio at *Venice*, for avocating to the ecclesiastical court the two imprisoned ecclesiastics, and for annulling all the laws made by the republic relating to the clergy. He was seconded by the *Jesuits* and the *Capuchins*, who disowned the civil authority when put in competition with that of the pope; and the *Venetians* employed the famous *Sarpi*, commonly called father *Paul*, one of the best pens in *Europe*, to defend their conduct. The quarrel soon became serious, for the *Venetians* treated the mandates of his holiness with the utmost contempt. Upon this, he laid their republic under an interdict, while they banished all the *Jesuits* and *Capuchins* out of their territories.

Some of the cardinals, by pretending to mediate an accommodation, in reality inflamed the difference, in hopes of the Progress that the pope's violent temper would put an end to his same. days, in resentment of the disrespect that had been shewn him. All they could obtain was a forbearance of twenty four days before he proceeded to execute his threats; but the *Venetians*, in the mean while, knowing the inutility of all other arguments, prepared for war. They ordered all the clergy within their dominions to pay no regard to the papal decrees; they gave leave to the *Capuchins* to return to their city on promise of good behaviour; but the *Jesuits* were exiled for ever from their territories, and even corresponding with them was rendered highly penal. *Henry IV. of France*, was the only prince in *Europe* on whom the pope could depend with any degree of security. That prince, desirous of quiet, promised *Paul* his friendship, and the king of *Spain* did the same, but upon condition of the *Neapolitan* tribute being remitted, and *Ferrara* and *Ancona* delivered into his hands. The *Venetians*, on the other part, had private assurances of support from the king of *Great Britain*, whose ambassador, *Sir Henry Wotton*, then lived at *Venice*, and the republic of *Holland*; and it was even said, that the porte promised them assistance likewise. The *Venetians* recalled their ambassador from *Rome*; a stop was put to all proceedings of the inquisition in their city, and proclamation was made by sound of trumpet, that if any person should receive a papal interdict published at *Rome*, they should bring it to the council of ten, under pain of death. A sudden and close intimacy grew up between Mr. *Bedel*, chaplain to the *English* embassy, and *Sarpi*; and Sir Henry

Henry Wotton was almost every day in conference with the senate, which gave some countenance to a general report, that the *Venetians* were about to declare themselves protestants. Both parties having appealed to arms, the republic took eight thousand *Swiss* into its pay, fitted out a fleet, and ordered troops to march towards the frontiers of the *Milanese*, while the pope assembled an army in the dutchy of *Spolito*, and formed his consistory into a council of war.

Disposi-
tions of
the *Vene-*
tians to-
wards
protes-
tantism.

There is great reason for believing that the *Venetians*, at this time, actually had thoughts of throwing off the papal yoke; and had they been vigorously supported by *James I. of England*, they would have made such a declaration; but that pusillanimous prince talked to *Giustiniano*, the *Venetian* ambassador at *London*, in a strain of reverence for the papal authority, that proved no dependence could be placed upon him for any vigorous support, should the republic take that step. *Henry IV.* in the mean while, laboured sincerely for an accommodation, it being his interest to keep equally well with the *Venetians* as the pope. He sent the cardinal *de Joyeuse*, an able negotiator, to *Italy*, where he pressed the *Venetians* to make some submissions to his holiness; but all was in vain; and the cardinal was obliged to proceed in good earnest in his negotiation.

Their dif-
ference
with the
pope ac-
commo-
dated.

The pope saw the *Venetians* every day more and more determined to oppose him. At first he insisted upon their recalling the *Jesuits*; but the senate continued inflexible on that head, and he was obliged at last to agree to their terms, which, in fact, were imposed upon him by *Henry*. The two ecclesiastical prisoners were, by the republic, delivered into the hands of the *French* ambassador, to be given up to the pope; all the protests against the validity of the papal censures were annulled, and the ecclesiastics were restored to their estates; and, though the republic disowned the act, the pope absolved it from the excommunication he had pronounced. It has been generally thought, that the papal power received an irretrievable blow by this accommodation, as it discovered how ineffectual the fulminations of the vatican are, when opposed with spirit and steadiness.

Paul's
modera-
tion and
indolence.

In the year 1607, *Paul* endeavoured to dissuade the *Roman* catholics of *England* from swearing to the king's supremacy, and to the independency of his dominions upon the see of *Rome*; and he had, about the same time, some thoughts of sending missionaries to *Congo*. Next year he entered upon several ridiculous negotiations with the *Portugals*, the *Nishorians*, and other foreigners, who pretended a willingness to embrace the *Romish* faith; but attended with no other effects but that of useless parade, and that of exciting in weak minds, a veneration for *St. Peter's* see. He maintained, however, a strict neutrality in *Italy*, between the kings of *Spain* and *France*, at the time when it was thought *Henry* intended

intended to invade the *Milanese*. When that prince was stabbed by *Raviliac*, *Paul* expressed great concern for his death, and he sent some *Frenchmen* to the galleys for seeming to rejoice at that barbarous event.

Toward the end of his pontificate, he became moderate in his measures, and he sent four cardinals to examine the dispute between the duke of *Bavaria*, and the archbishop of *Saltzbourg*; and they made a report unfavourable for the bishop. He enriched the persons, houses, and estates, of the *Borghese* family, with every thing that was curious and magnificent in painting, sculpture, and architecture. He gave his nephew, the cardinal of that name, estates as it is said, to the value of two millions of crowns, which he raised by oppression and simony. At last, he sunk into sensuality and luxury, nor would he take any concern but that of a neutrality in the differences between the courts of *Spain* and *France*, which embroiled *Italy* in a war, on account of the dispute between cardinal *Ferdinand of Mantua*, and the widow of his brother the late duke. *Paul* confirmed the institution of the *Congregation of the Fathers of the Oratory at Paris*, and had some differences with that parliament, for having condemned to the flames a book written by his favourite *Jesuit*, *Suarez*, which approved of regicide. The weak administration, during the minority of *Lewis XIII.* gave him some hopes of prevailing in this contest, but they were disappointed by the firmness of the parliament; nor did he succeed in his endeavours to introduce into that kingdom the decrees of the council of *Trent*.

Upon the assassination of the marshal *D'Ancre*, a *Florentine*, who had been first minister to *Lewis XIII.* of *France*; the parliament of *Paris* confiscated all his estates, and the *French* ambassador at *Rome* demanded that his master should be put into possession of all the marshal's property in that city; which amounted to the value of four hundred and twenty five thousand livres. This demand was so strenuously insisted upon, that *Paul* actually gave to the king two hundred and fifty thousand livres, and put the rest into his own pocket. Hearing that the bishop of *Luçon*, afterwards the famous cardinal *Richelieu*, had been concerned in some transactions to the prejudice of the see of *Rome*; he withdrew his countenance from that prelate, though he permitted him, during the time of his exile, to reside at *Avignon*.

The last great action of *Paul's* life was his assisting the imperialists against the *Bohemians*, who had chosen the elector *Palatine* for their king; but who were entirely defeated in the battle of *Prague*, a few months before *Paul's* death, which happened on the tenth of *January*, 1621, in the sixteenth year of his pontificate, and the sixty ninth of his age. His memory is condemned for his nepotism, and for his neglecting, before his death, all ecclesiastical

The mar-
quis
D'Ancre's
estate di-
vided be-
tween
the pope
and the
French
king.

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ffical discipline, and encouraging all kind of corruption and simony, to aggrandize his nephew, cardinal *Borghese*.

Gregory XV. pope. *Paul V.* was succeeded by cardinal *Ludovisio*, a noble *Bolognese*, who took the name of *Gregory XV.* and began his pontificate with nine canonizations, among which were those of *Loyala*, and *Francis Xavier*. He published a universal jubilee, and employed one *Dominicus de Jesu Maria*, a most impudent enthusiast and impostor, to animate the *French* papists against the protestants, who had taken arms when their liberties were violated. This pope was the author of some new regulations concerning the election of a pontiff, so as to make it more safe for the inferior cardinals to give their votes according to their consciences, by way of private scrutiny. He interposed in the famous dispute which had been much agitated during the reigns of his immediate predecessors, concerning the immaculate conception of the *Virgin Mary*, which was maintained by the *Dominicans*, and denied by the *Franciscans*; and he took the part of the former, by publishing a bull, which contains the absurd, unintelligible jargon, in which that dispute consists. During his pontificate, he was a vigorous ally to the emperor of *Germany* in his wars with the *Bohemian* protestants; and in his time the famous library of *Heidelberg*, belonging to the elector *Palatine*, was carried to *Rome*, where part of it still remains, though it is said, that the most valuable books were imbezzled in *Germany*, and some lost by shipwreck.

His zeal
for the
Roman
catholic
religion.

Gregory's zeal led him to excite the weak *French* king, *Lewis XIII.* not only against his own, but the *German*, protestants; and he was privy to the famous attempt made by the duke of *Savoy* to surprize the city of *Geneva*. *Gregory* had a most favourable opportunity, by the unbounded zeal of *James I.* for a match between his son, and the infant of *Spain*, to propagate his religion and authority. That prince was so infatuated, as to believe, that if his holiness and he were in good correspondence, they could reconcile all the religious differences of christendom. This notion had prevailed upon that misguided monarch to make several unseemly advances towards an intercourse with the pope. He set at liberty all the papists who were confined in *England* on account of religion; and the pope artfully encouraged his schemes for a general reconciliation of religions. *James* sent one *Gage*, to *Rome*, to solicit the pope's dispensation for the marriage; but the rounds of negociation attending that affair, are at once so tedious and so immaterial, that we must omit them here. It is sufficient to say, that when *Gage* arrived at *Rome*, and produced his credentials, *Gregory* insisted, before he would grant a dispensation, that the *English Roman* catholics should have a public church in *London*, under the ministry of a bishop, besides a private chapel, in which the infant was to be indulged after her marriage.

His nego-
tiation
with the
king of
England.

marriage. He farther insisted, that the popish ecclesiastics in *England* should be responsible only to their own superiors; that the children of the marriage should be educated by the mother, and that farther expedients should be found out for the benefit of popery. *James* made little or no scruple of suffering the infant to have a church or chapel in *London*; but objected to the independency of the ecclesiastics upon the civil power. His mind, however, was so much bent upon the match, that he would have granted all that *Gregory* requested, had not the *Spaniards* been insincere in the negotiation, and the dispositions of his people averse to all indulgences of popery.

In the mean while, the possession of the *Valteline* by the *Spaniards*, who had there massacred the protestant inhabitants, was disputed by the *French*, *Venetians*, and the duke of *Savoy*; but till the difference could be compromised, the country was sequestered into *Gregory's* hands, and he filled the forts with his troops, under the command of his nephew. Some weeks after this transaction was finished, *Gregory* died, and left behind him the character of equalling the most sanguine of his predecessors in his zeal for popery; but of exceeding most of them in charity, piety, and learning.

At the time of *Gregory's* death, the factions of *Borghese*, *Urban* and *Ludovisio*, the nephews of the two last popes, were powerful in the conclave; but they joined in recommending to the pontificate cardinal *Barberini*, a noble *Florentine*, who was accordingly elected, and took the name of *Urban VIII*. This pontiff had been honoured with many posts and commissions under the late pope, which he had discharged greatly to his credit. Before his accession to the popedom, he was esteemed as a poet, and as a person of a free, liberal, and independent spirit; and during his reign he was a patron and benefactor to men of learning and genius. The *Jesuits*, the great instructors of youth in those days, taught his *Latin* verses in their schools, as classical compositions, nor could the most severe of his brother cardinals find any fault with his elevation, but that of his not being above fifty-five years of age at the time of his election. He began his reign with a great shew of piety, and added eight saints, to those canonized by his predecessor, whom he excelled in nepotism. He bestowed his own cardinal's hat on his brother, *Antony*; he raised his nephews to the same dignity; and in a short time, the *Barberini* family were among the richest and most powerful of any in *Rome*.

Urban's polite literature was far from softening his manners towards the protestants, whom he hated and persecuted; but his zeal received a terrible shock, when the prince of *Wales* abruptly left the *Spanish* court, and his father, (whom the marriage of he looked upon to be as good as a convert to popery) retracted all his concessions to the *Roman* catholics. *Urban* was a strenuous opposer of the fatal match between the prince and *Wales*.

the princess *Henrietta Maria*, sister to *Lewis XIII.* But he at last agreed to grant the dispensation, upon *Lewis* assuring him that the conclusion of the marriage should be of no service to the hugonots. *Urban* saw that *James* had quarrelled with *Spain*, but not with the holy see; and prevailed upon *Lewis* to send an artful agent, the archbishop of *Ambrun*, to *London*, where he negotiated privately with *James* in favour of the *Roman* catholics, for whom he procured many favours, by soothing that prince's ridiculous vanity in his reconciliatory schemes.

Urban, soon after his accession, published several bulls, one of which abolished the order of female *Jesuits*; another condemned the doctrine of *Jansenius*; another conferred the title of eminence upon cardinal legates, and the three ecclesiastical electors of the empire, together with the great master of *Malta*. He laboured incessantly for an accommodation between the *French* and the *Spaniards*, as to the affair of the *Valteline*; but he was, by the court of *France*, looked upon as being too favourable to the *Spaniards*. In the year 1625, the *French* troops entered that country, and reduced all its forts. This produced bitter complaints from the pope, but all he could obtain was a suspension of arms for two months; while his nephew, cardinal *Barberini*, endeavoured to negotiate an accommodation at *Paris*; but without any effect. *Barberini* returning from *Paris*, went upon a fresh legation to *Spain*, and the pope raised six thousand troops to assist the *Spaniards* against the *French* in the *Valteline*. We are now to attend the history of *Italy* independent of the popedom.

History of
Naples.

The count of *Benevento* succeeded the count of *Lemos*, as viceroy of *Naples*, which kingdom still continued to be fleeced on the one hand by the insatiable court of *Spain*, and to be harried on the other by the *Turks*. The count of *Benevento* (like his predecessors) had many disputes with the pope about ecclesiastical immunities, and made no scruple of dragging criminals from their sanctuaries to punishment. He took the castle of *Durazzo*, in *Albania*, from the *Turks*, to whom it served as a retreat; and he subdued the banditti of *Calabria*. The intrigues of the court of *Spain* occasioned the marquis to be recalled, about the year 1610, and he was succeeded by the count of *Lemos*, son to him already mentioned, who proved likewise an excellent governor. He retrieved the finances of the kingdom, and spent out of his own pocket a hundred and fifty thousand crowns in erecting a magnificent school-house in the university, under *Fontana's* direction. His example prevailed with the *Neapolitan* nobility to form themselves into literary associations, in which the viceroy himself used to exhibit his performances, particularly in a comedy, of which he was the author. His successor, the duke of *Ossuna*, was magnificent and liberal, and upon the invasion of *Mont-*
ferat

ferat by the duke of *Savoy*, and the *Venetians*, he fitted out a fleet to oppose them; and sent a body of troops to the assistance of the governor of *Milan*. The *Venetians* complained of this infraction of the neutrality of *Spain*, and that court ordered the duke to desist from hostilities, but to no effect; for his cruizers continued more than ever to distress the trade of the republic. The dark designs of the court of *Spain* renders this part of the *Italian* history uncertain. It is improbable that the duke of *Osuna* would have ventured, without some private authority, to disobey the orders of his court; and it is certain, that when the peace of *Italy* was restored, he and the governor of *Milan*, with the marquis of *Bedmar*, the *Spanish* ambassador at *Venice*, entered into a most dangerous conspiracy against that republic. The *Neapolitans*, who suffered deeply in their trade in the reprisals made upon them by the *Venetians*, joined in their complaints of the viceroy; but all was to no purpose, so strong was his credit at the court of *Madrid*. As he had great parts, and still greater ambition, it was thought (with some shew of reason) that he intended to have made himself king of *Naples*; and that, finding he could not succeed, as the *Venetians* were now closely connected with the *Spaniards*, he had projected the ruin of that republic, and had brought the governor of *Milan*, and the marquis of *Bedmar*, into the conspiracy, which was discovered by the remorse of one *Jaffier*, a *Provençal*. It is supposed, that it was one of the bloodiest that history mentions, as all *Venice* was to have been burnt down, and the senators massacred, together with the doge and the nobility. When the conspiracy was defeated, the duke's conduct was so suspicious, that the court of *Spain* ordered cardinal *Borgia* to supersede him in his government, which he did with great difficulty; but the duke's vast power and estate, and his artful address, screened him from punishment at the court of *Madrid* during the reign of *Philip III.* and he would even have been restored to his government had not that prince died. Count *Olivarez*, who was first minister to *Philip IV.* was less favourable to the duke, for he was confined to the castle of *Almeyda* to the time of his death, which happened in 1624.

Don *Antonio Zapetto*, succeeded cardinal *Borgia* in the viceroyalty of *Naples*; but notwithstanding all his good intentions for the reformation of the state, and restoring plenty to the people, a natural scarcity which afflicted the kingdom, rendered all his endeavours vain; and he was so much insulted by the populace, that he was forced to make several severe examples of the rioters, by ordering some of them to be broke upon the wheel, and sixteen to be sent to the gallies. The excessive oppressions, however, of the court of *Madrid*, were the true sources of all the miseries the people suffered; and the abuses of the coin, which he endeavoured to remedy, prevailed upon the *Spanish* court to recall

Zapetto
 viceroy of
Naples.

succeeded by the duke of *Alva*. He was succeeded by the duke of *Alva*, who proved to be an excellent viceroy, and would have removed all the public complaints, had not his efforts been rendered ineffectual by the perpetual demands of the court for money, and a series of earthquakes, and other natural misfortunes. He was obliged to furnish his court not only with money, but troops, to serve in the *Spanish* armies then at war both in the *Valteline*, and the *Low Countries*; but all being insufficient for satisfying the incessant demands of the state, he was recalled, and the duke of *Alcala* was appointed to succeed him.

The duke of *Alcala* viceroy.

This new viceroy had the same difficulties, that his predecessors had struggled with, to encounter. As the ambition and mismanagement of the *Spanish* court, which continued to be governed by *Olivarez*, encreased, the distresses of the *Neapolitans* encreased, till, at last, the perpetual demands of the court for men and money, occasioned a sort of public bankruptcy; and the crown lands and cities were put up to sale to supply the king's necessities. The descents of the *Turks*, and the ravages of the banditti were again renewed; a pestilence, attended by a famine, broke out in many places, while the people refused to submit to be governed by the purchasers of their cities and provinces. The public disorders at last arrived to such a pitch as to bid defiance to civil government, of which a total cessation ensued.

Succeeded by the count of *Monterey*.

The duke of *Alcala* was recalled, and the count of *Monterey*, then the *Spanish* ambassador at *Rome*, succeeded him. The count was a favourite with *Olivarez*, and an eruption of *Mount Vesuvius*, which threatened the total destruction of the capital, rendered the commencement of his administration very calamitous. It was however, upon the main, equitable and moderate, but he was unable to supply the growing demands of the *Spaniards* to maintain their foreign wars. Those perpetual oppressions, however, with the immense sums furnished by the *Neapolitans*, and the troops they sent to the *Low Countries*, the *Milanese*, and other parts of *Europe*, amidst all their distresses and oppressions, sufficiently prove the vast natural riches of the country, and the resources which the inhabitants had in trade and manufactures. The severity of the government in raising taxes, suffered none of them to be idle; and their industry must have made them a great and powerful people, had they been governed by princes of their own, residing among themselves. Upon the removal of *Monterey* from the viceroyalty, he was succeeded by the duke of *Medina de las Torres*, who had been son-in-law to *Olivarez*, and was again married to a rich *Neapolitan* heiress. Under him, the taxes of the *Neapolitans* were rather encreased than diminished, and a number of cities and villages were reduced to ruins by the earthquakes, in which ten thousand inhabitants were buried. Had it not been for the interposition of the *Venetian* marine, the *Turks*

Distresses of the *Neapolitans*.

would

would have at that time seized upon the rich chapel of *Loretto*. At this time, the *French* had got a powerful footing in *Italy*, and had formed a conspiracy for surprizing the city of *Naples*; but it was discovered, and the chief conspirator, a *Neapolitan* nobleman, was beheaded in that capital. They afterwards appeared off *Gaeta* with a fleet of thirty four men of war; but all their attempts were rendered ineffectual by the resistance of the castle, and the vigilance of don *Melchior de Borgia*, the *Neapolitan* admiral. Upon the revolt of *Portugal*, and *Catalonia*, from the *Spaniards*, the oppressions and taxes of the *Neapolitans* were redoubled, and they were involved in the war which at that time broke out in *Lombardy*, between the duke of *Parma* and pope *Urban VIII*.

In the mean while, *Olivarez* lost his credit at the court of *Spain*, and being succeeded by don *Lewis de Haro*, the admiral of *Castile*, who had strong pretensions to be first minister, was appointed to succeed the duke of *Medina*, as viceroy of *Naples*, a post which, however distinguished, was now become irksome to every man of humanity, on account of the incessant oppressions and cruelties of the *Spaniards* upon the inhabitants. The appearance of the *Turks* upon the *Neapolitan* coasts obliged the new viceroy to increase his marine, and he laid a capitation tax upon all the citizens of *Naples*. This fresh oppression exasperated the inhabitants so much, that apprehending a general insurrection, he ordered the tax to be discontinued; for which instance of humanity and prudence, he was so much blamed by the court of *Spain*, that he was removed from his viceroyalty; and the duke of *Arcos* was appointed to succeed him. He proved a cruel, proud, and rapacious governor, tinctured with all the ridiculous vanity of a *Spaniard*, and rejoicing in every opportunity which the discontent and miseries of the people afforded him for being severe. The appearance of the *French* upon the coasts of *Naples* obliged him to raise a numerous army; but the militia of *Naples* refused to attend him at that capital. The duke *de Matalone* was then the most powerful, as well as popular, subject of *Naples*; but he entertained a profest hatred for the *Spaniards*. A capital *Spanish* ship of war, happening then to be burnt in the gulph of *Naples*, with the loss of four hundred lives, and three hundred thousand ducats on board; the viceroy ordered the duke of *Matalone*, upon suspicion, to be imprisoned, that he might strike the *Neapolitans* with the greater terror. He had imposed a tax upon fruit, which he mortgaged to certain merchants for raising a million of ducats; and as fruits were not only the chief delicacies, but the chief subsistence of the *Neapolitans*, this imposition drove them from all patience and moderation. One *Giulio Genuino*, now in the eightieth year of his age, who had suffered severely by the *Spanish* tyranny, and had thereby become venerable among

among the lower people, encouraged their discontent, which arose to such a height, that the viceroy would willingly have abolished the tax, if he had been able to satisfy the demands of those to whom it was mortgaged.

Massaniello's insurrection.

The wife of a low fisherman, one *Tommaso Aniello*, which has since been contracted into *Massaniello*, had been punished, for smuggling a small quantity of meal, so severely, that he was obliged to sell his household furniture to discharge the fine. He was in his person desperate, active, intrepid, and of so frank and open a disposition, being not above twenty-four years of age, that he was beloved by his companions, and a leader in all their diversions, to which the *Italians* are the more devoted, the more they are oppressed. He naturally hated the *Spanish* government, and as the common people were indulged with the exhibition of mock fights, in which *Massaniello* was a principal conductor, he formed the design of freeing his country from its oppressors at the head of five or six of his countrymen, who were to be employed in a sham siege. One *Pione* was his sole confident; but on the seventh of *July* 1647, his design was anticipated by a dispute which arose between the tax-gatherers and the fruiterers in the market place. *Massaniello* seized this opportunity, and headed the tumult, in which the booths of the tax-gatherers were demolished and plundered, and themselves pelted with stones, so that they were forced to take refuge in the viceroy's palace; who slighted the insurrection, and seemed pleased with an opportunity that might serve as a handle for farther oppressions. *Massaniello*, by this time, was at the head of his companions, and had given orders for the demolition of all the other booths of the tax-gatherers; which was executed with inconceivable rapidity. He then proceeded, at the head of the insurgents, to the palace of the viceroy, whom they seized as he was endeavouring to escape, but by the help of some gold, he took shelter in a convent, where, by the advice of the archbishop of *Naples*, cardinal *Filomarini*, and some of the nobility, he not only signed a declaration abolishing all the taxes upon provisions, but offered an annual pension to *Massaniello* of two thousand four hundred crowns; who rejected it, and said, that he wanted nothing but to see his countrymen delivered from their oppressions; in which case, he said, that he and his countrymen would be dutiful subjects.

Genuina, and some of his associates had deeper schemes than *Massaniello* probably had formed; and upon his return to the market place, they advised him to complete the deliverance of his country by setting fire to the houses of all the tax-gatherers, and their confederates, which, with all their rich furniture, were accordingly consumed in a few days. *Massaniello's* followers were now increased to a hundred thousand men, and he commanded the viceroy, who had

had retired to *Castel Nuovo*, to abolish all taxes by a formal deed under his hand. The viceroy pretended to comply, and sent the duke of *Matalone* to the populace with a false deed; but the imposture being discovered, the duke was maltreated, and committed prisoner to the custody of *Perronne*, one of the heads of the insurrection.

The duke of *Matalone*, though a patriot, was not without ambition, and beheld *Massaniello* with secret indignation, clad in tattered attire, barefooted, and half naked, giving law to the capital. He formed a design of substituting his brother don *Joseph* in his room, and by bribing his keeper *Perrone*, he obtained his liberty, while the viceroy secretly found means to prevail with *Genuino* to betray *Massaniello* to certain banditti, who were hired by the duke to take his life. The attempt was made, but *Massaniello* escaped, and both don *Joseph*, with *Perronne*, being discovered to have been privy to the conspiracy, were put to death. Till that time *Massaniello* had preserved a wonderful moderation, though he conducted all the operations of his followers with the greatest despotism. He had attended to the advice of the archbishop for an accommodation with the viceroy, which was actually far advanced when the attempt upon his life was made by the banditti. The surprise of this, his continual hurry, and the intoxicating liquours he swallowed to keep up his spirits, had an effect upon his brain. He departed from his usual moderation, became first suspicious, then cruel, and ordered several persons to be put to death upon the slightest prettexts. He, however, still carried on the treaty with the viceroy, and to bring it to a quicker conclusion, he cut off all communication between *Castel Nuovo* and the city. The viceroy, who was afraid of the *French* interfering, gave him and his insurgents their own terms. The chief were, that all taxes imposed since the reign of *Charles V.* should be abolished, that the voice of the deputies of the people should be equal to that of the nobility; that an amnesty should pass on both sides, but that *Massaniello*, and his followers, should continue in arms till the accommodation should be ratified by his catholic majesty.

It was with the utmost difficulty that the archbishop, who had now the chief influence upon *Massaniello*, could prevail with him to throw off his rags, and appear in a decent habit before the viceroy, who invited him to the castle, where he made magnificent presents to him and his wife; and appointed him governor of the city, with a plenary power of jurisdiction. This finished *Massaniello's* frenzy. He erected gibbets, where he put people to death without any form of trial, till even his own followers grew tired of his tyranny; and he was himself assassinated by the order, or with the consent, of the viceroy. Though his body was treated with the utmost indignity by the populace, yet his death

The duke
of Guise
invited to
Naples.

death rendered the public commotions more violent than ever ; and in a few days his body received the most magnificent funeral honours. The popular fury was now turned against *Genuino*, whom they accused of having betrayed their leader ; and the viceroy refusing to give him up, they once more ran to arms, and chose the prince of *Massa* for their head. They had, by this time, formed the blockade of *Castel Nuovo*, and the prince undertook to carry it on, but privately entered into a correspondence with the viceroy. The commotions in the country were as unfavourable for the *Spaniards* as those in the capital ; and they were expelled from *Salerno*, *Cava*, *Sanseverino*, and other cities. The duke of *Guise*, a man of a romantic turn of mind, but with courage and activity equal to the most desperate attempt, was then at *Rome*. His family, as the reader may remember, had, in the right of the *Anjouvine* line, pretensions upon the throne of *Naples*, and he was by the pope encouraged to revive them, which he did in a manner that was perfectly conformable to his character. He dispatched two deputies to advise the *Neapolitans* to erect themselves into a commonwealth, of which he offered himself to be the head. The news of this, and the great preparations making by the *French*, being published, forced the viceroy to conclude a fresh accommodation, more disgraceful still than the former, with the populace, who thereby remained absolute masters of the kingdom.

Don John
of Austria
arrives
there,

The court of *Spain*, indolent as it was, could not see, without the most sensible alarms, the *French* in possession of *Naples* ; and about three weeks after the last treaty was concluded, which restored peace and order to the public, a fleet of forty *Spanish* ships of war, with five thousand land forces on board, appeared in the bay of *Naples*, under the command of don *John*, a youth of eighteen years of age, natural son to his catholic majesty, who had honoured him with the title of his vicar general in *Italy*. The viceroy laid hold of his arrival to be revenged of the *Neapolitans* for all the mortifying concessions they had made him submit to. He persuaded don *John* to demand that the people who had manned their walls, should instantly lay down their arms ; and emissaries privately suggested to the inhabitants, that the *Spaniards* were arrived to cancel all their lately obtained privileges, and to rule them with a rod of iron. His stratagem had the effect, for on the fifth of *October* 1647, the *Spaniards* attacked the city by sea and land with the utmost fury ; and wherever they made an impression they gave no quarter to age, sex, or distinction. This cruelty was as impolitic as it was detestable. It rendered the citizens desperate, and they drove back their assailants with loss ; so that, for three days, during which the attacks were renewed, the *Spaniards* were always worsted. At last, the *Neapolitans* made a law among themselves, that no person, upon pain of death, should

should propose an accommodation. Don *John*, and the viceroy, would gladly have softened them, but they rejected all their advances with indignation; and published a manifesto, setting forth their sufferings, with the treachery and tyranny of the *Spaniards*, and imploring the assistance of all christian princes. The prince of *Massa* was, all this while, at their head, but his operations gave some suspicion to the chiefs of the revolt, of his secret attachment to the *Spaniards*, and without any trial they struck off his head. His chief prosecutor was a gunsmith, one *Januarius Anneſe*, and he ſucceeded him in the command. His abilities were far from being answerable, either to his zeal or his dignity; and the people ſent a deputation to the duke of *Guiſe*, informing him of their having taken his advice, and offering him the ſtadtholderſhip of their new formed republic, with the ſame power and privilege which the princes of *Orange* exerciſed in that of the *Dutch*. The duke was then without friends as does or money, and attended by a few deſperate followers; but the duke throwing himſelf into a felucca, with no more than ſix of *Guiſe*. attendants, he almoſt miraculoſly eſcaped the *Spaniſh* fleet, and landed in *Naples*.

The *Neapolitans*, though diſtreſt for want of bread, made Who is the moſt extravagant rejoicings upon his arrival, and never made did any general enter upon a more diſcouraging command. ſtadt. The people inveſted him in the great church, and he took holder. an oath of reciprocal fidelity to the republic, receiving, at the ſame time, a conſecrated ſword from the archbiſhop; but every day diſcovered freſh difficulties in the execution of his command. A people who, like the *Neapolitans*, aſſerted their liberty only becauſe their ſufferings were too great for human nature to bear, and without any generous principle of conduct, are not to be depended upon againſt thoſe who have it in their power to alleviate thoſe ſufferings. The richeſt and the moſt reſpectable of the *Neapolitans* were ſenſible of this; they were tired of *Anneſe*, and the popular dominion, which every hour ran into freſh exceſſes; and though the nobility in the provinces had formed themſelves and their followers into a body of ſix thouſand men, yet they declared neither for the duke of *Guiſe*, nor the *Spaniards*. All the art and addreſs of the His conduct. duke could not make the chief *Neapolitans* his friends; and *Anneſe* thinking that his importance was now diminifhed, ſecretly practiſed againſt him. The duke, however, obliged him to advance a hundred thouſand crowns out of the common ſtock, and muſtering his forces, he found, out of all the rabble who had taken arms, he had not above five thouſand regular troops he could depend on. He raiſed and regimented a thouſand more, and made ſeveral brave, but ineffectual, ſallies upon the *Spaniards*. The famine encreaſing, he opened his way at the head of four thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe, through the enemy's camp, and marched to

to *Aversa*, which was the rendezvous of the nobles, in hopes that he could persuade them to join him. He found the duke of *Andria* at their head; but his expectations were frustrated, and he fought his way back to *Naples*.

Arrival of a French fleet, which is inactive. By this time, a *French* fleet was seen in the bay, consisting of about twenty nine ships of war, and five fireships; but all of them poorly provided for any enterprize of importance. Instead of making any vigorous diversions in favour of the duke of *Guise*, by attacking the *Spanish* fleet, they made prizes of some merchant ships, and after an inglorious inactivity of about three weeks, during which they landed a very small quantity of artillery and ammunition; they returned to *Toulon*. It was soon known that cardinal *Mazarine*, who was then first minister in *France*, through the weakness of the queen mother, *Anne of Austria*, was no friend to the duke's undertaking. He had considered it in the light of knight-errantry and rashness, and by addressing his letters to *Annese*, as the head of the revolters, he in a manner disowned the legality of the duke's commission. The chevalier, or baron *de Modena*, however, one of the duke's officers, got possession of *Aversa*, which was of vast service to the insurgents, by supplying their necessities with bread; and *Annese*, in consideration of an annual revenue of fifty thousand crowns, and a promise of a title of nobility, resigned his power, so that the duke now remained sole commander. As he was then freed from any check, his government began to take a regular form. The troops of the nobility were dispersed; some of them entered into the duke's service, and two of the *Spanish* galleys declared for the republic. The duke every day obtained some considerable advantages, either over the besiegers, or in the provinces, and at last he ventured to settle the different departments of business, to open courts for the regular administration of justice, and to live with a magnificence which bespoke him to be the head of the republic.

Proceeding of the duke. The miserable mismanagement of the *Spaniards* contributed more than any other cause to the aggrandizement of the duke. Their army was reduced by desertions, but don *John*, who acted with a prudence above his age and experience, privately entered into a negotiation with the duke of *Guise*, and offered him, if he would resign his pretensions upon *Naples*, to put him in possession of the marquise of *Final*, and the principality of *Salerno*, and likewise to obtain from the emperor the investitures of *Modena*, *Reggio*, *Correggio*, and *Carpi*. It is possible, that had the duke of *Guise* accepted of those terms, the *Spanish* and imperial courts would have evaded them. Some think that he secretly aspired to the crown of *Naples*, without regarding the forms of the new modelled republic. Be that as it will, it is certain, that he rejected the proposals made him by don *John*, who had now no other recourse but to persuade the unpopular

unpopular duke of *Arcos* to divest himself of the viceroyalty, which he accordingly did. Don *John*, upon this, published a manifesto, offering pardon, and many privileges, to all the *Neapolitans*, who would lay down their arms; and the nobility, who never had been the friends of the people, promised to lay aside all animosities on their account. Those two manifestos, however, made no impression upon the citizens.

It now appeared that the political qualities of the duke of *Guise* were unequal to the greatness of his undertaking. The court of *Rome* would have willingly seen the kingdom of *Naples* dismembered from *Spain*; and the pope had pressed him to take the title of king, promising him, at the same time, a considerable sum of money, and the investiture of the kingdom. The duke could not accept of this offer, however flattering it was, without disobliging his republican friends, and therefore he waved all the pope's offers, but that of the money; which his holiness declined sending him. The *Venetians*, the *Genoese*, and other states of *Italy* seconded the pope, and offered their assistance, in making the kingdom of *Naples* independent, both of *France* and *Spain*. The duke, however, by this time, began to be sensible that his interest was upon the decline with the *Neapolitans*. *Annese* still continued his enemy, and the duke is accused of having attempted to take him off by assassination; but without success. This naturally disposed *Annese* and his friends to form a party against the duke. They represented him as haughty, rash, proud, and tyrannical, and of a still more unamiable and dangerous character than the worst of their *Spanish* viceroys. Some brave, but unsuccessful, attempts, made by the duke about this time, against the *Spanish* posts, strengthened their party, and at last they entered into a correspondence with don *John*. This correspondence taking air, the court of *Spain* became apprehensive lest don *John* should seize that opportunity to declare himself king of *Naples*; and the count of *Oniate* was appointed to succeed the duke of *Arcos* as viceroy.

This count, who was a man of character and abilities, being plentifully furnished both with money and provisions, threw himself into *Castel Nuovo*, which had been still in the possession of the *Spaniards*. He continued the correspondence which don *John* had entered into with *Annese*; and while the duke was absent in an expedition against the small island of *Nisita*, *Annese* and his friends admitted into the city three thousand *Spaniards*, who became entire masters of it, with little or no bloodshed, on the sixth of April 1648. This successful blow was no sooner struck by the *Spaniards*, than the fickle *Neapolitans* treated them as their deliverers, and the two nations ran into each others arms, as if they had been but one people. The viceroy, and don *John*, were attended by *Annese*, when they returned.

ed thanks to heaven for the fortunate revolution, which at once cut the duke off from all prospect of sovereignty. He shed tears when he heard of the disagreeable event, but he found it irretrievable. After some unsuccessful attempts and takes the duke prisoner. to recover the city, he endeavoured to retire to *Abruzzo*, where his party was still considerable; but being pursued by the *Spanish* horse, he was taken prisoner, and sent to *Spain*, where he remained under confinement for four years, till he was set at liberty at the intercession of the prince of *Conde*.

The king-
dom re-
duced. The *Neapolitan* nobility now joined don *John* and the viceroy, and defeated the *French* in *Abruzzo*, which put the finishing hand to the reduction of the kingdom under the power of *Spain*. *Mazarine* began then to think that he had been too indolent in supporting the duke of *Guise*, and sought to repair his error, by ordering the *French* fleet, with prince *Thomas of Savoy* on board, to appear once more before *Naples*, in hopes of renewing the insurrection; but this appearance had no other effect than to give the viceroy an opportunity of taxing *Annese* with having entered into a private correspondence with prince *Thomas*, for which he was publicly hanged in the market-place; so regardless was the viceroy now of that popular influence which had given his predecessor so much trouble. Upon the departure of don *John* from *Naples* for *Messina*, the viceroy re-established the form of civil government, and resettled the finances; but he agreed that the tax upon herbs, fruits, and roots, never should be revived. He passed an act of pardon and indemnity with regard to the late commotions, but he found means to elude it, under pretence of guarding against a second revolt; for he established, in the form of a council, a kind of political inquisition, by which the chief partizans of the *French* interest in the kingdom and capital were tried and put to death; and the banditti having been great favourers of the commonwealth, were exterminated or executed, wherever they were found. The public quiet being perfectly re-established, the viceroy made an expedition into *Tuscany*, where he recovered *Piombino*, and *Porto Longone*, which had been taken by the *French*. *Oniate* was possessed of all that unrelenting severity which distinguishes the court of *Spain*, and it is probable, had he remained longer at *Naples*, another revolt must have happened; but he was succeeded, in 1653, by the count of *Castrillo*, who was of milder manners.

The duke
of *Guise*
defeated
in a fresh
attempt
upon
Naples. By this time, the duke of *Guise* was released from his imprisonment, and the *French* nation, by the continuance of the war with *Spain*, became fully sensible of the expediency of making an attempt upon *Naples*; to which *Mazarine* agreed, and the command of the expedition was given to the duke of *Guise*, who landed, on the twelfth of *November* 1654, with seven thousand foot, and some horse, at *Castell*
a Mare,

a *Mare*, of which he made himself master. The viceroy had foreseen this invasion, and had made admirable dispositions for defeating it, not only by putting all the frontier places of the kingdom in a posture of defence, but by keeping on foot a numerous, well disciplined army. The duke, on the other hand, had great dependence upon the affection of the *Neapolitans* for his person, and upon the credit of the refugees, whom the severity of the late viceroy had driven to *France*. He found himself deceived in all his expectations, for the viceroy marched down against him with so powerful an army, that he found himself obliged to relinquish his conquest, which he held only a few days, and returned with his ships to *Toulon*. But we are now to return to the pontificate of *Urban VIII*.

Richelieu, about the year 1626, had concluded a peace Affairs with *Spain*, without the intervention of cardinal *Barberini*, between the pope's nephew, and legate, though he was on the spot the pope at the time. As nothing had been stipulated by the treaty and in favour of the protestants, his holiness overlooked this *Charles I.* neglect, and made a promotion of twelve cardinals. He of *Eng-* was, at this time, intent upon converting *Charles I.* of *land.* *England*, and his court to popery. Though *Charles*, in his private sentiments, was averse to that religion, yet he had given too much encouragement to the pope to make this attempt. His queen, who was a bigotted papist, had always a minister at the papal court; and *Urban* had great dependance upon the prodigious influence which she had over her husband. *Charles*, it is true, in his own correspondence with that court, always affected to preserve a difference between matters of business and those of religion; but it was no secret to *Urban* that he connived with his queen in her solicitations for favours to *Montague*, *Howard*, and other *English* papists of quality, who depended upon his holiness for their promotion. *Charles* was of himself disposed to tolerate the papists in the inoffensive exercise of their religion; and his queen, or her favourites, had perhaps, misrepresented him on this head, by giving *Urban* false hopes of his conversion. His befriending the *French* protestants, and his ordering the nuncio, with all the queen's popish attendants to leave *England*, did not damp his hopes of *Charles's* conversion; and he sent public invitations to those who were best acquainted with the state of *England*, to inform him how he could best effect that great design; though, in the mean while, he gave the most extravagant demonstration, of his joy, even to his composing an epigram on the occasion, when the *French* king and *Richelieu* retook *Rochelle* from the protestants.

Francis Maria Rovere, was then duke of *Urbino*, and at The pope the age of eighty, being without male heirs, he bargained buys the for delivering up his dutchy to his holiness for a hundred dutchy of thousand crowns, which were accordingly paid him, and *Urbino*.

cardinal *Gipsius* took possession of it in *Urban's* name ; but the succession to the dutchy of *Mantua* now requires our attention.

History of Mantua, The dukes of *Mantua* had long distinguished themselves by their generous patronage to men of learning and genius ; and duke *Vincent I.* who died in 1612, had left by his wife, *Eleanor de Medici*, three sons, and two daughters. The eldest son, *Francis IV.* who succeeded his father, survived him but a few months, and left by his wife, *Margaret of Savoy*, an only daughter, whose succession was disputed by her uncle cardinal *Ferdinand*. The dutchess had recourse to her father, the duke of *Savoy*, who, upon some family claim, invaded *Montferrat*. *Ferdinand*, however, still kept possession, and after going through a long and tiresome train of negotiations, he quitted the purple, and married *Catherine de Medici*, but died in 1626, without issue. He was succeeded by his younger brother *Vincent II.* who had been married to *Isabella de Nuovolara*. His neice *Mary*, granddaughter to the duke of *Savoy*, being still alive, and unmarried, *Vincent* was afraid, lest, if she took a husband, he should dispute with him his succession to the dutchy ; and therefore solicited the pope for a dispensation to marry his neice, especially as his own wife was pretty far advanced in age ; but having dropt that design, he died without issue ; and thus *Mary* was left heiress of the dutchy. *Vincent I.* had an uncle, who was duke of *Nevers* in *France* ; and the *French* king took a particular concern in procuring his family the succession to the dutchy. After *Vincent II.* had given over all thoughts of marrying his neice, the *French* ambassador persuaded him to give her in marriage to *Charles*, the eldest grandson of the duke of *Nevers*, a match that would take away all dispute with regard to the succession. *Vincent* contented, and died the next day after the marriage had been celebrated by proxy. The duke of *Nevers* posted to *Italy* to take possession of the dutchies of *Mantua*, and *Montferrat*, as all rights to their succession were now united in his family. The emperor *Ferdinand II.* disputed his claim, as he never had received either his consent, or the investiture ; and at the same time the duke of *Gualstalia*, and other princes of the *Gonzaga* family, put in their pretensions, which gave the emperor a handle for insisting upon the sequestration of the two dutchies till he could determine the several claims. The *French* king treated all the emperor's pretexts with great contempt, and declared that he would support the *Nevers* family to the utmost of his power.

where
a war
breaks out *Louis XIII.* accordingly, when he had finished his wars with the protestants, marched an army into the *Mantuan*, where the imperialists had already begun hostilities, and raised the siege of *Cassal*, which had been formed by the governor of the *Milanese*, because it refused to submit to the

the imperial sequestration. The *French* having raised the siege, the *Venetians* joined them in supporting the *Nevers* claim. The emperor offered the investiture to the duke, if he would renounce his alliance with the *French* and *Venetians*; which he refused to do: upon which the governor of the *Milanese* was made the executor of the ban of the empire against the duke. The *French*, and the *Venetians*, did not chuse, on this occasion, to break with *Spain*, especially as the duke of *Savoy* seemed not inclinable to admit *French* troops into *Italy*; but at last cardinal *Richelieu*, in 1630, passed the *Alps*, at the head of an army, and endeavoured to trepan the person of the duke of *Savoy*, by amusing him with proposals of treaties. The duke escaped his snares, and threw himself into *Turin*, which the cardinal threatened to besiege; but turning short he besieged and took *Pignerol*. An imperial army was then in the *Mantuan*, (to which they carried an infectious disorder) and was opposed by that of the *Venetians*; but the duke of *Nevers* would willingly have accepted of the emperor's offers, had he not been persuaded by the marquis *d'Estrees*, the *French* ambassador, who was placed as a kind of spy upon his person, and was at the same time general of the *French* troops in the *Mantuan*. The imperialists were then besieging *Mantua*, which the *Venetians* endeavoured to succour, but were prevented by the vigilance of *Collalto*, the imperial general, who found means to surprize the city. The duke retired to the citadel, which took fire, and he and his son surrendered themselves prisoners to *Collalto*, who sent them to the *Ferrarese*, where being now stript of all their estates they were subsisted by the bounty of the *Venetians*.

Pope *Urban* interested himself greatly in the duke's favour, but would not enter into any confederacy against the *Spaniards*, though he encouraged one between the *French* and the *Venetians*. The duke of *Savoy* still laid claim to *Montferrat*; but the *French* made themselves masters of *Susa*. The pope sent his nephew, cardinal *Barberini*, and *Mazarine*, afterwards the famous *French* minister, to negotiate with *Richelieu*, at *Pignerol*; but the conferences proved ineffectual, and the duke was saved only by the death of the duke of *Savoy*, and the jealousies that prevailed between the *Spaniards* and the imperialists, which *Urban*, who kept well with all parties, made so good use of, that he prevailed with the emperor to give the duke the investiture of *Mantua*, and part of *Montferrat*; the other part being assigned to the young duke of *Savoy*. *Urban* having carried this great point by his patience and perseverance, found means to flatter the vanity and ambition of cardinal *Richelieu*, so successfully, that the latter obliged the learned *Richer*, the great impugner of the papal power in *France*, to recant his doctrines; but his holiness took great umbrage at the strict alliance formed about this time, between the

The
pope's
wise con-
duct.

He fa-
vours the
French,

French king, and *Gustavus Adolphus*, for the support of the protestant interest in *Germany*. Some have said, but with no great appearance of truth, that he sent large sums of money for the support of the emperor, but that he did this so privately as to give no offence to *France*. It is certain, that the *Spaniards* taxed him with being too cold in the catholic cause; and that *Urban* was disgusted at the conduct of the emperor, and *Spain*, in the affair of the *Mantuan*. As a proof of this, when the emperor applied to him by a cardinal, and an ambassador extraordinary, for assistance against the *Swedes*, he told them, that if the troops employed by the house of *Austria* in desolating *Italy* had been reserved to oppose the heretics, his imperial majesty would not have wanted any assistance from the papal see. He even refused to publish a crusade against *Gustavus*, whose successes, he said, he heard of with pleasure, because they humbled the overbearing ambition of *Spain*. This declaration, which was made in a full consistory, exasperated the imperialists, and the *Spaniards*, so greatly, that they endeavoured to form a party among the cardinals to depose him; but they found it impracticable. The court of *Spain* then deliberated about checking his power, in their country, by erecting a datary at *Madrid*, where all collations to benefices, and matters relating to ecclesiastical revenues, should be transacted; but *Urban* behaved with such prudence and firmness, that this project likewise came to nothing.

but grows
jealous of
cardinal
Richelieu,

Though greatly addicted to nepotism, *Urban* refused to bestow upon his relations any part of the duchy of *Urbino*; but annexed it for ever to the church. About the year 1633, *Urban* was engaged in a difference with the *Venetians*, about the navigation of the *Po*, which was obstructed by his legate at *Ferrara*, and an insult which had been offered to the *Venetian* ambassador at *Rome*, by one of his nephews. The *French* king offered his mediation, as the quarrel had proceeded to blows between the two parties; and the marshal *Crequi*, in a most magnificent embassy from *Lewis XIII.* pronounced, in the name of his master and his kingdom, a profound veneration for the holy see. This submission, flattering as it was, did not entice *Urban* into any violent measures against the house of *Austria*; and he had rendered himself so useful to cardinal *Richelieu*, that he invaded the privileges of the *Gallican* church, and named commissaries for trying six *French* bishops for high treason. Perceiving that the cardinals at his court had combined to oblige him to declare himself a party in the wars that were then desolating *Europe*; he published a bull, strongly enforcing the residence of all his clergy, be their rank ever so high, in their respective sees, unless they had an apostolical licence for non residence. The successes of the *Swedes*, at last alarmed him so much, that he sent a hundred thousand
crowns

crowns to the emperor, and ordered public prayers to be put up for the prosperity of the catholic religion in *Germany*.

Mazarine was then *Urban's* nuntio and minister at the court of *France*; and at his persuasion, his holiness again offered his mediation for composing the differences between the houses of *Bourbon* and *Austria*. Finding this offer to be without any effect, he adhered to his neutrality; the rather, as he began now to be jealous of cardinal *Richelieu*, whose power and influence, joined to his violent spirit, and arbitrary disposition, he thought were too great for a son and subject of the church. He recalled *Mazarine* from *Paris*, because he thought him too much devoted to that minister; and he refused to confirm the dissolution of the marriage of the duke of *Orleans*, which had passed in a general assembly of the *French* clergy, convoked by a royal edict. His holiness likewise refused several bulls demanded by the cardinal, whom he suspected of a design to make himself patriarch of *France*; and he even threatened the duke of *Parma* with an excommunication, for his too great attachment to the *French* interest. This brings us to the history of that dukedom, which now makes so considerable a figure in that of *Italy*.

Edward I. duke of *Parma*, in the dispute between the *French*, and *Spaniards*, concerning the dutchy of *Mantua*, declared for the former, and was very useful to them in the *Milaneſe*. He quarrelled, however, with the marquis *de Crequi*, at the siege of *Valence*, upon the *Po*, and went to *Paris* to impeach the marshal's conduct; while the *Spanish* governor of the *Milaneſe* possessed himself of great part of his dutchy, and ravaged it to the very gates of *Parma*, and *Placenza*, which were possessed by *French* garrisons. The variety of wars in which *Lewis XIII.* was then engaged through his minister's ambition, prevented him from sending to *Italy* reinforcements sufficient for reinstating the duke, (who remained shut up in *Placenza*,) in his dominions. *Leganes*, the governor of the *Milaneſe*, could easily have made himself master of the place, had he not been restrained by the unwillingness which the other powers of *Italy*, the pope especially, expressed, that the *Spaniards* should extend their dominions in *Lombardy*. *Urban* had some reason for being displeased with the duke, who, though his feudatory, had entered into the war without his consent, and therefore did not interest himself so heartily in his behalf, as his interest and inclination led him, especially as the duke persisted in his obstinate attachment to the *French* interest. The *Spaniards* accused him of ingratitude, as his family owed all they had to the house of *Austria*; and he was reduced to such misery in *Placenza*, that he and his family subsisted upon the provisions which were sent them by the *Spanish* commandant, in consideration of the dutchess, who was daughter to the great duke of *Tuscany*, and

and a friend to the interest of *Spain*. Necessity, at last, obliged the duke to enter into a negotiation, from which the duke excluded the pope's minister, and, unknown to the *French*, concluded a treaty with the *Spaniards* at *Milan*; the chief article of which was, that the *French* garrison should evacuate *Placenza*. The duke was in no condition to have obliged them, had he not, on some plausible pretext, decoyed them into a narrow place, against which he ordered his artillery to be pointed, and at the same time he intimated to the count *de St. Paul*, the *French* commandant, the treaty, which, he said, necessity had obliged him to conclude. The count was obliged to comply, and the evacuations were accordingly executed. The duke being thus again master of his dominions, reproached the pope, who, as his superior, ought to have defended him, with having abandoned him to his enemies, and connived at his distresses, in hopes of forcing him to sell his dutchy, or part of it, to his nephews, the *Barberini*, with whom he had formerly quarrelled, because he had declined marrying their niece, the daughter of don *Thaddeo*, whom *Urban* had made governor of *Rome*. It is said, by the historian *Nani*, that while the duke was at *Rome*, he spoke so freely to the pope upon the mismanagement of his nephews, that he drew tears from his eyes. The *Barberini*, to be revenged, made a demand upon him of a vast sum due to the pope, out of his dutchy of *Castro*; which they pretended was so large as to exceed the value of the dutchy, and that his holiness for that reason, intended to confiscate it. The duke, upon this, ordered *Castro* to be fortified, and the pope sent him a monitory, commanding him to discontinue his fortifications, and to demolish those he had already raised, under the pain of excommunication. To give weight to this menace, the *Barberini* raised six thousand foot, and five hundred horse, which alarmed the *Spaniards* so much, that the viceroy of *Naples*, in his master's name, offered his mediation between his holiness and the duke of *Parma*. The great duke of *Tuscany*, at the same time, laid before the pope the inevitable consequences of his attacking the duke, which, he said, must involve all *Italy* in an immediate war. The pope applied to the *Venetians* for support; but they declined all concern in the affair. *Urban*, though he now stood single in the quarrel, easily perceived, that neither the great duke of *Tuscany* nor the *Spaniards*, were willing to assist the duke farther than by their negotiations, and this encouraged him actually to put his threats into execution by excommunicating the duke.

His nephew, *Thaddeo Barberini*, was charged with the execution of the sentence, which, as his holiness pretended deprived the duke of his dominions; and *Thaddeo*, at the head of twenty thousand men, demanded from the duke of *Modena*

dena a free passage through his estates into the *Parmesan*. All *Italy* was equally alarmed and shocked at the insolence of the *Barberini*, who made use of the pope's name to revenge a private quarrel. The duke of *Parma* armed himself, and received assistance both from the *Venetians* and the great duke of *Tuscany*, and would have been succoured by the *Spaniards* likewise, had he not been an avowed partizan of *France*. The *Venetians*, and the great duke, however, had the precaution to lend their troops to the duke of *Modena*, who was not excommunicated, but was insulted by the *Barberini*; so that his became the common cause of all the princes and states of *Italy*, independent of the quarrel between the pope and the duke of *Parma*. *Urban* grew sensible of this, and, ordering his army to halt in the *Bolognese*, he proposed a truce of fifteen days, and offered to negotiate an accommodation with the duke of *Parma*, under the mediation of the *French* king, who professed himself to be a friend equally to both. An incident, which intervened, put an end to all the towering prospects of his holiness. He had acknowledged the duke of *Braganza* to be king of *Portugal*, against the most earnest solicitations of the *Spanish* court, whose minister's retinue at *Rome* had an encounter with that of the bishop of *Lenaga*, the *Portuguese* ambassador, who was assisted by the *French*.

This quarrel threatened so many serious consequences to *Urban*, that he offered afresh to submit the dispute between him and the duke of *Parma* to a mediation. The duke, on the other hand, was at the head of an army, which he could not pay, but by suffering them to live at free quarters in the papal dominions. He accordingly marched it into the *Bolognese* with such rapidity, that *Thaddeo*, the pope's general and nephew, was surprized, and fled with precipitation to *Verona*, while his troops disbanded themselves. The duke improved his unexpected good fortune, by making himself master of *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Forli*, and other places belonging to his holiness, without resistance. He then marched to *Castro*, and even threatened to drive *Urban* out of *Rome*. *Urban*, amazed and confounded at his nephew's cowardice, offered to depositate *Castro* in the hands of the *Venetians*, the duke of *Modena*, the great duke of *Tuscany*, the *French* king, and the *Swiss*, till an accommodation could be effected. The duke of *Parma's* allies approved of this expedient; and blamed him for having carried matters to such extremity with his holiness. The duke, able to keep his troops no longer together, was obliged to fall back upon *Tuscany*, and resigned the command of his army to *d'Estrees*, the *French* minister; while the pope being delivered from his impending danger, found means to embarrass the negotiation so much, that it appeared plainly, he intended it only for an amusement.

In

An accommodation takes place.

In the year 1642, the duke of *Parma's* patience being worn out, he renewed his hostilities, and fell upon the *Ferrarese*, where he took and fortified *Bondeno*, and *la Stellata*. *Urban* gave the command of his army to his other nephew, cardinal *Antony Barberini*, the richest, and most magnificent, prelate of his time ; and he marched towards the *Parmesan*, by *Modena*. He was equally unfortunate as his brother *Thaddeo* had been, and the war, upon the whole, cost the apostolical chamber, twenty millions of crowns. At last, the pope, severely humbled and mortified, submitted the whole to cardinal *Bichi*, the *French* ambassador, and resigned all his pretensions to *Castro*. Upon the termination of the quarrel, however, he gained one important point by the duke of *Parma's* suing to him for absolution from ecclesiastical censures ; a favour which the senate of *Venice* magnanimously refused to accept of, because they denied the validity of the papal fulminations, when directed against a sovereign state. Duke *Edward*, after this, went to *Venice*, to thank that senate for the assistance they had afforded him in his dispute with the pope. Two years after he died ; but his having embraced the interest of *France*, instead of that of *Spain*, to which his predecessors had been always devoted, occasioned a considerable alteration in the system of power in *Italy*.

Rannuccio
II. duke
of *Parma*.

He was succeeded by his son *Ranuccio II.* who was esteemed one of the most politic princes of his time, and whom we shall afterwards have occasion to mention on account of his connections with *France*. Pope *Urban's* jealousy of *Richelieu* was always encreasing. He had refused to grant a cardinal's hat for *Mazarine*, and several other bulls, which *Richelieu* demanded, so that the nuncio was denied admittance into *France*. The friendship of that court, however,

Death of
pope
Urban.

became so necessary to him in his dispute with the duke of *Parma*, that he gave *Mazarine* the hat, and died on the twenty-ninth of *July*, in the twenty-first year of his pontificate, and the seventy-seventh of his age, in the year 1644. He is chiefly blamed for his practices in *Ireland*, especially in the affair of the massacre, which gave rise to all the troubles of *Charles I.* His nepotism, and the mismanagements of the *Barberini* family, involved him in many mortifying difficulties ; but upon the whole, the strict eye he had upon the growth of the *Austrian*, as well as *French* greatness, gained him the title of the protestant pope ; and he has been accused, by violent *Roman* catholics, of having secretly favoured the victorious expedition of *Gustavus Adolphus* into *Germany*.

Succeeded
by *Innocent*
X.

At the time of *Urban's* death, the *Barberini* family had a great sway in the conclave, and by their influence cardinal *Pamphilio*, who took the name of *Innocent X.* was elected pope. The *French* had opposed his elevation, and quarrelled

ed with *Barberini* on that account. Cardinal *Antony Barberini* was deprived of the protectorship of the *French* nation; and the pope, who was a weak, vainglorious, ignorant man, ungratefully withdrew his protection from them. As he was noted to be entirely under the influence of his sister-in-law, the famous donna *Olimpia*, the *Barberini* endeavoured to make her their friend, by offering to marry their niece, *Thaddeo's* daughter, with an immense fortune, to her son *Camillo*, but their proposal was rejected; *Camillo* was created a cardinal, and the *Barberini* were upon his account removed from the great posts they held at *Rome*. The pope's declared attachment to the house of *Austria*, rendered cardinal *Mazarine*, then first minister of *France*, their friend, when they applied to him for protection; and they obtained leave to replace the arms of *France*, which had been taken down, in the front of their palace. The insatiable avarice of donna *Olimpia* and her family, about the same time, prevailed upon his holiness to renew the papal differences with the house of *Parma*.

He pretended, that it was not in his power, or that of his predecessor, to dispence with the payment of the interest of shop of the money due to the creditors of the public bank, upon the *Castro* dutchy of *Castro*. Duke *Rannuccio II.* was both unwilling murdered, and unable to discharge the vast sums demanded on that account; upon which, the pope seized *Castro* into his own hands, and nominated a *Theatin* monk to be its bishop. The duke had reason to be disgusted with this nomination, and he applied to the pope to recall it; which he was so far from doing, that he reproached the duke for his presumption in interfering with the papal authority. The duke, upon this, ordered a private intimation to be made to the monk, who fell upon his knees before his holiness, to beg that he might be excused from undertaking the journey; but this had no other effect than to render *Innocent* more obstinately to persist in his first resolution. The monk was consecrated, and forced to set out for his bishopric. On taking leave of his holiness, he told him, that he was going to his death; which proved to be true; for while he was upon his journey to *Castro*, he was assassinated on the road by persons unknown, and whose persons never could be discovered, notwithstanding the most indefatigable endeavours of the pope to bring them to punishment. As *Innocent* had no manner of doubt of the duke being privy to the assassination, he repeated his demands of the arrears due to the public creditors; and *Ranuccio* not being able to satisfy them, *Innocent* annexed *Castro* for ever to the holy see, and transferred its bishopric to *Aquapendente*, after razing the town of *Castro* to the ground, and erecting a pillar in its stead. In 1664, the *French* king *Lewis XIV.* having a difference with pope *Alexander VII.* made it one of the terms of his reconciliation with the holy see, that the duke of

of *Parma* should re-enter into possession of the duchy of *Castro*, provided he could pay off the money for which it was mortgaged to the public creditors; but the duke being unable to do that, its annexation to the popedom continued.

Persecution of the *Barberini*.

The interposition of cardinal *Mazarine* in favour of the *Barberini*, served only to render pope *Innocent* their more determined enemy. Cardinal *Antony* had taken refuge in *France*, and the pope required him, under pain of excommunication, to repair to *Rome*, where a commission of five cardinals was established, for enquiring into his conduct, and that of his two brothers, whose estates, in the meanwhile were sequestered. The *Barberini*, from being the detestation, became now the darlings of the public, who looked upon their extortions as mild and moderate, when compared with those which they suffered under donna *Olimpia* and her family. The cardinal commissioners proceeded in their enquiries with the utmost rigour, and demanded a specific account of all the public money that had been expended during the last five years of their uncle's pontificate. In the course of this enquiry, cardinal *Camillo* falling in love with the princess *Rossana*, who was eminent for her riches, beauty, and personal accomplishments, privately married her; for which both of them were banished from *Rome*, by the overbearing power of donna *Olimpia*, who was jealous of the credit which her daughter-in-law might acquire with the pope. The enquiry was carried on in an unjust, tyrannical and arbitrary, manner. The defences of the *Barberini*, however reasonable or legal, were repelled; and after losing their estates, finding their lives were likewise aimed at, they fled to *France*; where they were protected by cardinal *Mazarine*.

The *French* invade *Italy* and humble the pope.

That prelate, though raised by his obsequiousness to the papal power, had become the enemy of *Innocent*, for reasons foreign to this history; and perceiving that he could not prevail with his holiness to pardon and reinstate the *Barberini* in their possessions, he raised an army and fitted out a fleet, which he sent against the papal and *Spanish* territories in *Italy*. The *Venetians* sought to avert the storm, but in vain, for the *French* took *Piombino*, *Porto Longone*, *S. Stefano*, and other places in *Tuscany*. *Innocent* was then obliged to suspend the execution of his bulls against the *Barberini*, to reinstate them both in their employments and effects, and to declare that he would be entirely reconciled to them, if they would repair to *Avignon*, and sue from thence for their pardon in form. *Innocent*, by the persuasion of the duke of *Guise*, bestowed a cardinal's hat upon the archbishop of *Aix*, brother to *Mazarine*, who, possessed, as he was, of all the power of *France*, scarcely deigned to thank his holiness for the favour; nor would he evacuate *Piombino*. The parliament of *Paris* went so far, as to prohibit the printing and

and publication of all briefs from *Rome*; and the clergy of the *Gallican* church protested against all encroachments upon their liberties. The states of *Europe* expected every moment to see a formal declaration of the crown of *France* being separated from the papal obedience, which, perhaps, was prevented only by the power which the *Jesuits* had over the minds of the king and his favourites.

Innocent, at the same time, embroiled himself with the History of crown of *Portugal*, which nominated successors to its vacant the *Jesuits* sees. The pope offered to confirm the nominations officially, but not in consequence of the king's appointments. This offer was rejected; and his *Portuguese* majesty threatened to dissolve all his relation with the see of *Rome*, but was withheld by the same motives which restrained the *French* king. It soon appeared, that the support of popery was owing, all over *Europe*, at that enlightened time, to the *Jesuits*, who had an ascendancy over the mind of *Mazarine* himself. It must be confessed, that the fabric of their constitution was as firm as it was artful. They were the prin- and the cipal advisers of the popes in the late regulations they made congreg- for substituting congregations, to supply the losses which gations at the papal see had incurred by the enlargement of the *Rome*. human mind. The chief of those was the congregation for propagating the faith, which was now of singular use to the popedom. It had been founded in 1622, under the pontificate of *Gregory XV.* by the advice of *Narni*, a *Jesuit*, his confessor; it was amplified and enriched by *Urban VIII.* and rose to an amazing height under the pope we now treat of. It would exceed the bounds of our work should we pretend to enumerate the prodigious undertakings in which the members of this institution were engaged; the vast revenues they possessed, the variety of missions they have settled, and the incredible influence they had obtained in the most remote corners of the globe; but all tending to the same point, that of enlarging the papal power. By way of supplement to this congregation, the pontiff founded a seminary for propagating the faith. One *John Baptist Viles*, a *Spaniard*, endowed this institution with all his ample fortune; and if we could overlook the superstition and errors of popery, it is one of the noblest that ever was formed. Within the walls of this seminary, missionaries are educated, instructed, and dispatched from thence to all parts of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*.

The *French* nation adopted the public spirit of the *Jesuits*, The prac- by founding the like seminaries; but they employed other tices of agents, who soon discovered the infamous practices made the *Jesuit* use of by that order in promoting their religion, or rather missiona- their interest, among the *Chinese* and other *Asiatics*. In a few ries, years, the *Dominicans*, the *Franciscans*, and the *Capuchins*, became missionaries as well as the *Jesuits*; and though all of them had separate doctrines and interests, yet they agreed

Their
great suc-
cess in
China.

agreed in their devotion to the holy see, which was, in fact, their only principle of union. At last, it was discovered that those fathers had actually formed a religion of their own, which had little in common with that of our Saviour; but was introduced by them into *China*, and those parts of *Asia*, where the native religion was too stubborn to be rooted out. Add to this, in all the places where the *Jesuits* got footing, especially in *Siam*, *Japan*, and *China*, they carried on a most beneficial trade; but with so much avarice and extortion, that in the end it occasioned their expulsion. In *China* they even outwitted the natives, penetrating and acute as they are. They were loaded by the emperor with the most honourable marks of distinction, and taken into his cabinet council. His name was *Xun-Chi*, and he was the first *Chinese* emperor of the *Tartar* race. He left a son in his cradle, and the *Jesuits* being no longer protected by the imperial authority, the mandarines, who never would submit to christianity, and who looked with contempt upon all doctrines and inventions that are not *Chinese*, banished the *Jesuit* missionaries, while *Schaal*, their chief, was thrown into prison, and even condemned to death. When the young emperor *Kang-hi*, grew up, he declared himself the patron and friend of the *Jesuits*; and being one of the ablest princes of his age, he attempted, by their means, to introduce among his subjects a true taste for the arts and sciences, which they despised. Being of *Tartar* original, he condemned the narrowness of the *Chinese* notions. He built astronomical observatories, and employed the fathers, who were generally excellent mechanics, in constructing all the mathematical instruments made use of among the most enlightened nations. Finding that many of them were aged and infirm, he applied to his holiness for young recruits, who were accordingly sent him; and all preferments at court went through the channel of their favour. They were raised to the principal posts of the empire, and their fraternity in *Europe* repaired to *China* as to their terrestrial paradise.

Their im-
postures
and de-
generacy.

The arts with which they supported their credit were impious and infamous. The religion of the *Chinese* was no other than a refined system of atheism, which the *Jesuits* interpreted into a conformity with the *Christian* doctrines. Their profound dissimulation in disguising the truth of the gospel, and in forging certain facts, tending to prove the religion of the celebrated *Confucius*, the philosopher and legislator of *China*, and that of Jesus Christ, to be the same, at last prevailed upon the emperor to publish an edict, by which he declared, that the christian religion was, in no wise, detrimental to the safety or interests of the monarchy, as its enemies pretended; and by which also he granted to all his subjects an entire freedom of conscience, and a full permission to embrace the gospel. Two years after the publication

publication of this decree, the emperor ordered a magnificent church to be built for those holy fathers within the verge of the imperial palace. In process of time, they lost sight of the functions of their mission, and of christianity itself. They lived with all the grandeur and luxury of eastern sovereigns; and even assisted the emperor in his warlike operations, as well as in filling the principal posts of his palace.

Ricci, their chief and leader, made a plausible and vigorous defence for himself and his order. He pretended that the ceremonial rites practised by the *Chinese* were merely civil, and might be safely retained by the converts to christianity, and by the *Jesuits* themselves. The *Dominican* and *Franciscan* missionaries refuted *Ricci*'s reasonings, and endeavoured to prove, that the rites for which he pleaded were of a religious nature; and the matter was at last carried from *China* to *Rome*, where the ablest pens of the *Roman catholic church* were employed in impeaching or vindicating. In 1645, his holiness *Innocent X.* pronounced sentence against the *Jesuits*, by condemning the indulgence they had shewn to the *Chinese* superstitions. Those consisted chiefly of two points. The one related to the notions which the *Chinese* entertained of a supreme Being; and the other to the honours which that people offered to the dead. As to the first, the *Jesuits* contended, that the god which the *Chinese* worshipped under the character of *Tien* and *Shangti*, was the same with the *Christian* deity. The *Dominicans*, on the other hand, with great strength of reasoning, maintained, that the terms *Tien* and *Shangti*, were applicable to materialism alone, which is the only power worshipped by the *Chinese*; and that the doctrines of *Confucius* were no other than those of fatalism, and inevitable necessity, which excludes a particular providence from the government of the world. This dispute occasioned many learned disquisitions upon the doctrines of the antient *Chinese*; who according to the best evidences that have come to our hands, did certainly exclude the belief of a particular providence out of their religion.

With regard to the second point, the honours which the *Chinese* paid to the dead, it seems at first sight to have been favourable to the *Jesuits*, since it implies the existence of a future state, which is incompatible with the doctrines of fatalism. But here the *Jesuits* made a great discovery, by pretending that the religion of the higher and more enlightened *Chinese* is different from that of the vulgar; and that the annual honours they paid to the dead, particularly to the memory of *Confucius* and that of their own ancestors, are institutions merely civil and political. In this the *Jesuits* seem to be well founded in their arguments; but the *Dominicans* insist, that the rites paid to the memory of *Confucius*, and the ancestors of the *Chinese*, are entirely religious and idolatrous.

They are
condemned by
pope Innocent X.

State of
the controversy
between
them and
their antagonists.

idolatrous. Upon the whole, candour itself must confess, that the *Jesuits*, in establishing their interest in *China*, were driven to make concessions which required the greatest art and sophistry to palliate; and the dispute seems never to have received any legal decision, though it may be brought within the compass of a very simple question, whether the *Chinese* are, or are not, idolaters.

Disputes between the *Jesuits* and the *Jansenists*. The disputes between the *Jansenists* and the *Jesuits*, about the doctrines of grace, form another important epocha in *Innocent's* pontificate. He took part with the *Jesuits*, and a persecution was raised against the *Jansenists*, who refused to accept of the decrees of the council of *Trent*, or to retract the opinions of *Jansenius*, which they maintained were the same with those of *St. Augustin*. As to the matter of the dispute, it was trifling, and even contemptible; but it was attended with great political consequences, which may be found in the histories of the countries to which they refer. It must be acknowledged, that *Innocent* and his predecessor's warmth upon those ridiculous occasions were of infinite prejudice to popery. The princes and states of the *Roman catholic* communion found their claims so wild and absurd, that they laid them entirely out of the scheme of politics, as appeared from the conclusion of the treaty of *Munster*; where the contracting parties, notwithstanding all the opposition made by *Chigi*, the pope's nuntio, settled the terms of the treaty without any regard to the pretensions of the holy see. The fulminating bulls issued by his holiness, on that occasion, served only to make a farther display of his impotence, when not assisted by credulity and superstition, and drew upon him severe answers from the best pens of *Europe*, exposing the absurdity and injustice of his interposing in matters of such a high temporal moment. The secularizing the bishoprics was the only measure in which he could interpose with any shadow of authority; but, in that, his representations were disregarded, even by the bigotted house of *Austria*.

Fluctuating state of the pope's court, In the year 1650, cardinal *Panzirolo* was the prime counsellor of *Innocent*, who was now become equally contemptible and detestable in the eyes of the public, on account of donna *Olympia*. By *Panzirolo's* advice, he created *Affalli*, an *Italian* nobleman, whose brother had married his niece, a cardinal, and first minister, under the name of cardinal patron. His creation was attended with unusual rejoicings, and even the guns of the castle of *St. Angelo* were discharged on the occasion. A magnificent palace was assigned him, together with noble revenues; but no sooner did donna *Olympia*, and her daughters, obtain an audience of his holiness, than he was stript of all, and reduced to walk on foot without a servant to attend him, and without any means of subsistence, but what he drew from *Panzirolo's* generosity. *Olympia's* influence over the pope was so extensive

tensive as to beget in weak minds a suspicion of her having fascinated him by supernatural means; but it was plainly owing to the weakness of his holiness, and the criminal indulgences of his pleasures. She sat publicly along with him in council with bags of papers in her hand. She pronounced, without consulting him, determinations of all affairs of government, and returned answers to foreign ministers and prelates, which he neither dictated nor approved of, but durst not contradict. She had a private office, where she employed accomptants for fixing the value of different posts, places, and benefices, which she openly put up to sale. She annulled, by her sole authority, the laws and decrees of former popes, when they stood in the way of her ambition and avarice, but never gave any credit to the purchasers of the livings she sold, without having a moiety paid down in hand. Her power, at last, became so odious and ridiculous, that the amours of his holiness and donna *Olympia* were brought upon the stage even in *Roman* catholic courts; and innumerable were the pasquinades published at *Rome* upon the same subject.

Innocent seemed not insensible of the disrepute and contempt into which *Olympia* had brought him and his government; and *Panzirollo* omitted no opportunity to improve his waverings to her downfall, by representing how mean and despicable the authority of the *Roman* see was in every court of *Europe*. He pressed this point so irresistibly, that his holiness at last consented to remove donna *Olympia* from the open direction of public affairs; to recall the princess *Rossana* and her husband, and to reinstate *Astalli* in the direction of the ministry. Notwithstanding those appearances, the influence of *Olympia* continued, and, after *Panzirollo's* death, was increased to a higher degree than ever. The *Barberini* had thrown themselves into the hands of the *French* ministry; only because *Mazarine* and *Innocent* hated each other; and *Olympia* perceived that they might now be useful in ballancing *Mazarine's* growing interest in the conclave. She, therefore, advised the pope to drop all resentment against the *Barberini* family, and to prevail upon the court of *Spain* to restore them to all the revenues they had possessed in that country, and to provide an advantageous match for their niece, the princess *Palestrina*. *Mazarine* endeavoured to outbid the *Spaniards* in their offers, and actually made cardinal *Antonio* bishop of *Poiters*, and cardinal *Francis* grand almoner of *France*. Donna *Olympia* was resolved to gain them over at any rate; and in 1652, don *Thaddeo's* second son was married to her grand-daughter, his eldest son created a cardinal, the princess *Palestrina*, was married to the duke of *Modena*, and cardinal *Francis Barberini* was joined with donna *Olympia*, the cardinal patron and *Azzolini*, in the direction of the see of *Rome*. The pope, after this, ventured to send a nuntio to *France* to interpose for cardinal

de Retz, who had been imprisoned by *Mazarine*; but he was stopt at *Lyons*; which exasperated his holiness so much, that he declared himself ready to send a legate to head the malecontents if they should take arms; but the *Jesuits* had still so much credit with him, that they obtained a fresh bull, condemning the opinions of *Jansenius*, though his holiness declared that he neither had read nor understood the dispute between them.

Her re-
turn and
rapacity.

After the restoration of the *Barberini*, and donna *Olympia*, to the management of affairs at the pope's court; they governed it with inexpressible despotism, and soon procured the disgrace of the cardinal patron, who was again stripped of all his money and revenues, excepting six thousand crowns a year. *Azzolini*, who had been secretary of the briefs, was made a cardinal, and the *Barberini* had repaired their losses so well, that, during the distractions of *Naples*, which we have already related, they offered to raise ten thousand men to conquer that kingdom for the holy see, provided the principality of *Salerno* was annexed to their family. *Innocent*, some time before his death, grew excessively fond of cardinal *de Retz*, who had escaped from his confinement, and had come to *Rome*, where the pope presented him with four thousand crowns to relieve his distresses, and it was thought he intended to have adopted him for his nephew.

Death and
character
of *Innocent*

Innocent's age and infirmities at last confined him to his apartment, where he expired in the arms of donna *Olympia*, who suffered none but herself to approach him, on the seventh of *January* 1655, in the eighty-first year of his age. The state of the pontificate at the time of *Innocent's* death, notwithstanding the infamy of his character, and that of *Olympia*, sufficiently shews how deeply the foundations of the pontifical power are laid. An open contempt for learning, virtue, and religion, was the professed principle of *Innocent* and his female favourite, with whom he lived in incest before he was pope. There was not, perhaps, in *Europe*, a court but that of *Rome*, that would have maintained itself against so general and public a detestation of its head; but *Innocent* lived and died in peace, at the time when *Charles I.* of *England*, was brought to the block; the authority of the house of *Bourbon* shaken, and the power of that of *Austria* almost ruined. It cannot, however, be denied, that during *Innocent's* pontificate, the papal power received many severe blows, especially in *France*, where the force of its fulminations was in a manner annihilated, and the pope declared to be inferior and subject to a general council.

Who is
succeeded
by *Alex-*
ander VII.

Great were the heats and cabals of the cardinals when they were shut up in the conclave for the election of a new pope. Cardinal *Sachetti*, had for some time the greatest appearance of success; but by the management of cardinal *de Retz*, and the *Barberini*, after the conclave had been shut

shut up for eighty-one days, the election fell upon cardinal *Chigi*, who took the name of *Alexander VII.* He owed his pontificate to the principles of moderation which he had always professed, and to his unassuming behaviour, especially during the time of the conclave. He had recommended himself to *Urban VIII.* by his taste for the fine arts, and he had gone through many departments of public business with great disinterestedness and a winning affability; but was, in one period of his life, suspected of favouring protestantism. The *Roman* citizens had so high an opinion of his virtue, that they were extravagant in their rejoicings for his elevation, which was likewise agreeable to all the *Roman* catholic courts, and even protestants repaired to *Rome* to congratulate him.

The commencement of his pontificate out-did all the expectations that had been conceived of his piety and virtue. His pro-
He drove *Olympia* from his court, and confined her to found by
Orvieto, till the process could be made out for her trial. pocrisy.
He lived, in his own person, with all the austerity and abstinence of the most mortified hermit, and declared his aversion to nepotism in every shape. Those appearances, however, contained nothing that was real. *Alexander* had so narrow and mean a genius, that to relieve himself from an oath he had made, never to receive his relations in *Rome*, he went out of the gate of that city on their approach to it, and met his brother don *Mario*, and three of his nephews, whom he conducted to his palace, and in a few days raised them to all the power, wealth, and honours he could bestow. Perceiving, that by the great friendship he had shewn for cardinal *de Retz*, whom he confirmed in the archbishopric of *Paris*, he had drawn upon himself the resentment of cardinal *Mazarine*, he gave up all intimacy with that prelate; who, upon his return from an excursion into the country, found his holiness immersed in luxury, and living with a splendor and magnificence equal, if not superior, to that of the vainest of his predecessors.

He made his brother don *Mario*, governor of *Rome*, and His wick-
his son, cardinal patron. In a few weeks he became the edness,
reverse of what he formerly appeared to be; vain, insincere, vanity,
wicked, he gave a loose to the most blameable affections, and ava-
and was intent on the most ridiculous trifles, though at the rice.
same time insatiably covetous. While preparations were making for donna *Olympia's* trial, she died of a pestilence, which was then desolating *Rome* and the ecclesiastical state to such a degree, as to create a total cessation of all business and commerce. Her death saved her estate to her family, after her heir, prince *Pamfili*, had gratified his holiness with a million of crowns; which he distributed among his relations. When the accounts of the wrong-headed abdication, and conversion, of *Christiana*, queen of *Sweden*, to the *Romish* church, and that she was upon her journey to *Rome*, reached

reached his holiness, he sent a nuntio to her with compliments of congratulation; and upon her arrival, after giving her a most magnificent reception, he settled upon her an annual pension of twelve thousand crowns.

His accommodation with the republic of *Venice*.

Alexander VII. had no quality in common with the great popes, his predecessors, but their dissimulation, and their hatred of the protestants. The depredations committed upon his revenues during the late pontificate, served him as a pretext for refusing to contribute any thing towards the war which the *Venetians* were carrying on against the *Turks*. He was however, softened by a large sum of money presented on the part of the *Jesuits*, by the hands of cardinal *Palavicini*; and he gave the republic leave to raise about a million of ducats from the sale of church lands, upon the senate repealing the laws against the *Jesuits*, and readmitting them into their republic; a condition which was submitted to with great unwillingness, but was absolutely necessary in their distressed circumstances. Upon the re-establishment of the *Jesuits* at *Venice*, they became the pope's favourites, and they had such influence at the *French* court, that *Lewis XIV.* patronized them in all the absurd bulls, which the pope issued in condemnation of *Jansenism*, and which had almost occasioned a civil war in *France*. *Alexander* appointed a commission to try four *French* bishops, who had refused to submit to his bulls; but that insolent measure was so warmly opposed, both by the court and clergy of *France*, that the commission was withdrawn; and *Lewis* abated somewhat in his attachment to the pope. This was evident in the year 1659, when the peace of the *Pyrenees* was concluded, between *France* and *Spain*, without the knowledge of his holiness, who valued himself upon being an able negotiator, and a complete statesman. He had earnestly interposed with both courts to come to an accommodation; and this made him accuse *Mazarine* bitterly of his seizing every opportunity to bring him into contempt.

His difference with the *French* court.

The war between the *Turks* and *Germans*, was at this time raging in *Upper Hungary*; and his holiness laid a tithe on the ecclesiastical revenues of *Italy*, for supplying the imperial finances. *Mazarine* shewed himself ready to have entered into a general league against the infidels; of which the pope was to be the head, but the proposition coming from him, *Alexander* discouraged it, and it fell to the ground. The duke of *Crequi*, was then the *French* ambassador at *Rome*; and he had private orders from his court to do all he could to mortify the pope for his opposition to the cardinal, which he thought he could do no way more effectually than by shewing greater marks of respect to the other cardinals than he did to those of the pope's family; or even to don *Mario*. The duke had so little regard for that nobleman, that he winked at many extravagancies committed by his servants, which were shocking to the *Italian* delicacy; and they proceeded so far as even to disarm a part of the corsi,
or

or nightly watch in *Rome*. Don *Mario* spirited up the *corfi*, and the other officers of the police to resent this insult; and some of them were degraded and punished for not repelling force with force, when they were disarmed by the *French*.

The guards, upon this, without any ceremony, to the The duke number of four hundred, beset the ambassador's house, on of *Crequi's* pretence of searching for criminals, and fired upon his house person, when he shewed himself at a window, to appease beset at them. The ambassador was then returning in her coach *Rome*. to her palace. The *corfi* fired upon it, and killed one of her domestics. The ambassador resented this violence, and demanded satisfaction, which the pope could not refuse to grant; but the duke and his court thought it too slight, and insisted upon having it more full and signal. The pope's family visited the ambassador, and endeavoured to apologise for what had happened; and not only his holiness, but the queen of *Sweden* sought to pacify *Lewis* by their letters; but all was to no purpose, and the duke retired from *Rome* to *Tuscany*.

The pope would willingly have taken that opportunity *Lewis* to break with *Lewis*, but neither the emperor nor the XIV. king of *Spain* were in any condition to take his part; upon orders his which he implored their mediation, and again plied *Lewis* troops to with letters full of submission. All the answer he received besiege was a demand from the *French* king, that don *Mario* should that city. be banished *Rome* for five years; that cardinal *Imperiali*, who had favoured the *corfi* (so called because they were natives of *Corfica*) should lose his hat; that the *Corfican* guards should be broken, and expelled *Rome* for ever; and that a pillar should be erected with an inscription, apologising for the insult, upon the place where the outrage was committed. The pope endeavoured to elude the performance of those humiliating conditions; and temporised for four months, during which time, the duke of *Crequi* left *Italy*; and *Lewis* ordered an army under marshal *Praslin* to march into *Italy*, and besiege *Rome*. At the same time, *Lewis* demanded that the duke of *Parma* should be put in possession of *Castro*, and the duke of *Modena* of the vale of *Commachio*, which had been seized by the holy see.

His holiness was astonished and confounded at the severity The pope of those demands, and the haughtiness with which they were obliged to made. He found that none of the *Roman* catholic princes submit. were inclined to take his part, and that they were even preparing to join the *French*. Notwithstanding all those impending dangers, he still retained an air of resolution, and threatened to suffer every extremity rather than sacrifice the dignity of the *Roman* see. In the mean while, the parliament of *Provence* met, and summoned the pope to appear before it; and upon his not complying they ordered his city and territory of *Avignon* to be united to the crown of *France*. *Alexander* was for some time confirmed in his obstinacy

stinacy by the house of *Austria*; but finding himself deceived, he was obliged to employ the *Venetians* to mediate an accommodation between him and *Lewis*. Conferences were accordingly opened at *Lyons*, but without effect. They were transferred to other places, and again broken off, because *Alexander* refused to yield to the restitution of *Castro* and *Commachio*.

Terms of
the ac-
commo-
dation,

The appearance of a *French* fleet off the ecclesiastical state, which however, retired to *Sardinia*, without committing any hostilities, renewed the negotiation; which was managed, on the part of the pope, by his nuntio *Rasponi*, and on that of the *French* king by *Bourlemont*. Every meeting produced fresh demands on the part of *Lewis*, who affected to be the protector of the *Italian* princes against the incroachments of the see of *Rome*; and the treaty was at last finished, gloriously for *Lewis*. *Castro* was to be restored to the duke of *Parma*, upon condition of his discharging, in eight years, the money for which it had been mortgaged, amounting to above sixteen hundred thousand crowns; which never were paid. His holiness was obliged to remit a large debt to the duke of *Modena*; and to pay him forty thousand crowns, or provide him with a palace in *Rome*; to put him in possession of an estate to the value of thirty thousand crowns, and to yield many other valuable privileges, in compensation for the valley of *Commachio*. The cardinal patron was to repair to *France*, where, in the name of his holiness, he was to repeat before the *French* king the form of a submission, which was specified in the treaty, declaring that his holiness was sorry for the insult offered to the *French* ambassador; and that neither he nor his family were accessory to the same, or authorised its being committed. Cardinal *Imperiali* was to go *France*, and there make his submission before the king; and a number of other private ceremonies of humiliation and exaltation, were inserted in the treaty; but all of them tending to the aggrandisement of the *French* monarch. The *Corsean* guard was disqualified from ever serving in *Rome*, or the pope's territories; and the captain of the guard was broke, while the inscription on the pillar or pyramid, that was to be erected on the spot where their guard-house stood, was to declare the nature of their crime, and the reason of their banishment. All the pope gained for so many disgraceful concessions, which were to be accompanied with the banishment of don *Mario*, till he made his submission in writing, was his being reinstated in the possession of *Avignon*, and its dependencies.

which
were to his
discredit. Those articles were punctually fulfilled, and then his holiness turned his attention to the idle disputes between the *Dominicans* and the *Jesuits*, about the immaculate conception of the *Virgin Mary*; which terminated in favour of the *Jesuits*. The king of *Spain* was dissatisfied at his being disregarded

disregarded in the management of this accommodation, and that the pope had favoured the king of *Portugal*. Upon the whole, this determination was a severe blow upon the authority of the holy see; and the parliament of *Paris*, notwithstanding all the remonstrances made by the pope to the contrary, confirmed the regale, or the independency of the *Gallican* church upon the papal authority. This flattered the pride of *Lewis*, which was always at variance with his bigotry. He even passed some censures upon his subjects for carrying their opposition to *Alexander* farther than he intended, after he thought he had been sufficiently humbled. *Alexander* died on the twenty-second of *May* His death. 1667, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his pontificate. His character has been already mentioned; but he is by some writers commended for his love to learning, and, by all, for the magnificent works he erected at *Rome*, at the expence of the apostolical chamber; but sometimes by methods that were oppressive of private property.

He was succeeded by cardinal *Rospigliosi*, who took the Succeeded-name of *Clement IX*. His advancement was unexpected by himself, and he shewed himself worthy of it, by beginning *Clement* his government with the abolition of several oppressive taxes, IX. and by providing for the more plentiful supply of his capital with provisions. The profusion of the two former pontificates having exhausted his treasury, he gave a proof of his œconomy by suppressing some useless degenerated regulars, who were of no service to the clergy or their order. The war which continued to rage between the *Venetians* and the *Turks* required this measure; as he could no otherwise supply the former with money, but by giving them leave to secularise the possessions of those regulars. Some of their estates lay in the *Milanese*, and the kingdom of *Naples*, which belonging to *Spain*, that ministry made an opposition to the secularisations, which they alledged could not be effected without their master's consent. The affair was doubtless of a serious nature, and the *Spaniards* seem to have had the better of the argument. At *Naples*, the officers who were to carry the pope's bull into execution were insulted and beaten, and though the pope excommunicated the authors of the riot, yet he found himself wrong in his proceedings, and even repented of them; nor could they ever carry his bulls into execution within the *Spanish* dominions. All the His zeal apology he made was necessity, on account of the progress against the of the *Turks*; and he applied himself to oppose them more *Turks*. effectually by uniting the christian princes in a confederacy against them. For this purpose he sent his nephew, cardinal *Rospigliosi*, to the court of *France*; and a body of *French* troops was actually sent to defend *Canada* against the infidels. But *Lewis XIV.* had at that time no idea of making peace with *Spain*; being intent upon the reduction of *France*.

Franche Comte, which he actually conquered a few months after. This did not discourage his holiness in his pursuit of peace.

His prudent administration with regard to *France*.

Lewis, by *Clement's* influence, sent six thousand men into *Hungary* to the assistance of the emperor; though the reduction of the power of the house of *Austria* was his favourite measure. He at last agreed to treat, and the pope had the address to procure himself the honour of being nominated mediator at the conferences of *Aix la Chapelle*; where the peace of *Europe* was actually once more settled in 1668. This mark of distinction among the great powers of *Europe*, at a time when the papal power was become almost a phantom, was owing to the prudence and moderation of *Clement*, who was in his private life a man of virtue and piety. He neither enriched himself nor his relations, and he was even sparing as to their preferments; nor indeed was their ambition very extensive. Perceiving the growing power of *France*, (the only nation in *Europe* that had an able ministry,) he soothed her young king, who was full of fire and ambition, and at the same time he moderated the proceedings against the *Jansenists* there; which had been so violent during the two last pontificates as to threaten a civil war. He suffered *Lewis XIV.* (because he knew it was in vain to contend with him) to enjoy his regale in its full extent; and he empowered him to fill all the bishoprics, abbeys, and benefices in his kingdom as they became vacant. In short, he showed him every indulgence in his power, which perhaps, was the only method by which he could retain any part of that ancient revenue which had been paid to the bishops of *Rome*. He removed the monument which had been erected in that city to commemorate the conversion of *Henry IV.* to the *Roman* catholic religion, and which gave offence to *Lewis*, who in return suffered him to erase the pyramid that had been raised when the *Corficans* were banished. *Clement*, however, notwithstanding the instances of *Lewis*, could not be prevailed upon to part with the duchy of *Castro*, by giving the investiture of it to the duke of *Parma*.

Grants a dispensation to the queen of *Portugal* to marry her brother-in-law.

By the credit in which *Clement* stood at the court of *France*, he was enabled to do great things against the infidels. He fitted out a fleet of galleys, the command of which he gave to his nephew *Vincenzo Rospigliosi*, with orders for it to join the *French* and the *Maltese* fleets; and he prevailed with the *Roman* catholic powers in *Germany* to send considerable reinforcements to serve against the infidels, both in *Crete*, or *Candia*, and in *Hungary*. About this time, his attention was attracted by a most unprecedented event, which happened in the kingdom of *Portugal*. The daughter of the duke of *Nemours*, had been married to his *Portuguese* majesty, don *Alphonso*, with whom she lived very unhappily, not enjoying (as she pretended) even the rights of the marriage-bed.

riage-bed. The people pitied her distress, on account of the brutish disposition of her husband; and finding them ripe for a revolution of government, she fixed her affections on don *Pedro*, her husband's brother; and having dethroned don *Alphonso*, don *Pedro* mounted the throne; and the queen's former marriage being dissolved, a second was celebrated between her and don *Pedro*. This dissolution was somewhat irregular; for the cardinal of *Vendosme*, the queen's uncle, being the pope's legate in *France*, approved of it without receiving any instructions from his holiness for that purpose. *Clement* was nettled at this proceeding, but the cardinal justified himself under the plenitude of his legantine powers; and the king of *France* was a warm advocate for the divorce, and the confirmation of the marriage. Both *Lewis* and the queen applied to his holiness by letters; and attestations under the hands of no fewer than thirty physicians were sent him to prove *Alphonso's* insufficiency for the marriage-bed; though it appeared at the same time, that he had natural issue by another woman. The pope, without either refusing or granting the divorce, remitted the examination of the marriage to the dean of the inquisitors in *Portugal*, who found the first marriage to be invalid; upon which his holiness granted a bull of dispensation for the second, and acknowledged don *Pedro* to be a lawful independent monarch.

During the remaining short time of his pontificate, he His death, endeavoured, by appointing commissions, which were in- and cha- effectual for the purpose, to regulate his finances, and to rafter. introduce a reformation among the prelates, whose ignorance and indolence were now scandalous. While he was intent on those affairs, he heard of the loss of *Candia*, which was taken by the *Turks*; and it affected him so much, that it threw him into an apoplexy, and afterwards into a settled melancholly, which put an end to his life, on the ninth of *December* 1669. The character of this pope is one of the most amiable to be met with in the pontifical history. He is blamed for having too much indulged the pleasures of a table; but the flexibility of temper with which he is charged, was, perhaps, necessary in his situation. He had seen the papal authority despised and trampled on by the obstinacy of his predecessors; and he partly recovered it, by the mildness of his conduct, and the prudence of his concessions. His administration was generous and popular; nor, at the time of his death, was his family either rich or powerful.

The cardinal electors continued shut up in the conclave *Clement* for four months, before they could agree upon the choice X. pope. of a new pope, through the obstinacy of the cardinals *Rospigliosi*, *Barberini*, and *Chigi*. Necessity and confinement at last determined them in the choice of cardinal *Altieri*; who was descended of a patrician noble *Roman* family, and was then eighty years of age. He took the name of *Clement*

His first
minister
oppresses
the peo-
ple.

Clement X. He had resided as nuncio at *Naples* during *Massaniello's* insurrection ; and had been a great favourite with the late pope, who, when he was on his death-bed, created him a cardinal. Having few, or no blood relations, he adopted cardinal *Paolucci*, whose nephew had married *Clement's* neice, into all the honours and estates of the *Paolucci* family ; and made him his cardinal patron, or first minister. The house of *Paolucci* was poor, and the cardinal's relations needy and numerous ; his brother was placed at the head of the pope's marine. The days of nepotism were soon restored, the minister disposed of all benefices and promotions by his own authority ; and expressly forbade that any one should have access upon business, or that any petition should be presented to his holiness, without his consent. The consideration of the pope's advanced age, somewhat softened the indignation which the public felt at this despotism, and the same consideration prompted the cardinal to make the quicker dispatch in enriching and establishing his family. Under this pope the canonization of *Pius V.* was performed, and he gave the famous *Nitard*, who had been confessor to the queen of *Spain*, and was for some time first minister of that kingdom, a cardinal's hat.

Clement
acts in
contradic-
tion to
the *French*
king's re-
gale.

Clement X. was too much influenced by his minister, who now took the name of *Altieri*, to expend great sums against the *Turks*, who had over-run *Poland*. This, however, served as a pretext for raising three hundred thousand crowns upon *Italian* benefices ; but no more than fifty thousand were sent to *Poland*. Upon the death of that king, the famous *John Sobieski* succeeded him ; though *Altieri* did all he could to raise prince *Charles* of *Lorraine* to that throne ; nor was there afterwards a good understanding between *Sobieski* and his holiness, who refused, when requested by *Sobieski*, to give a cardinal's hat to the bishop of *Marjeilles*. His holiness was far from imitating the conduct of his predecessor, with regard to *France*. When *Lewis XIV.* in right of his regale, appointed a general of the order of *St. Lazarus*, which he intended to reform, *Altieri* persuaded the pope to appoint another person, a *Gascon* by birth, under the name of the abbot of the order. The *French* court treated this proceeding with the utmost contempt and indignation. Its ambassador, by his own authority, punished the attorney who had drawn up the *Gascon's* memorial to his holiness ; and when the *Gascon* returned to *France* with his pretended powers, he was arrested and imprisoned, and *Lewis* stuck to his own nomination. The pope soon perceived that his bulls and mandates availed him but little, when opposed to the regal power. *Altieri* proceeded with more success in another dispute he had with the foreign ministers residing in *Rome*. The imbecility of the late pope, had encouraged them not only to erect their
palaces

palaces into sanctuaries for criminals, but to plead an exemption from all taxes imposed upon provisions that were destined for their use. As great part of the papal revenue arose from the taxes upon those provisions, which were let out to farmers, the latter complained, with great justice, that, under cover of such exemptions, the pope's subjects, as well as other *Italians*, and foreigners, defrauded them in their income, so that they could not make up the sums which they had engaged to pay to the government. *Altieri* represented the matter to the several courts of those ambassadors, and intreated their masters to order them to desist from abusing their privileges, which, he said, his holiness was willing to confirm and preserve inviolate, so far as they regarded their own persons and families. All his representations being disregarded, *Altieri* published an edict, of cardinals *Altieri*, subjecting all foreign ministers to the payments of taxes in the same manner as other people. The ambassadors took fire at this presumption (as they called it) of the cardinal patron. They refused to address him any longer as first minister, and they prepared to go in a body and complain to his holiness in person. *Altieri*, not daunted by their menaces, barricadoed all the avenues to the papal palace; and made dispositions for repelling them by force, if they should proceed. The ambassadors applied to their masters, who condemned their conduct, and who justified the cardinal's moderation, in not rigorously exacting a compliance with his edict, but leaving their persons and families untaxed for their provisions, and themselves in possession of all their immunities as foreign ministers.

Altieri having, by his seasonable firmness, broken the confederacy, the ambassadors were obliged to submit; but *d'Estrees*, the French minister, could not be brought to comply with *Altieri*, on pretence that he held a private correspondence with the Spaniards. *Altieri* restrained the abuses of the ambassadors in other respects, particularly with regard to the sanctuary rights, which they claimed for criminals in their houses; and thereby he subdued the banditti so effectually, that *Rome* enjoyed a perfect state of tranquillity, when, in 1675, the jubilee was celebrated, which, on that account was remarkably splendid and numerous; to the great emolument of the *Romans*, and the farmers of the revenue. That same year, *Clement* gave a cardinal's hat to *Howard*, who was of the illustrious house of *Norfolk*, and who, though a strict *Roman* catholic, was a man of very moderate principles. He was the son of the earl of *Arundel*, who, during the distress of his royal master, had withdrawn into a voluntary exile; but while he travelled through *Italy*, this son *Philip* had been converted by a *Dominican* friar, and became himself one of that order.

The celebration of the jubilee was scarcely over, when his holiness, whose name was of far greater importance at a distance,

a distance, than it was with his neighbouring powers, received two applications; one from the king of *Persia*, the other from the czar of *Muscovy*, to whom his holiness denied the title of emperor. Both of them sought his alliance against the *Turks*; but both negotiations fell to the ground, as they expected from *Clement* far greater things than he could perform.

Death of
Clement.

In 1676, the banditti having been troublesome in *Naples*, that viceroy pursued them into the ecclesiastical state, where he took and put some of them to death. Though the pope at this time was in his dotage, and on his death-bed, he demanded satisfaction for this trespass; but died before he could obtain it. While he was upon his death-bed, *Altieri's* importunities for him to give away cardinals hats to four of his creatures, were incessant; but his holiness refused them, and begged that *Altieri* would suffer him to be pope for six hours, as he had enjoyed that dignity six years. He died on the twenty-second of *July* 1676.

Who is
succeeded
by *In-*
nocent XI.

The *French* interest was at that time so powerful in the conclave, that upon the recommendation of *Lewis XIV.* by cardinal *Odescalchi*, a noble *Italian*, possessed of a considerable private fortune, was chosen pope, and took the name of *Innocent XI.* His education and disposition were of a more liberal cast than those of his two immediate predecessors. Though *Altieri* was extremely obnoxious to the people, on account of the oppressions of his government, by which he had amassed immense riches, yet he protected him, because of the reforms he had introduced into the police; and upon his election he shewed a becoming indignation at the degeneracy of the *Roman* clergy, whom he proposed to reform. In his younger years he had served two campaigns in the imperial army, and was not unacquainted with amorous intrigues. The prospect of advancement had prevailed upon him to take holy orders; and he owed it chiefly to a magnificent present of plate he made to donna *Olympia*, and his losing considerable sums to her at play. Even after his election he retained the character of virtue and moderation, which he acquired while he was cardinal; for before he accepted of the dignity, he insisted upon settling some preliminary articles for the church's reformation, which he began to put into execution from the hour that he was inaugurated. As he was serious in this point, he pressed it with great vigour; but the popes were not now arbitrary, even within their own courts. The *French*, the *Spanish*, and *Austrian* cardinals, considered themselves as being responsible for the interests of their respective masters; and *Innocent* knew his own inability to use any compulsive measures. His (or as they may be properly called the *Italian*) cardinals, formed the only party whom he could depend upon in the conclave; but they were averse to all proposals

proposals for a reformation in matters that might affect their own interest.

All that *Innocent*, in this situation, could do, was to endeavour to retrieve his finances, which were in terrible disorder, to introduce some harmless alterations in the modes of worship, to improve the police of *Rome*, and the ecclesiastical state, and to regulate some points of behaviour among the ecclesiastics of an inferior order. He proposed a bull for abolishing the office of cardinal patron, which had of late years been so much abused; but he met with so violent an opposition from the *Italian* cardinals, that he was obliged to desist, and be satisfied with discontinuing it under his own pontificate. He refused to give any distinguished post in church or state to his own nephew, don *Livio*; and he prohibited him from assuming any mark of state or distinction, on account of their consanguinity. He consented, however, to his being ennobled by the *Venetians*, who created him duke of *Ceri*. *Innocent* was indefatigable in his exhortations to peace among the christian powers; and filled their courts with nuntios and legates for that purpose. His first minister was cardinal *Cibo*, and he diminished the military, to encrease the civil, power, by augmenting the number of his officers of police at *Rome*. He inveighed in public against the luxury of prelates, and did all he could to oblige them to residence. His cares to prevent any unworthy persons from being admitted into holy orders, were exemplary and well intended; but he was unable to put them in execution, because he was obliged to entrust it to others. His attention to the reformation of the church, and the re-establishment of his finances, gave opportunities for the foreign ministers at *Rome* to renew their encroachments. They had extended their pretended privileges so as to comprehend the streets in the neighbourhood of their palaces; which they opened as asylums to malefactors and criminals of every kind.

Innocent endeavoured to strike at the root of those abuses, and by publishing an edict for abolishing the privileges of quarters; and he next prevailed with *Christiana*, who then resided at *Rome*, to set the first example of obedience, by submitting to his orders. The other ambassadors, however, protested against the edict, and the *Spanish* proceeded so far as to open his quarters for the receptacle of a number of pressed recruits, who were to be sent to his master's armies in *Naples*; a circumstance which brings us back to the history of that kingdom.

In the year 1656, *Naples* was afflicted by a pestilence, imported from *Sardinia*, which swept off four hundred thousand of the natives in six months. From the capital it was diffused all over the kingdom, while its progress was so uncommon, that the *Neapolitans* conceived the ridiculous notion that it was propagated by the *Spaniards*, who strewed
poisoned

poisoned dust in their streets ; and it prevailed so strongly, that the viceroy was actually obliged to order a man to be broken upon the wheel for the crime. A more favourable season abated the calamity ; but during its continuance the banditti had encreased so much, that the count *de Castrillo* was employed in the most effectual means for suppressing them, when he was superseded in his viceroyalty by the count of *Peniaranda*, under whom they were suppressed ; and many of them sent to recruit the *Spanish* armies in *Portugal*. The count was succeeded by the cardinal *Paschal*, of *Arragon* ; under whom the disorders of the banditti were renewed. He was, in 1666, succeeded by his brother don that king-*Pedro* of *Arragon* ; but the king of *Spain* being then under age, pope *Alexander VII.* claimed the administration of the government during his minority, though without effect. The kingdom was then threatened with an invasion by the *French* king, which put the viceroy to extraordinary trouble and expences ; while his difficulties were encreased by the ill success of the *Spanish* arms in every quarter, and the incessant demands made upon him by that ministry for men and money. The power of the viceroyalty at last was so much reduced, that the banditti made themselves masters of many considerable posts and places in the kingdom ; and their insolence went so far as to collect the public revenues, and to prohibit the inhabitants from paying their taxes to the king's officers. Their enormities were encouraged by the sordid disposition of the viceroy, who, for money, suffered the most flagrant crimes to pass unpunished, by which he carried off with him to *Spain* an immense fortune ; when he was succeeded in his viceroyalty by the marquis of *Astorga*.

That nobleman found the kingdom afflicted with rapine, famine, disorder, and every evil that can affect society or human nature. The descents of the *Turks* encreased the public calamities, and co-operated with the ravages of the banditti ; the coin was debased, a stop was put to commerce, and the most infamous crimes found asylums in the numerous churches, convents, and other religious houses, that were always open for their reception. It is surprizing, that the kingdom of *Naples*, under all those calamities, was enabled, as it did, to send very considerable reinforcements, both by sea and land, to assist the *Spaniards* in their unfortunate wars. The city of *Messina* revolted from their government, and the marquis of *Astorga* sent a reinforcement to the *Spanish* fleet, which was beaten by the *French*, who then took possession of that city. The assistance which the marquis gave to the *Spaniards*, could not be procured without laying excessive imposts upon the people, part of which the court of *Spain* suspecting to be imbezzled by the viceroy, he was recalled, and succeeded by the marquis *de los Velez*. He began his government by punishing the banditti who

who had joined the *French*, in endeavouring to excite the *Neapolitans* to imitate the *Messinians* in the throwing off the *Spanish* yoke. He procured a donative of two hundred thousand ducats from the people, which did so much service to the *Spanish* affairs, that their fleet, being joined by the famous *Dutch* admiral *Ruyter*, the *French* ungenerously withdrew their protection from the *Messinians*, who were obliged again to submit to the government of *Spain*, which bridled them with a strong citadel, and abolished their privileges. In the mean while, the sailors who returned from the *Sicilian* expedition, filled *Naples* with the most dreadful disorders, which were punished by the viceroy, without distinction of persons, by public and private executions, and commitments to the galleys; while the adulteration of the coin was so general, that it occasioned next to a general bankruptcy. The great abilities of the viceroy, in part, remedied this disorder, but could not remove it, and the practices of false coinage were chiefly carried on by monks in convents, and by slaves in galleys, to which they had been committed for that very crime.

Upon the infraction of the treaty of *Nimeguen* by the Great *French*, the viceroy sent two ships with ammunition, and put two thousand men to *Barcelona*; and soon after the marquis *Indel Carpio* succeeded *los Velez* in the viceroyalty of *Naples*. The alarming progress of the *French* arms astonished all the powers of *Europe*; but fixed *Innocent* in a determined resolution to oppose them, both in his spiritual and temporal capacity. *Spain* was despirited and weak; *Germany* divided and distressed equally by the *Turks* as the *French*. The king of *England* had been gained over by *Lewis*, to second all his ambitious projects. The northern powers rather inclined to favour that of *France*; and the public spirit of the *Dutch* gave way to prudential considerations, which suggested to them, that, singly, they were no match for *France*. In this general consternation *Innocent XI.* alone remained firm. He used the policy, as we may say, of carrying the war into the country of the enemy, (who called himself the eldest son of the church) by issuing bulls and mandates against the *French* king's regale. *Lewis*, as haughty as the pope was resolute, enforced severe penal laws against all who published such mandates in his kingdom; and by his own authority he appointed bishops, ordered them to be consecrated, and put them in possession of their sees. The undaunted pontiff redoubled his fulminations, and the spirit of both grew in proportion to the difficulties which each had to encounter. The bishop of *Pamiers* had refused to submit to the regale, and the pope supporting him with his spiritual arms, declared that he was, in imitation of his predecessors, ready to suffer the sharpest afflictions in defence of his spiritual authority.

This

The regale asserted in *France* in four propositions.

This declaration made an impression upon *Lewis*, whose conscience was in the hands of *Jesuits*. Instead of emancipating himself entirely from the church of *Rome*, he ordered an assembly of his bishops to be called at *Paris*, in 1682. There the power of the pope was declared to be merely spiritual; and the following propositions were assented to by the whole assembly, and the universities of *France*, as containing a sacred and inviolable rule of faith.

1. That neither *St. Peter* nor his successors, have received from God any power to interfere, directly or indirectly, in what concerns the temporal interests of princes and sovereign states; that kings and princes cannot be deposed by ecclesiastical authority, nor their subjects freed from the sacred obligation of fidelity and allegiance, by the power of the church, or the bulls of the *Roman* pontiff.
2. That the decrees of the council of *Constance*, which maintain the authority of a general council, as superior to that of the popes, in spiritual matters, are approved and adopted by the *Gallican* church.
3. That the rules, customs, institutions, and observances, which have been received in the *Gallican* church, are to be preserved inviolable.
4. That the decisions of the pope, in points of faith, are not infallible, unless they be attended with the consent of the church.

Literary controversies on that subject.

All *Europe* was soon filled with writings published by order of *Innocent*, whose principal champion was cardinal *Sfondrati*. The *French* king ordered the famous *Bossuet*, bishop of *Meaux*, who was esteemed the most learned and elegant writer in *France*, to answer the pope's advocates, which he did in a masterly performance. Had not *Lewis* been in his heart a slave to superstition and bigotry, he would have laid hold of that inviting opportunity entirely to have broken the papal chains; but his conscience continued to be enthralled by the *Jesuits*, and he was daunted by the intrepidity and perseverance of *Innocent*. He did not even dare to suffer *Bossuet's* book to be published, nor did it make its appearance till so late as the year 1730.

Steadiness and policy of *Innocent*

The doctrine contained in the four propositions, was not the only blow the papal authority received at this time in *France*; for the assembly declared that the regale ought to extend to all churches in *France*, without exception. The *French* prelates joined in a letter to the pope, which they consigned to the hands of cardinal *d'Estrees*, then residing at *Rome*. His holiness answered them by condemning the four propositions, and ordering them to be publicly burnt. He then wrote the prelates a letter, reproaching them as being traitors to the cause of God. The vigour of the pope in the noble assistance he afforded to the house of *Austria* against the infidels, did *Innocent* great service at this time, by adding to the dignity of his character. He gave away sixteen, of twenty six, cardinal's hats, which were vacant; and

and cardinal *d'Estrees*, who still resided at *Rome*, advised *Lewis* not to push his differences with *Innocent* farther, unless he intended totally to renounce his spiritual authority; and his advice was taken.

Innocent had now daily opportunities of manifesting his zeal against the *Turks*, who were at the gates of *Vienna* and frugality; and it was chiefly owing to him, that the famous *John Sobieski*, magnanimously overlooked all differences with the emperor, and saved his house from ruin by raising the siege of *Vienna*. *Innocent* even went so far as to solicit a general league against the infidels, and to advance money to the house of *Austria*. The frugality and simplicity of his way of life deprived the protestant powers of any opportunity for attacking his morals and principles, while he conciliated the veneration of the *Roman* catholics; but *Innocent's* concern in politics, so far as they regarded the system of power in *Europe*, reached no farther than depressing the house of *Bourbon*, and asserting the internal rights he claimed within the kingdom of *France*. In those two lights, we are to consider the conduct of this extraordinary pontiff. He stuck at nothing, even to the leaguings with the friends and allies of protestants for reducing the ambition of *France*; but when the concerns of the *Roman* catholics took place, he joined with *Lewis* against his protestant subjects, because they were always ready to side with their king against the see of *Rome*. He approved, therefore, of the infamous revocation of the edict of *Nants*; but he is said, either to have condemned the bloody proceedings attending that revocation, or to have been wholly ignorant of them.

As a temporal prince, he was extremely careful to improve the morals of his subjects, and he enacted sumptuary laws, with excommunication attending their being contravened. Those laws extended so far as to take from music-masters, though they were ecclesiastics, the liberty of teaching any woman; and the singing nuns were to be instructed by persons of their own sex and profession. When the treaty of *Augsbourg* was concluded between the emperor, the states of the empire, and the king of *Spain*, *Innocent* objected to it, on account of the clause by which the contracting parties bind themselves to oppose the *French* king in spiritual, as well as temporal, concerns; and his objections having no weight, he withdrew his subsidy from the emperor for some time.

About the year 1687, a *Spanish* priest, one *Molinos*, residing at *Rome*, had obtained a most extraordinary character for his piety, and had gained a vast number of followers of both sexes. He published a book, entitled, "The Spiritual Guide," in which he maintained, that the soul, in the pursuit of the supreme good, must retire from the reports and gratifications of sense, and, in general, from all corporeal objects, and imposing silence upon all the motions

of the understanding and will, must be absorbed in the Deity. The *Jesuits* took fire at his reviving all the principles of the antient mystics, and his setting at nought all their labours for the benefit of christianity. Cardinal *d'Estrees*, the *French* ambassador, put himself at the head of the prosecution intended against him; and *Innocent*, who endeavoured to gratify *Lewis* in every thing that did not affect the balance of power in *Europe*; consented to *Molinos* being thrown into the prison of the inquisition. This was the more extraordinary, as *Innocent* himself had given the strongest approbation of *Molinos*' virtue, sanctity, and doctrine; and in this he was followed by some of the most considerable personages about his court. While *Molinos* was in the inquisition, so powerful was the influence of his enemies the *Jesuits*, that he was put to the torture, and though he defended his opinions with arguments that were unanswerable by his opponents, yet he was obliged to submit to a public recantation; which was so far from procuring his liberty that he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, in which he died in the year 1696.

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ground.

His punishment and death encreased the number of his followers. Indolent monks, priests, friars, and bishops, who lived in a sequestered manner, without labour, toil, or trouble, embraced his tenets, as leading to the surest way towards heaven. Persons of an enthusiastic turn, but possessed of affluent fortunes, were enraptured with quietism, and it spread even among protestants, who were of the like turn and circumstances. *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, and the *Netherlands*, were filled with votaries of the new doctrine, the progress of which must have been fatal to *Jesuitism*, if its professors had not split among themselves. Though all of them agreed in the main point, yet such is the nature of enthusiasm, that the smallest deviation from the most trifling opinion, becomes capital in the eyes of the person who holds it.

The tri-
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entry of
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quis of
Lavardin
into *Rome*.

The sacrifice of *Molinos* was not sufficient to satisfy the ambition, or rather vanity, of *Lewis*. Upon the death of the duke *d'Estrees*, who had been for some time the only band of amity between him and *Innocent*, the latter intimated that he was resolved to abolish the franchises, or quarters round ambassadors houses in *Rome*, claimed by them as privileged places. To pave the way for the consent of *Lewis*, the pope prevailed with the other crowned heads of *Europe*, and among the rest with, the, then, catholic king of *England*, *James II.* to consent to those disenfranchisements; but *Lewis*, who hated the pope, was so far from imitating them, that he told *Ranucci*, *Innocent*'s nuncio, that their conduct was no rule to him, but that his example ought to direct them. Being resolved to make his triumph over the pope as public as possible, he ordered the marquis of *Lavardin* to repair to *Rome* as his ambassador, while *Innocent*

was thundering out his excommunications against all who should maintain the right to franchises of quarters, whether ecclesiastical or secular. The grounds of this proceeding of *Lewis* was deeper laid than most historians have apprehended. He, at this time, was planning the scheme, if not of a universal, yet of a very extensive, monarchy, and had, upon more occasions than one, pretended that he was to be regarded as the male descendant of *Charles the Great*, and, consequently, entitled to the whole of his monarchy, in which he reckoned *Rome* itself. In consequence of this scheme, the marquis of *Lavardin* entered *Rome*, rather as a victorious general, than an ambassador. While he was at *Bolegna*, the pope sent to acquaint him that he must not proceed farther, unless he renounced his right to the franchises. The marquis paid no attention either to the excommunication, or the master of the ceremonies, but proceeded to *Rome*, at the head of four hundred volunteer officers, the same number of marine guards, and two hundred lackies, all of them ready for action, if they had met with opposition. The pope's guards, who were armed, not for service, but shew, gave them none, and the marquis took possession of his quarter, which he formed into a garrison, where guards, patrols, and centinels regularly did duty. The pope repeated his excommupications, which were treated as before, with great contempt. He laid the church and clergy of the church of *St. Lewis* under an interdict, because, lying within the *French* quarter, the marquis had there received the sacrament. The marquis, on the other hand, braved his holiness, by affecting to appear in public upon all occasions, after he had been refused audience.

Innocent, undismayed by this behaviour, refused bulls to Firmness thirty eight bishops, who had been nominated by *Lewis*; of the and when the latter wanted to make the cardinal of *Furs-* pope, *temberg* elector of *Cologne*, *Innocent* bestowed it upon his competitor prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*. *Furstemberg* was a creature of *France*, and *Innocent* thought he could not give a more effectual check to *Lewis*, than by this measure, in which he was supported by the emperor, and the house of *Austria*. The most extraordinary part of *Innocent's* history, was his behaviour towards the abdicated king of *England*, *James II.* who had lost his crown for his attachment to the popish religion. *Innocent* was not so intent upon making converts as he was upon humbling the *French* power. He looked upon *James* as being entirely devoted to *Lewis*; and that misguided prince even courted him to receive him and his kingdom into the bosom of the holy see. He had sent several ministers, both in public and private, to *Rome*, where they were treated with great coldness, if not rudeness, by his holiness, who expressed none of those raptures that were natural on his receiving so important an acquisition. *James*,

Who dis-
approves
of the
conduct of
James II.
of *England*

to conquer this coldness, affected to treat *Lewis* upon an equality, and even threatened to break with him if he did not do justice to the holy see ; but in the mean while, he gave preference to the *Jesuits* over all the other *Romish* clergy in his dominions. He made father *Petre*, a privy counsellor, and when the pope sent *Dadda*, as his nuntio, into *England*, he made a public entry at *Windsor*. These, and other infractions of the *English* laws and constitutions were far from being agreeable to *Innocent*. He often expressed his fears, that the *Jesuits* would impel *James*, who was of himself but too forward, to his ruin ; as actually happened. When the prince of *Orange* invaded *England*, the *French* king offered king *James* an army of forty thousand men, which was rejected ; and *Innocent* heard of the success of the prince of *Orange* with coolness, if not with satisfaction, as he actually dreaded king *James* more than he did king *William*, who was by nature and principle the firm, determined, enemy of *France*.

The wisdom and policy of *Innocent* was very conspicuous at this juncture. By the stand he made against *Furstenberg*, he gave to the *French* interest the severest blow it ever had received in *Germany* ; and, at the same time, he thereby relieved the *Dutch* from their apprehensions, so far as to render them safe, while they lent king *William* an army for his expedition, which they durst not have done, had it not been for the spirit of the pope. He went farther, for he was principally concerned in the plan which laid the foundation for the general confederacy that afterwards humbled *Lewis*, and disappointed all his ambition.

After the revolution of *England* was completed, king *James*, depending on his great merits with the see of *Rome*, sent one *Porter*, to solicit his interest at the court of his holiness, who received him civilly, and sent him back with a few consecrated trinkets. This irritated the *Jesuits* so much, that they actually prayed for *Innocent's* conversion ; and even set on foot cabals for dethroning him. The money *Innocent* granted towards opposing the *Turks*, was applied to prevent the restoration of *James*, not without the connivance of his holiness. It is certain, that he was so far from encouraging the earl of *Castlemain*, ambassador from *James*, while he was resident at *Rome* ; that *Innocent* dropt words intimating, that the sooner he went from thence the better. Before his death, *Lewis XIV.* seized the city and territory of *Avignon* into his own hands. This somewhat staggered the resolution of his holiness, and he lent an ear to the cardinals *d'Este*, and *d'Etrées*, who were in the *French* interest, so far as to send *d'Este*, who was an able negociator, to make up matters with the court of *France*, if possible, without violating the honour and dignity of the pope ; and, in the mean while, he exhorted the cardinals

dinals to do their utmost in assisting king *James* during the carnival. *Innocent* politically ordered public prayers to be put up for the safety of christendom, thereby intimating, that it was in danger from the *French* on one side, and the *Turks* on the other.

The negotiation with which cardinal *d'Este* was charged proved ineffectual; and his holiness perceiving that the insolence of the *French* encreased every hour, ordered the castle of *St. Angelo* to be fortified, and all strangers to leave it, for fear of keeping up a communication with the *French*. To encrease the aversion of the public to that people, he privately instructed his ministers to confine themselves to their houses, and to keep their interviews with foreign ambassadors as secret as possible. The lord *Howard* (as he was called in *Italy*) was the last minister whom king *James* sent to the pope's court; where he made a demand of a cardinal's hat for the father *Petre*, which the pope flatly refused, as he had before to consent to his being archbishop of *Canterbury*. This enraged lord *Howard* so much, that he charged the pope, to his face, with being the main spring of the revolution which had dethroned his master king *James*. The pope complained to *James* of this disrespectful behaviour; but, at the same time, expressed all possible regard for his person, and distressed circumstances, and offered to do all in his power for his service, provided *France* was to reap no benefit from his restoration. Lord *Howard* having discharged his commission, went to *Florence*, and to the courts of several *Italian* princes, to solicit supplies of money, in which he was pretty successful, as they in general favoured the *French* interest.

Innocent finding all hopes of an accommodation with *France* vanished, directed his resentment against the *Jesuits*, who were all powerful at the court of *Lewis*; and he had the address to bring the republic of *Venice* into the plan of a confederacy he had formed against the *French*. *Tachard*, a *French Jesuit*, (who has left to the world the *History of Siam*) appeared at *Innocent's* court, as ambassador from that prince, his holiness gave him an audience in a sneering ironical manner, and told him, that he was too old to see the total conversion of the *Siamese*; and that he was afraid the conversion of his majesty and his court was after the *Jesuits* fashion, meaning that it was only pretended. By this time, the *French* king had put the pope's nuntio under arrest, as a guarantee for the safety of the marquis of *La- vardin*, who, under pretence that the pope was contriving to clap him up in the *Roman* inquisition, had now reinforced his train to the number of six thousand persons in arms.

Though *Innocent* was not displeased at *James* being dethroned, yet he was alarmed when he heard that the prince of *Orange* was chosen to the throne of *England*; but he hinted to cardinal *d'Este*, who was brother-in-law to *James*, that

that the latter need not give himself the trouble of making any more applications for money at his court, as the most ridiculous part a man could act was to be a beggar at *Rome*. He even, underhand, did all he could to favour the *English* and *Dutch* fleets in the *Mediterranean*. In the year 1689, queen *Christina* of *Sweden*, died at *Rome*, and left his holiness her executor. The *Swedish* crown demanded the jewels that she had carried out of her kingdom on promise of being returned after her decease; but his holiness refused to return them till he was reimbursed in the sum of seventy two thousand crowns, which he lent her some time before her death. She had desired to be buried privately, but *Innocent* ordered her a most magnificent funeral, and that a sumptuous monument should be erected to her memory, opposite to that of the famous countess *Matilda*.

The marquis of *Lavardin*'s departure from *Rome*

The perseverance and resolution of *Innocent*, at last, prevailed over the pride and haughtiness of *Lewis XIV*. *Lavardin* was recalled, on which occasion, cardinal *d'Esrees*, declared to cardinal *Cibo*, to whom the pope had referred him, that, for the space of eighteen months that the most christian king had waited, his holiness, instead of giving him any satisfaction, had excommunicated his ambassador, and testified, by several other signs, how little deference he had for the eldest son of the church; and therefore, that he had recalled his ambassador, and revoked the commission he had given the cardinal to treat of the differences that were between them; and that, therefore, from thence forward, all negotiations were to cease between the two courts. Cardinal *Cibo* having made his report of this conference to his holiness, he made answer, with an overjoyed countenance, that, since the king of *France* had recalled his ambassador, and thereby removed one of the greatest obstacles of their reconciliation till that very time, he hoped his majesty would become, for the future, more just and equitable; and that new overtures would present themselves for renewing the treaties.

Lavardin leaves *Rome*.

After this, the marquis took down from the portal of his palace, the pope's and the king's arms, and by a public act, surrendered the house to the duke of *Parma*'s envoy; declaring, that after his departure, the same should cease to be under the jurisdiction of the king his master. *Lavardin* left *Rome* in the same military manner he had entered it; and he was no sooner gone, than *Innocent* ordered the fortifications of *Civita Vecchia*, and his other garrisons, to be visited and repaired; as he every day expected a descent of the *French* upon the ecclesiastical state. Upon *Lavardin*'s departure, the gloom which had hung, during his residence at *Rome*, upon his holiness, was entirely dispelled; and he desired the *Spanish* ambassador, who, for fear of *Lavardin*, had for some time before lived incognito at *Rome*, to make his public entry. The *Venetians* demanded assistance from him
against

against the *Turks*; but he refused it, alledging, that it was at a time of too much danger for him to send away his gallies from the coasts of *Italy*. The cardinal *d'Estrees* having left *Rome* at the same time with *Lavardin*, a letter was sent to all the *French Jesuits* in that city, to repair directly to *France*, and to pay no obedience to their general, because he was a *Spaniard*. This order, however, was countermanded for some weeks, during which time cardinal *d'Estrees* returned to *Rome*, where he met with a most contemptuous reception from his holiness; while all the rest of *Europe* was trembling under the apprehensions of the *French* power. The marquis of *Nigrelli* was then the pope's general, and made such dispositions for resisting the *French*, as to convince all *Europe* that his holiness would rather chuse to bury himself in the ruins of *Rome* than submit to *Lewis*.

In the beginning of *August* 1689, his holiness, who was then in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and oppressed with infirmities of every kind, fell into his last sickness, during which, his nephew don *Livio Odescalchi*, and cardinal *Cibo*, having the greatest share of his confidence, never left his chamber, under pretence of their vast attention to his health and anxiety for his recovery; but their true reason was, that he might be prevailed with to fill up the vacancies of the consistory with their own creatures, which *Innocent* declined to do, alledging, that he was unfit to mind any business. When he found his end drawing near, he advised his nephew to retire to his paternal estate, and not to concern himself in the election of the next pope; and he died on the twelfth of *August*, leaving twelve vacancies in the sacred college, besides as many vacant benefices and nuntiatures as were said to be worth five hundred thousand pounds sterling. *Innocent XI.* was one of the most complete politicians that had ever filled the see of *Rome*; and, what is rarely to be found, he was a man of principle. He had one passion in common with the greatest protestant prince of his age, king *William*, that of humbling the power of *France*, and both of them pursued it steadily and intrepidly. This great principle rendered *Innocent* less attentive than he ought to have been to the distresses of his subjects. He relieved none of them from their burthensome taxes, particularly that upon bread, with which they were loaded, and which were thought to have driven one fourth of the inhabitants from *Rome* during his pontificate. His memory is accused of his having monopolized bread corn; but on his death-bed he declared, that if he lived longer, he would relieve his people from that tax. His disinterestedness appeared from the great care he took to enrich his successor; and from the frugality of his own court, that he might be enabled to expend the greater sums in opposing the *Turks* and the *French*, whom he looked upon in the same light.

Intrigues
of the
conclave.

The *Roman* faction was the strongest in the conclave that was to elect a successor for *Innocent*; but cardinal *d'Etrees*, who continued to manage the interests of *France* at *Rome*, sent for all the *French* cardinals, and acquainted *Lewis*, that he had apartments ready in his own palace for them all; to the end, that being in a body lodged under the same roof, they might the more easily take their measures together before they entered the conclave. The *Jesuits* left no arts or intrigues untried to give the holy see a head, of a character the reverse of that of *Innocent XI.* whom they accused of having been the chief of the heretics in christendom. Cardinal *Cibo* had the greatest interest of any member of the conclave; but he was old and disagreeable to *France*. Don *Livio Odescalchi*, had, during his uncle's pontificate, behaved with so becoming a modesty, that he was appointed general of the church during the interregnum, and created a prince of the empire by the emperor *Leopold*. The government of the city of *Rome* was committed to cardinal *Spinola*, and that of the conclave to cardinal *Casani*. The arts of cardinal *d'Estrees* protracted the election till the arrival of the *French* cardinals, by amusing them with hopes that *Lewis* would restore the city and territory of *Avignon*, to the holy see, and conform to the bull of the late pope against the franchises of quarters. The conclave, in general, declined to acknowledge the duke of *Chaulnes*, who was sent from *Lewis* in quality of *French* ambassador, until he had previously relinquished his claim to the franchises; but upon his arrival at *Rome*, attended by five hundred soldiers, and the *French* cardinals *de Bouillon*, *Bonsi*, and *Furstenberg*, their opposition ceased, and they seemed to be all compliance. Being introduced into a room which communicated with the conclave, he made a speech, in which he expatiated upon the vast care his master had taken to extirpate heresy out of the church, and his great zeal to succour the king of *England* against the prince of *Orange*, whom he branded with the title of enemy of the church. He exhorted them, in his master's name, to make choice of a person worthy to supply *St. Peter's* chair; who being a man without any partiality, might have no other aim but to reunite all the powers of *Europe*, and to root out heresy, which began to gather new strength. Cardinal *Ottoboni* answered him in *Latin*, thanked him, in the name of the sacred college, for his master's good intentions, and assured him they would endeavour to answer his expectations. After an infinite number of intrigues, that same cardinal *Ottoboni*, who was a noble *Venetian*, and eighty years of age, was chosen pope, chiefly by the interest of cardinal *Chigi*, who was in hopes to succeed him. *Ottoboni*, after his election, took the name of *Alexander VIII.* and he was no sooner proclaimed, than the *French* am-

Alexander
VIII.
chosen
pope.

assador

ballador prostrated himself at his feet, and, in his master's name, restored to him *Avignon* with its dependencies.

The assisting king *James* was among the first of *Alex-* His cor-
ander's deliberations, and every cardinal contributed his rupt ad-
money for that effect according to his ability. His holiness ministra-
then wrote a letter acknowledging the infinite obligations tion,
he was under to the republic of *Venice* for his exaltation.
The *Venetians*, on the other hand, were not backward in
loading his nephew and family with honours, and they
carried about his picture in their processions with as much
reverence as they could have done that of a deity. His
holiness, though old, was very vigorous, and during the first
six weeks of his reign, suffered nothing to escape his atten-
tion. The maxims of his pontificate, however, were en-
tirely different from those of his predecessor, for he endea-
voured to divert the force of the general confederacy that
had been formed against *France*, by persuading the *Venetians*
and the imperialists to continue the war with the *Turks*,
which prevented the emperor *Leopold* from directing the
whole of his force against *Lewis*. Nepotism was encouraged
under *Alexander* to as great a degree as it had prevailed
under any of his predecessors. He revived the place of
grand chancellor of the *Roman* church, which had been
abolished during the late pontificate, and gave it to his
grand nephew, whom he likewise made cardinal patron,
and legate of *Avignon*. He gave to his nephew don *Antonio*,
the command of his army, and to his other nephew, that
of his gallies, besides the dukedom of *Fiano*, which he pur-
chased for him, and raising him to a rank which enabled
him to match into the *Colonna* family.

Alexander, besides his nepotism, is accused of indolence, death and
and of destroying all the excellent plan of reformation laid character.
down by his predecessor. This, however, did not divert
him from pursuing the favourite purpose of the popedom,
that of abolishing the regale in *France*. Being sensible of
the great services he had done to *Lewis*, he refused to grant
any bulls to the prelates who had assisted in the assembly at
Paris, where the four famous propositions we have already
mentioned were drawn up, unless they recanted them. *Lewis*
was of opinion that he was king of only one half of his
subjects, if the papal claims over his clergy were establish-
ed, and he commanded his clergy to reject the condition,
which they accordingly did; but at the same time they
ordered a deputation to repair to *Rome*, to lay before his
holiness their reasons for non-compliance. *Alexander* was
deaf to all their remonstrances, and prepared a bull con-
demning the propositions, but he was obliged to conceal it,
as he found *Lewis* determined to support his regale. But, in
the mean while, he died, in the eighty first year of his age,
hated by the princes even of his own communion, and la-
mented only by his family. During the time of his pon-
tificate,

tificate, which lasted only fifteen months and twenty two days, he squandered upon his relations about sixteen hundred thousand crowns. His grand nephew, when his holiness died, was possessed of about twenty five thousand pounds sterling in ecclesiastical livings; and the earl of *Melford*, who was sent to *Rome* to solicit the cause of *James*, stung *Alexander*, by desiring that he would be but one third part as liberal to that abdicated monarch as he was to his nephews. In short, he was a professed simonist, and sold every ecclesiastical living within his gift. In his private life he was a buffoon, often drunk, and his principles tended towards atheism.

Succeeded by Innocent XII. On the twelfth of *July*, 1691, *Anthony Pignatelli*, a noble *Neapolitan*, was chosen pope, and took the name of *Innocent* twelve. He had gone through all the subordinate offices of the papacy, and was remarkable for the purity and simplicity of his manners. Being persuaded that nothing but a thorough reformation could retrieve the credit of the papedom; he applied himself with great vigour to abolish the abuses which had crept in during the government of his predecessors, and laid down a plan of administration, which might have been approved of even by protestants, could they have overlooked the fundamental errors of popery. He discharged his relations from coming to *Rome*, and refused to grant them any ecclesiastical preferments. He severely punished all corruption in public offices, and was indefatigable in finding out men of merit for filling the highest dignities under him. The citizens of *Rome* rejoiced at his exaltation, and, by the useless places which he suppressed, he saved a revenue of eighty thousand crowns a year to the apostolical chamber, which, at his accession, was five millions in debt, through the lavishments of his predecessor upon his relations. His private expences were so small that he confined himself to eighteen pence a day for his dinner; and he allowed nothing for supper. Assassinations had, during the late pontificates been so common at *Rome*, that a hundred and eighty two murders had been committed while the holy see was vacant; but by the proper distribution of the *sbirri* he restored that city to peace and regularity. He published severe edicts against gaming, and affected to disclaim all nepotism, by adopting the poor for his nephews. He lodged within his palace no fewer than five thousand indigent persons, and erected a fund of three hundred thousand crowns for their maintenance; but he was remarkably severe upon those who encreased their number by indolence and laziness.

The pope humbles the French king. *Innocent XII.* had the good fortune to be seconded in his salutary schemes by a public spirited minister, cardinal *Albani*, whom he consulted when he emitted a bull, which he obliged all his cardinals to subscribe, confining the benevolence of every future pope towards their nephews to twelve

twelve thousand crowns a year. He suppressed operas, and other theatrical representations at *Rome*; but he met with so strenuous an opposition when he attempted to reform the regular monks, whose families were there very powerful, that he was obliged to abandon the design. In the year 1692, he entered into a negotiation with *Lewis XIV.* and notwithstanding that prince's haughty manner of conducting himself towards the holy see, he forced him and his bishops into a submission, and to recant the four propositions, which he and his predecessors deemed to be derogatory to his holiness; by which the long laboured scheme of establishing the regale in *France* was entirely blasted. His triumph was complete in this respect, for the *French* prelates wrote him a letter, expressing the deepest contrition for all that had passed in their assemblies to the prejudice of the apostolical chamber. In 1694, *Innocent*, by observing the proper balance between the *French* and imperialists, forced the emperor *Leopold* to give up all his authority over the fiefs in the ecclesiastical state, and to consent to their being united to the see of *Rome*.

In the year 1696, *Innocent* declared himself a partizan of History of *France*, and endeavoured to detach the crown of *Spain* from *French* the grand alliance, but without success; though he prevailed with the duke of *Savoy* to agree to a neutrality for *Italy*. He was an implacable enemy to the sect of the quietists, which obliges us to give some farther account of that celebrated controversy which employed the ablest pens of the *Romish* church. We have already mentioned the doctrine of *Molinos*, who had been a severe sufferer in the *Roman* inquisition. *Maria Bouvieres de la Mothe Guyon*, was among the most celebrated of his followers. She was a woman of virtue, and had a good heart; but, in her religious notions, her fancy was warm and unbridled. *Fenelon*, the famous archbishop of *Cambray*, the greatest genius that *France*, perhaps, ever produced, became her proselyte, which occasioned a dispute between him and *Bossuet* bishop of *Meaux*, who is thought to have been the sounder divine. *Bossuet* had composed a book refuting madam *Guyon*'s doctrines, and he applied to *Fenelon* to give it his sanction of approbation, which he was so far from doing, that he wrote a treatise in her vindication, tending to prove, that the love of the Supreme Being must be pure and disinterested; that is, exempt from all the views of interest, and all hope of reward. *Bossuet*, who was as ambitious and vindictive as *Fenelon* was calm and resigned, made use of the *French* king's interest with the pope to obtain a condemnation of *Fenelon*'s book. The examination of it was referred to a congregation, who, in general, declared it to be unsound and fixed upon twenty-three propositions, which they declared to be erroneous; without specifying the author. *Fenelon* behaved, upon this occasion, with a resignation and meekness that proved how entirely he was convinced of the doctrines he professed.

professed. He not only acquiesced in the sentence that had been pronounced against him ; but read it from his pulpit, and exhorted his hearers to revere the papal decree without reserve. Notwithstanding this, the public in general believed that *Fenelon* died in the sentiments he had professed.

and religious differences.

Other sectaries sprung up about the same time. *Isaac la Peyrere* maintained, that the *Mosaical* history of the creation related only to the original of the *Jews*, but not to that of the human race ; and that the globe was inhabited by many nations before *Adam*, whom he considered as the father of the *Israelites*. Though *Peyrere* was a protestant, yet living under a popish government, he was persecuted by the *Jesuits*, imprisoned at *Brussels*, and obliged to renounce his doctrines. One *White*, an *Englishman*, who is celebrated in the writings of all the theological authors, but those of his own country ; was the founder of another sect, which adopted the doctrines of the perepatetic philosophy into christianity, for which his writings were condemned by the congregation at *Rome*. *Joseph Francis Borri*, a *Milanes*e knight, was a heretic of a different stamp, and pretended to be founder of a new celestial kingdom, under the patronage of the *Virgin Mary*, and the *Holy Ghost*. Though he was esteemed to be rather a madman than a heretic, yet he had profelytes, and the misfortune of being persecuted by the inquisition, in whose prison he died. Cardinal *Cælestine Sfondrati*, was another illustrious heretic, but of a more distinguished rank than those we have mentioned, on account of his dignity, not only in the church, but in the republic of letters. Five *French* bishops accused him of heresy in the doctrine of predestination, in which he differed from *St. Augustine* ; but his holiness could not be prevailed upon, notwithstanding their great credit even with the *Jesuits*, to pronounce a final decision against him.

Form of opening the jubilee

The year 1700 opened with a jubilee at *Rome*, which was highly advantageous to the finances of the apostolical chamber. The pope was at that time ill of a fever ; but tho' he was then eighty five years of age, he did not fail in giving his usual audiences to foreign ministers ; and, perhaps, the readers of an *Italian* history can have few occurrences more curious or instructive than an abstract of the bull which he published on this occasion.

“ *Innocent*, bishop, servant of the servants of God ; in perpetual memory of the thing. Whereas, we have some time since proclaimed to all christian people, by the consent of our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the holy *Roman* church, the celebration of the holy jubilee, which is to begin from the next vigils of the nativity of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and which is to last to the end of the following year ; and whereas we have granted to all the faithful of both sexes, truly penitent, and who shall, after they have confessed, visit the churches of the blessed apostles *St. Peter* and

and St. Paul, St. John di Laterano, and *Sancta Maria Maggiore*, at Rome; full indulgence, pardon and remission of their sins, &c. Now therefore, desirous that all christian nations, from all parts of the earth, being assembled in our good city, in the unity of the faith and religion, may, during the jubilee, visit and frequent the churches above-named, with the same spirit of piety and devotion, and with as numerous a concourse as possible, excited by the example of several *Roman* pontiffs our predecessors, of our own authority, and full apostolic power, and with the advice and consent of our said brethren, we declare suspended, all and all manner of indulgences, as well perpetual, as others, pardons of sins, indultos, and permissions to absolve, &c. granted to all churches, monasteries, orders, &c. chaplets, rosaries, images, &c. as well in general as particular, by all or any of the *Roman* pontiffs our predecessors, or by ourselves, at the request of emperors, kings, dukes, &c. and all other persons whatever, either ecclesiastic or secular, for any causes, or upon any occasion whatever. We also cancel and annul whatever may be attempted to the contrary, by any one whatever, knowingly or ignorantly. For which reason, by virtue of our apostolic authority, we command, enjoin and forbid, under penalty of excommunication, *ipso facto*, the publishing or using any other indulgences, in public or private, under any pretence, or in any place or country whatever, but those of the present jubilee; all constitutions, orders, apostolic ordinances, exemptions, privileges, or customs, granted to churches, monasteries, brotherhoods, &c. notwithstanding. And if any one shall presume to disobey these our commands, let him know, that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. Given at Rome, June 4, 1699."

The ceremony of the pope's opening the jubilee is likewise curious, and we here give it from a most valuable tract published on the occasion.

"The popes were wont to settle the grand jubilee by a bull, which was published upon *Ascension-Day*, in the porch of St. Peter's church, during the celebration of high mass, and before the *credo* or offertory. This was the method that *Urban VIII.* observed in the year 1624. Two chairs were set up, and handsomely adorned, in the porch aforesaid, and the pope, repairing thither betimes in the morning, commanded *Austin Durando* to read the bull for the jubilee, in the presence of some clerks of the apostolic chamber, officers of the penitentiary, and other persons; but neither the cardinals nor the canons of St. Peter were there. The *Sunday* following, the same bull was read in the three other churches, and afterwards, set up in the four principal parts of Rome; and the bull was in *Italian*, that every body might read it."

"This

“ This done, letters or briefs were sent to all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, &c. to the end they might publish the same in all places under their jurisdiction. The solemnity of the holy year begins upon the eve of the nativity of Christ, with the opening of the holy gates, of which the chiefest is that of *St. Peter*, which is always closed and walled up, but only during the year of the grand jubilee. And this is the gate which is honoured with the pope’s performance; and therefore, by way of excellency, is called the holy gate.”

“ Upon the day before-mentioned, which is always the twenty-fourth of *December*, all the doors of the four greater churches are shut up by the pope’s order, that no body may enter; and they remain thus shut till the afternoon, within an hour of vespers, at which time there is a solemn procession, composed of the ambassadors, magistrates of the city, minor plenipotentiaries, prelates in town, chapters, fraternities, *Roman* clergy, the sacred college, and the pope himself, having his cope, or pluvial, on. The cardinals also, and prelates, are all clad in their sacred ornaments, and all following the cross, which is carried; before they proceed to the chapel of the apostolic palace, where the venerable is exposed. The pope falls upon his knees and prays, while certain officers kindle the flambeaux, which the cardinals are to carry at that time, in sign of joy, and as an emblem of the martyrs, who by the horrible persecutions which they suffered, became as wax melted in the fire.”

“ The pope having prayed, put incense into the censor, and perfumes the sacrament; after which, he begins the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which is then sung by the whole choir, with an intention to represent the fathers in *Limbo*, from whence they cried, *Rorate Cæli desuper, et nubes pluant justam*, Shed down your dew, oh heavens, and rain ye clouds upon the just, *Exod. 45.*”

“ This procession, thus ordered, proceeds to the holy gate, and the sovereign pontiff follows it, carried in a chair to the holy gate, which he finds closed and walled up. Then he alights, and taking a lighted taper in his hand, he rests himself a while in another chair, which is ready prepared for him, and which is raised three steps. Which done, he comes down from that chair, and taking a golden hammer in his hand, made only for this ceremony, he advances towards the holy gate, and gives three knocks with the hammer, singing the following verses three times, to which the choir sing the responsories.”

Vers. Open to me the gates of justice.

Resp. Enter in, I will praise the Lord.

Vers. I will enter into thy house, O Lord.

Resp. I will worship at thy holy temple, in thy fear.

Vers. Open the gates, for the Lord is with us.

Resp. Who has shewed strength in Israel.”

“ The

“ The pope returning to his chair, says aloud,

“ *Vers.* Lord hear our prayer.

Resp. *And let our cry come unto thee.*”

“ And the very instant that the pope goes back to his chair, the masons break down the wall that closed up the door, and carry away the materials; during which, the pope goes on :”

“ *Vers.* The Lord be with you.

Resp. *And with thy spirit*”

“ Let us pray.”

“ *Actiones nostras quæ sumus Domine, &c.* At the end of which, the choir sing the anthem, *Jubilate Deo omnis terra ; Servite Domino in lætitia, &c.* In the mean time, the people carry away the smallest bits of the materials beaten down, and clear the place, and the penitentiaries, in their sacerdotal ornaments, wash the lintels, posts and threshold of the sacred door with holy water, which being done before the pontiff enters, he goes on thus”

“ *Vers.* This is the day which the Lord has made,

Resp. *Let us rejoice and be glad in it.*

Vers. Blessed are thy people, O Lord.

Resp. *Who hath made them to rejoice.*

Vers. This is the gate of the Lord.

Resp. *The just shall enter through it.*

Vers. Lord hear our prayer.

Resp. *And let our cry come unto thee.*

Vers. The Lord be with you.

Resp. *And with thy spirit.*

After a prayer suited to the occasion, in which the celebration of the jubilee is justified by the example of the children of *Israel*, the pope took a cross in his hands attuned the *Te Deum*, and entered the holy door upon his knees. When entered, he was placed in a chair, and carried to the altar of *St. Peter's* church, where he alighted, and prayed before the sacrament, which was exposed. He then ascended a throne, and began the *Christmas* vespers, while the other holy doors were opened by three cardinal legates. The jubilee beginning on *Christmas* eve, ended on that day twelvemonth, when the gates are shut, after a procession, like that which has been described, by three cardinals. In the mean time, the pope, and all the cardinals legates that are with him, take lighted tapers, to signify, that although the holy year be at an end, yet the faith ought not to suffer any diminution; and then the pope having seated himself under a canopy, in his chair, he is carried before the chapel, where the venerable is laid up. Then he returns his thanks, and worships the sacred face imprinted in the napkin called *Veronica*, and the iron of the lance that pierced our Saviour's side. After these adorations, the sovereign pontiff tones an old anthem, beginning *Cum jucunditate*, which the choir continues, and adds the psalm *Unleſs the Lord doth build the house ; during which,*
the

the whole procession draws near the holy door, where prayers being ended, the pope, who stands upon his feet under the canopy, turns towards the door, his mitre being off, and holding a burning taper in his hand, blesses the materials which are prepared to stop up the door. This is done by way of versicles and responses, which are finished by a prayer.

This said, the pope, the clergy, and all the people present at this ceremony, depart through the holy gate, and after the church is cleared, the pope casts holy water upon the materials, perfumes them, and having put on his mitre again, girds himself with a linnen apron. Then the grand penitentiary presents him with a trowel of gold, or silver gilt, with which he takes the mortar out of a hod; which is carried by the master of the ceremonies. This mortar he spreads upon the lower part of the door, so that the place is covered all over, upon which he puts several medals of gold and silver, variously stamped, and having several mottos, over which he lays three stones, well squared; and all this while that he is at work, he utters the following words, with a low, but intelligible voice: "In the faith, and by the strength of Jesus Christ, the living God, who said to the prince of apostles, Thou art *Peter*, and upon this rock will I build my church, we lay this first and principal stone, towards the closing up of that gate which is not to be opened any more till the next year of jubilee. In the name of the father, &c. The pope having ranged and cemented those three stones, the master mason draws a line, and after he has prepared every thing ready for his purpose, the grand penitentiary, taking a silver trowel, lays one stone upon those which the holy father had laid before; wherein he is assisted by the other penitentiaries, to shew that they are all the pope's coadjutors in the administration of the sacrament of repentance. Thus they raise the wall to a considerable height, while the choir sings, *Cælestis, Urbi Jerusalem*, &c. which anthem being ended, the sovereign pontiff having washed his hands, goes on with other versicles and responses, and finishes with a prayer.

This prayer being ended, the pontiff returns to his throne; and while twelve masons, six on the one side, and six on the other, are stopping up the door, the choir sings the anthems *Lauda Jerusalem Dominum*, &c. *Lætatus sum in his*, &c. At last, the work being ended, the sovereign pontiff gives his benediction, with full indulgence to all that are present; who return him acclamations of joy for his blessing, with all sorts of vows and wishes for the prosperity of his holiness.

Reflec-

tions on

the jubilee

Such are the ridiculous ceremonies observed by the head of the *Romish* church on occasion of the celebrated jubilee; and we have been the more careful to collect the particulars, as they give us a lively idea of that pageantry and ignorance on which the foundations of the *Romish* religion rest.

test. Some innovations were introduced in the year we treat of, 1700; but they were, if possible, more ridiculous than those we have already described. During the celebration of the ceremonies, his holiness fell ill, but was so beset by his favourites that his disease was carefully concealed from the public. The *French* cardinal of *Bouillon*, appeared in the place of his holiness, and his death apparently approaching, his court was filled with intrigues for the choice of his successor, which were so openly carried on that they came to the knowledge of the pope, who expressed great indignation at them, especially when he heard that the *French* cardinals were arrived at *Rome*. His affection of appearing in better health than he really possessed, proved fatal to his life; for having taken a surfeit of fruit, he died on the seventh of *September*, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

No fewer than fifty-nine cardinals were shut up in the conclave for the choice of his successor, which, contrary to all expectation, terminated in the cardinal *John Francis Albani*, who took the name of *Clement XI*. He was of a modern *Roman* family, and eminent for his knowledge of the civil and canon law. His *Latin* style was esteemed, and his life exemplary for virtue and piety. During the time of the consistory many tumults happened at *Rome*, and several persons were killed in a conflict between the *sbirri* or city guards, and the attendants of the prince of *Monaco*, the *French* ambassador. The new pope was no more than fifty-one years of age at the time of his election, and for a long time declined the honour that had been done him, till cardinal *Ottoboni* humourously threatened to order prayers to be put up in churches in the following terms, "A certain gentleman, disturbed in mind about his being elected to the popedom, desires the prayers of this congregation, that the Lord would direct him what to do." Upon his acceptance of the popedom, he bewailed the case of his relations, whom he was disabled from providing for by the strictness of the bull against nepotism. Neither the imperial nor the *Spanish* ambassadors were present at the ceremony of his adoration, on account of some disputes about precedence, and he affected great gaiety when he complimented the prince of *Monaco* upon the accession of the duke of *Anjou* to the court of *Spain*. As the friendship of his holiness was of infinite consequence to the *French* interest, at that time, as well as to the imperialists, he began his pontificate with vast advantages; and he had the courage to declare that he would give audience to no ambassador who should refuse to renounce the franchises of his quarter.

Clement carried this reformation to its utmost height, and ordered his *sbirri* to make no distinction between the houses of foreign ministers and private persons; but to search for neutrality.

But fa-
vours the
French.

malefactors in all alike. The number of his poor relations was so excessive, that when they were introduced into his presence he lamented with tears his inability to do them service; but he soon abated of that delicacy, by ordering one of his nephews, son to his brother *Horatio Albani*, to be made secretary of the briefs. He was a professed friend to the abdicated king of *England*, and sent him his picture with a letter written by himself. The dispute about the *Spanish* succession in *Italy* gave him infinite disquiet, and he offered his mediation between the houses of *Bourbon* and *Austria*, professing at the same time an entire neutrality, though it was easy to perceive that he favoured the former, on account of the connections the imperialists had with the protestant powers. Finding that his mediation was neglected, and that the *French* king had invaded the *Milanese*, he raised ten thousand men to maintain the neutrality of *Italy*, and exhorted the emperor once more to submit to an accommodation, but to no purpose, for his troops entered *Naples*. *Clement* still affected the greatest appearances of neutrality, and actually refused to receive the hackney, for the kingdom of *Naples*, or to give the investiture of it to the duke of *Anjou*. He sent legates *a latere* to the courts of all the *Roman* catholic princes, who were at war, exhorting them to peace, and upon the arrival of the duke of *Anjou* in *Italy*, after his accession to the crown of *Spain*, he presented him by the hands of cardinal *Barberini*, with a golden cross, to the value of ten thousand crowns, and declared publicly that his delay in granting him the investiture of *Naples* should be of no prejudice to his right.

Who were
beaten in
Italy.

The prince of *Vandemont*, the *Spanish* governor of the *Milanese*, and the *Spanish* governors in general submitted to the last will of *Charles II.* of *Spain*, in favour of the duke of *Anjou*; but prince *Eugene*, the imperial general, having entered *Italy* by the *Venetian* territories, obliged *Catinat*, the *French* general in the *Milanese*, to retire behind the *Oglio*, defeated *Monf. St. Fremont*, at the strong pass of *Carpi*, and took possession of all the country between the *Adige* and the *Adda*. *Catinat* desired to be recalled, and he was superseded by *Villeroy*; but the *French* writers have accused the latter of having privately supplanted *Catinat*, who was obliged to serve under him, though a far abler general, and of his having disgusted the duke of *Savoy*, over whom he affected an equality, if not a superiority. *Villeroy* was no sooner arrived at the camp, than he produced orders from his court for attacking prince *Eugene* in the almost inaccessible post of *Chiari*, near the *Oglio*. The best officers of the *French* army thought that such an attack was little better than an act of frenzy, because the post was of no consequence to the *French*, while the loss of a battle must prove their utter ruin in *Italy*. Other writers complain that the duke of *Savoy* was in a secret correspondence with the imperialists,

Malists, and tho' he behaved with great personal bravery in the attack, the *French* were defeated chiefly by his means. It is certain, that *Catinat* suspected him, and that the defeat of the *French* cost them five thousand men, while not above fifty of the imperialists were killed. See Vol. IX. p. 206.

In *January* 1702, prince *Eugene* was master of all the *Cremona* *Mantuan*, and put *German* garrisons into all the towns of surprized the *Modenese*. In the winter, the same prince, by means of by prince a *Cremonese* priest, called *Bozzoli*, introduced into *Cremona* *Eugene*. four hundred *German* troops, through a common sewer, leading to that city, where *Villeroy* was quartered. The marshal was asleep when the enemy entered the town, killed the centinels, shot the *Spanish* governor dead, and threw open the gates to prince *Eugene*, who took possession of the place with four thousand men. The marshal was immediately made prisoner, and hurried away without even knowing by what means he had become a captive. The *French* garrison was still superior in strength to the imperialists, and the chevalier *d'Entragues* happening then to be exercising his soldiers, seconded the efforts of two *Irish* battalions, who bravely made head against the *Germans*, so opportunely, that the *French* had time to break down a bridge, over which the rest of prince *Eugene's* troops were to enter, by which he lost the fruits of his well concerted surprise; for though he maintained the battle during a whole day, and either killed or took most of the *French* general officers, he was obliged at last to retire.

The behaviour of *Villeroy*, on this occasion, was thought Haughtiness of to be indefensible, and marshal *Vendosme* was sent to command the *French* army in *Italy*. The imperial court, however, was so backward in supporting prince *Eugene*, that he could only act upon the defensive after he had abandoned *Cremona*; and the pope discovered a disposition for making his authority felt and revered by temporal princes. Hearing that cardinal *Cantelmi*, archbishop of *Naples*, had stood by while his master the king of *Spain* was at dinner, he checked him for his meanness, and he imprisoned a female fanatic, one *Clementia Marchioni*, for ten years, because she had made use of the great opinion the people had of her sanctity in spiring up the *Neapolitans* to revolt from *Philip* to *Charles*, archduke of *Austria*. This lady was likewise forced to make a public abjuration of her pretended revelations, and to confess that she had imposed upon the world. Notwithstanding *Clement's* partiality in favour of the house of *Bourbon*, he still continued to exhort the *Roman* catholic princes to peace, and he converted the usual diversions of the carnival into acts of devotion, for restoring public tranquillity. He likewise emitted many sumptuary laws with regard to apparel; he suppressed theatrical entertainments, and denounced divine judgments against all who should transgress his edicts. The credulous *Romans* thought him inspired,

An earth-quake and inundation at *Rome*. inspired, when in the beginning of the year 1703, they were visited by several alarming shocks of an earthquake, and a most terrible inundation of the *Tiber*. In an instant the inhabitants of *Rome* quitted their habitations, and their panic was encreased by a report, which prevailed, of the pope having predicted more and severer, calamities that were to fall upon the city by a certain hour. *Clement* understanding how his name had been abused, ordered proclamation to be made that he knew nothing of the matter, while his guards patrolled the streets, and ordered the people to repair to their respective habitations. The public peace being thus restored, a new jubilee was celebrated, and the *Romans* were for some weeks entirely employed in acts of devotion. Alms were liberally bestowed and encouraged by the pope's example. Indecent prints were seized and suppressed; men were prohibited from teaching women to sing or to play on musical instruments; and mendicants of all kinds were forbidden to wear garments of silk. The houses that had been demolished by the inundation and earthquake were declared to be exempted from taxes for a certain number of years, that their owners might be enabled to rebuild them; and severe edicts were published for the reformation of the clergy, who were restrained from all kinds of gaming.

Progress
of the war
in *Italy*.

The archduke, *Charles* of *Austria*, having been proclaimed king of *Spain*, at *Vienna*, and, as such, acknowledged by the court of *England*, and other *European* powers; the *Germans* at *Rome* were preparing to make great rejoicings on that event; but were expressly prohibited from all those exhibitions by his holiness, who threatened to lay the *German* churches in *Rome* under an interdict, on which the preparations were discontinued. Notwithstanding this, the *French* as well as the imperial armies committed great disorders in the *Ferrarese*. In the mean while, the war raged in other parts of *Italy*; and nothing but the superior genius of prince *Eugene* could have prevented the imperialists from being ruined there; so ill was he supported by the court of *Vienna*. *Vendosme* sustained the glory of the *French* arms much better than *Villeroy* had done; but he was commonly beaten when he commanded against prince *Eugene*. The latter miscarried in a design through the imprudence of the *Germans*; and the battle of *Luzzara*, which was fought between the *French* and the imperialists, in which *Philip* was present, gave occasion for both parties to sing *Te Deum*. Its consequences were however, favourable to the *French*, who took *Luzzara*, and *Guastalla*, and at last possessed themselves of *Modena*.

The duke
of *Savoy*
declares

During those operations, the duke of *Savoy* manifested his disgust with *Lewis XIV.* whose generals had most impolitically exasperated him. His grandmother was a sister of

Lewis XIV. and he was father-in-law to *Philip V.* of *Spain*, for the and the duke of *Burgundy*. He complained of the am-impet-
 bition of *Lewis*, and that all he intended was to amuse him lists.
 till he should become master of his territories. The situa-
 tion of his dominions rendered his friendship of the utmost
 importance to the emperor, who, besides a large subsidy
 that was to be paid him by *England*, offered to yield to him
Montferrat, Mantua, Alexandria, Valentia, and the country
 between the *Po* and the *Tanaro*. The duke of *Vendosme* The duke
 discovered the engagements he had entered into with the of *Savoy*
 emperor, and without losing time disarmed all his troops, leaves the
 who were no more than five thousand men. The duke *French*
 proved inflexible against all the menaces of the *French* king, king.
 and declared his intentions, to join the grand alliance. At
 the same time, he put the *French* ambassador, and some
 other *French* officers at *Turin* under arrest; and acknow-
 ledged the archduke as king of *Spain*, under the name of
Charles III. Count *Staremborg*, the imperial general sent
 fifteen hundred men under *Visconti* to support the duke;
 but they were defeated on their march, and *Staremborg*
 himself was ordered by his court to risque every thing for
 the relief of the duke of *Savoy*. He accordingly performed
 a most amazing march, at the head of fifteen thousand men
 from the *Modenese* to the enemy's country, and joined the
 duke at *Canelli* in *Piedmont*, upon which the *French* king
 declared war against the duke. Prince *Eugene* was then in
Germany, and his absence rendered *Vendosme* victorious in
Italy. He took *Vercelli, Furea, Verac*, and other places,
 and obliged the duke to fly to *Chivas*; so that before the
 end of the campaign he was stript of almost all his terri-
 tories, excepting *Cori* and *Turin*. His army was reduced
 to twelve thousand men, and his dutcheſs with his clergy
 were perpetually importuning him to desert his new allies;
 but the duke remained unshaken by all their solicitations.

After the battle of *Ramilles*, *Vendosme*, was recalled from
Italy, being thought the only general in *France*, who could
 be opposed to prince *Eugene* and the duke of *Marlborough*.
 The duke of *Orleans*, and count *Marsin* succeeded to *Ven-*
dosme's command.

The siege of *Turin* was undertaken by the duke de The siege
Feuillade, and pressed with so much fury that the duke of of *Turin*
Savoy sent his family out of the city. The preparations raised.
 which had been made for this siege were incredible, and
Vendosme, before he left *Italy* had made such dispositions as
 rendered all approaches to it almost impracticable. Prince
Eugene flew to its relief, and surmounted the greatest diffi-
 culties. He passed the *Tanaro* in sight of the *French* army,
 took *Carpi, Correggio, and Reggio*, and joined the duke at
Asti. The duke of *Orleans* fell back too upon the besieging *ibid.*
 army under *Feuillade*; and a council of war being held, the p. 115.
 members were of opinion, that they should leave the lines
 and

and fight the duke, and prince *Eugene*. This opinion was opposed by count *Marfin*, who produced the *French* king's order, that gave him a negative in fact even upon the duke of *Orleans*. We have already mentioned the victory which prince *Eugene* obtained on that occasion, and the destructive consequences attending it with regard to *France*.

Disputes
about the
Chinese
ceremo-
nies.

About this time, the disputes concerning the *Chinese* ceremonies were renewed with more violence than ever. *Alexander VII.* had favoured the *Jesuits*; but *Clement XI.* alarmed at the universal outcry that prevailed against that order, assembled the congregation to examine the facts and doctrines with which they were charged; and the allegations being found true, he condemned the ceremonies and worship of the *Chinese* converts. Not satisfied with this, he sent the cardinal *Tournon* to make farther enquiries in *China* itself, where he was exposed to many dangers by the arts of the *Jesuits*. The pope sought to heal the wounds which this condemnation gave to their order, by taking their part against the the *Jansenists*. *Lewis XIV.* endeavoured by an edict to put a stop to the controversy; but *Clement* acquainted him that he had condemned the opinion of the doctors of the *Sorbone* in favour of *Jansenism*; and the papal influence was so strong at the court of *France*, that some of the doctors were banished.

The pope
breaks
with the
emperor.

A dispute of a far more dangerous nature now engrossed the pope's attention. One *Cavaletti*, who pretended that he was a domestic of the imperial ambassador, had been imprisoned by order of his holiness for resisting the *sbirri*; and the ambassador demanded that he should be set at liberty. The pope, at first, was inflexible to his remonstrances, but afterwards freed *Cavaletti* from prison. *Joseph* was then emperor of *Germany*, and it was thought that he intended to revive the imperial claims in *Italy*. He ordered his ambassador to leave *Rome*, and the ecclesiastical state, and the papal nuntio at *Vienna* immediately to retire from his court. *Clement* would willingly have appeased *Joseph*; but the latter demanded to be put into the immediate possession of the *Ferrarese*, and that he should inflict censures upon such of his ministers as had given him offence in the affair of *Cavaletti*. His holiness had not at that time the *French* to protect him, and being in a manner at *Joseph's* mercy, after the battle of *Turin*, he was reduced to great humiliation. A vast number of the imperial army were protestants, and openly exercised their religion in the ecclesiastical state: But those are incidents that bring us to the history of other parts of *Italy*, which are at this period of far greater importance than even that of the holy see.

Excellent
govern-
ment of

In the year 1683, the marquis *del Carpio* being viceroy of *Naples*, introduced into that kingdom a new and more effectual system of government than it had ever known before.

fore. Among other regulations, he prohibited the use of the mar-
 fire-arms, and took from the inferior officers of the police *quis* of
 the power of granting any indulgences to any person, be *Capio.*
 his rank or quality ever so high. He next applied himself
 to the improvement of industry, not only by forcing every
 one to work who was capable, but by punishing the frauds
 of manufacturers, encreasing the number of working hands
 by diminishing that of servants; and lastly, he published
 several sumptuary laws to prevent the bullion of the king-
 dom from being applied to the purposes of luxury. The
 execution of those, and many other, excellent regulations,
 enabled him to restore the coinage to a tolerable degree of
 credit. He found the extirpation of the banditti to be a
 more difficult task. *Naples* had been so long acquainted
 with them, that the profession was scarcely looked upon as
 being criminal. The houses and castles which in former
 times had been built as defences against parties, were now
 by their owners let out to those robbers, and served as so
 many receptacles. As they never robbed in the neigh-
 bourhood of their own haunts, and were commonly lavish
 of their ill acquired gains, the country people considered
 their residence among them rather as an advantage than a
 nuisance. The viceroy receiving full information of all
 those abuses, began his reformation of them by making it
 penal for any of the subjects to hold any correspondence,
 intercourse, or traffic whatever with the banditti; and he
 made it death to every man who should furnish them with
 arms, or ammunition, or provisions of any kind, or who
 should share in the product of their robberies, or give them
 shelter or assistance. The viceroy finding means to carry
 those edicts, severe and difficult as they were, into execution,
 especially against the great barons, and the more powerful
 subjects, the banditti were soon suppressed after an act of
 grace had been published, pardoning all who surrendered
 themselves, and promised to live as dutiful subjects.

The viceroy was equally the patron, friend, and pro- He is suc-
 tector of the good, as he was the scourge and terror of the ceded by
 profligate; and, during his administration, the city of *St. Este-*
Naples enjoyed an unusual degree of plenty and magnifi- *van.*
 cence. Upon his death, in *November 1687, Colonna*, the
 high constable of that kingdom, held for some months the
 reins of government, till he was relieved by the count of
Santistevan, who was appointed viceroy. He endeavoured
 to complete and improve the plan of his predecessor with
 regard to the coinage, and the circulation of paper credit;
 but he failed by raising the nominal, too high above the in-
 trinsic, value of the money. This pernicious practice so
 common in arbitrary governments, never fails to be the ruin
 of trade, as proved in the case of that of *Naples*, which
 suffered severely under this viceroy's administration. His
 cutting off all communication between the ecclesiastical
 and

and other states on account of a supposed contagious infection breaking out in the latter, was likewise of great detriment to the kingdom; but he was endeavouring to retrieve his character by several excellent regulations, when, in 1695, he was superseded by the duke of *Medina Cæli*, who had been his catholic majesty's ambassador at *Rome*.

The administration of this new viceroy was full of trouble and difficulty. Having himself a vast private estate, he was magnificent in his manner of living. He proposed the marquis of *Carpio* as the model of his government; but exceeded him in the pomp and splendor of his public exhibitions, in his patronage and encouragement of learned men, and his taste for the fine arts. He is blamed for proceeding upon too slight proofs against those who carried on a contraband trade of any kind; but upon the representation of the seggi or magistrates on that head, he agreed to leave them to the ordinary course of justice. We have already mentioned the peace of *Ryswick*, and the partition treaty, which happened while this duke was viceroy of *Naples*, and filled that kingdom with dismay and confusion.

See
Vol. IX.
p. 204.

King
Philip ar-
rives at
Naples.

As the kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily* were to devolve to the *French*, whom the natives hated, the viceroy had some difficulty to prevent the *Neapolitans* from breaking out into an open insurrection. *Charles II.* of *Spain* dying soon after; his will, by which he left all his dominions to the duke of *Anjou*, was published at *Naples*, and the codicil annexed to it, giving the *Neapolitans* some hopes that the queen dowager of *Spain* was to govern and reside among them, they were quieted, and in general they submitted to receive *Philip* as their sovereign; and the *French* troops were admitted to take possession of *Naples* and the *Milanese*. We have already mentioned the attempts made by prince *Eugene* to dislodge them, and king *Philip* arrived in a *French* fleet at *Naples*, in *April* 1702. His reception there was rather splendid than cordial, though the pope, to the great disgust of the emperor, had sent a cardinal legate to attend him. As the war in *Italy* between the houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*, was chiefly confined to the *Milanese*, the *French* weakened themselves in *Naples*, that they might reinforce their armies in *Lombardy*. This suggested to the court of *Vienna* the idea of sending, in the year 1707, an army under count *Thaurin*, through the ecclesiastical state, to take possession of *Naples*. Though the imperialists were, at this time, far from being favoured by his holiness, yet they had a strong party at his court, where they kept up an intimate correspondence with the disaffected *Neapolitans*, who were disgusted with the conduct and manners of the duke of *Escalona*, *Philip's* viceroy. Cardinal *Grimani*, the duke of *Monteleone*, and the archbishop of *Naples*, prepared the discontented *Neapolitans* to give the imperialists a favourable reception;

ibid.
p. 219.
et seq.

reception, and they succeeded so well that the viceroy, Which is
after removing all his most valuable effects to *Gaeta*, retired conquered
thither, likewise, with his army; while the magistrates of by the im-
Naples met the imperialists at *Aversa*, and presented them perialists.
with the keys of their fortifications.

Though this expedition was successful on the part of the
imperialists, yet the plan proposed by the *English* ministry
for attacking *Toulon*, and very strongly enforced by them,
would have been of much more importance to the common
cause; but it was now evident that *Joseph* had a separate
interest from that of the allies, occasioned by the ardent
desire he had to become master of *Italy*. With this view
he had suffered twelve thousand *French* to withdraw out of
Lombardy into *Dauphiny* by capitulation, though it is certain,
that they must soon have surrendered themselves prisoners
of war; and, being the bravest of the *French* troops
their armies acquired thereby a considerable strength, while
the mercenary oppressive genius of the imperial court was
displayed on this occasion. *Joseph* not only refused to allot
any part of the revenues of the *Milanese*, or *Naples*, for
assisting his brother king *Charles*, but to fulfill the con-
ditions his father had agreed upon with the duke of *Savoy*,
or even to give his brother the investiture of the *Milanese*.
No sooner did *Thaun* take possession of *Naples*, than the
Germans became, through his oppressions, more hated by
the inhabitants than either the *French* or the *Spaniards* had
been. He renewed the odious tax upon fruits and herbs;
but the tumult which it occasioned was so great, that it was
revoked. As *Gaeta* was the receptacle of the *French* and
Spanish wealth, the imperialists besieged it, and pressed it
so vigorously that they took it by storm, and not only be-
came masters of its rich contents, but obliged the duke of
Esquilina with his officers and garrison, who had retired into
the citadel, to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

The greater the success of the imperial arms in *Italy* was, Differ-
the higher *Joseph* rose in his demands upon the pope. His ences be-
troops, in their march through the ecclesiastical state laid tween the
several fiefs, belonging to prelates, under contribution; and emperor
by their manifestos, which they published in answer to the and the
pope's complaints, they justified the proceeding, by alledging pope.
that those fiefs belonged to the empire, and therefore were
obliged to furnish subsistence to the imperial armies. *Clement*
excommunicated the officers who commanded the offend-
ing troops, and drawing five hundred thousand crowns
from the treasury of *St. Angelo*, he raised an army, and
gave the command of it to count *Marigli*. His troops
were no better than militia, and could do nothing against
the veteran *Germans*, who were now in possession of almost
all the kingdom of *Naples*, as well as *Ferrara*, the *Mantuan*,
and *Montferrat*. The allies had before this obliged *Joseph* *ibid.*
to give to his brother *Charles* the investiture of the *Milanese*, p. 220,
and 221.

and he pretended to give him that of the *Two Sicilies*, because they had been fiefs of the empire. In short, *Joseph* went farther than any of his predecessors had ever done, in weakening the pope's temporal power in *Italy*. He had appointed cardinal *Grimani* to be viceroy of *Naples*, and he no sooner took possession of his new dignity, than he suppressed the nuntiature of that city, and prohibited all ecclesiastics from remitting their annates to *Rome*. A favourable turn of the *French* affairs encouraged the pope and his cardinals to continue their levies, and at last to act hostilely in the *Ferrarese*, from whence the count of *Marsigli* drove the *Germans*; but it was soon besieged by count *Thaun*, who at the same time seized the *Bolognese*.

Who is
obliged to
submit.

The pope had not firmness longer to face the storms, which were every where rising against the holy see. Besides the *German* armies, which were in the heart of his estates, his sea-ports were threatened with a bombardment from the *English* and *Dutch* fleets; and the emperor having shewn some dispositions for an accommodation, it was accordingly settled and concluded on the fifteenth of *January* 1709. The marquis *de Prie*, the imperial general in *Naples*, managed the conferences, during which, the emperor and the duke of *Savoy*, prevailed with her *Britannic* majesty to give orders for her admiral, Sir *John Leake*, to suspend the bombardment of *Civita Vecchia*. The demands of the marquis *de Prie*, whom the pope refused at first, to admit to an audience were. 1. That his holiness should disband his new levies. 2. Give winter quarters to the imperial troops in his territories. 3. And the investiture of *Naples* to *Charles III.* and acknowledge him as king of *Spain*; and 4. That he should allow the imperialists passage through his dominions, as often as there should be occasion. *Clement* shewed prodigious reluctance to agree to those terms. He endeavoured to gain time, in hopes that the *French* ambassador, marshal *Tesse*, might be able to succeed in the mighty promises he had made of forming an *Italian* league, in which the duke of *Tuscany*, the *Venetians*, and *Genoese*, as well as the *French* king, were to enter for his support. Finding all his hopes vain, he was forced to submit to more than was at first required of him. An army of five thousand *Germans* took winter quarters in his territories. He was obliged to reduce his army to five thousand men; to pay a contribution of a hundred thousand crowns; to suffer the imperialists to remain masters of *Commacchio*, as well as *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Modena*, till commissioners should examine the emperor's pretensions upon them. *Clement* stuck long at the recognition of king *Charles's* right, and sought to evade it by directing a letter to him, with the superscription, "To our dearest son, the catholic king in *Spain*;" but that form was rejected, and he submitted to write

write, "To our dearest son *Charles* king of *Spain*." He was likewise obliged to send this letter by a nuncio to *Barcelona*, where *Charles* then held his court.

This mortifying treaty, to which the pope submitted, was His in-
partly owing to his own imprudence, in rendering the court cautious
of *England* his enemy, by ordering public prayers to be put conduct.
up for the success of the pretender's invasion of *Great-Bri-*
tain, in the year 1708; and by his shewing so manifest a
partiality to the *French*, while he pretended the title to the
crown of *Naples* was still doubtful. The rest of *Clement's*
pontificate was employed in idle religious disputes, which,
generally, had their rise in *France*; but the peace of *Utrecht*
was far from restoring the tranquillity of *Italy*, as the reader
may perceive in the preceding history of *Germany*. His ho-
liness made little or no figure during that famous negotiation;
nor could the emperor, for a long time, be reconciled to
him. At last, the neutrality of *Italy* was confirmed by the
treaty of *Baden*; but the claims of the several princes there
remained still unadjusted. The duke of *Savoy* being ac-
knowledge king of *Sicily*, declared himself equally jealous of
the imperial, and papal, courts. After being crowned in *Si-*
cily, he renewed all the legantine powers; which, as we
have already observed, have been formerly claimed by the
kings of that island; and which, when exercised with vi-
gour and resolution, made them, in fact, popes within their
own dominions. *Clement* made the strongest and most pa-
thetic representations on that head, to prevail with him to
give up those powers: but all was to no purpose; for his
majesty declared that he was resolved to maintain them in
their extent, as they had been exercised by his predecessors.
His declaration divided the island into two parties. The
lower clergy and people sided with his holiness; and the pre-
lates, with the nobility in general, with the king.

The system of the *Italian* powers, however, as settled by Account
the treaty of *Utrecht*, received no material alteration till the of the
year 1715; when, upon the death of *Maria Louisa* of *Savoy*, princess
queen of *Spain*, king *Philip* made his addressees to the princess of *Parma*,
Elizabeth of *Parma*. She was daughter of *Edward*, prince and her
of *Parma*; and had a near prospect, not only of succeeding marriage
to that principality, but to the great dutchy of *Tuscany*; by with the
which she became the greatest heiress in *Italy*. The imperial king of
court appeared astonished when they heard of the match, *Spain*,
and that the pope had actually granted a brief, empowering
that duke to leave his states to his female line in case of failure
in the male. This brief was attended with more remarkable
circumstances than any that was granted during the present
century. The father of the princess had never been duke
in *Parma*, he dying in the life-time of his father *Ranuce II.*
who died in 1694, and was succeeded by his second son,
Francis I. Thus, before the granting of this bull, the prin-
cess *Elizabeth* was, in fact, left out of the succession of *Par-*
ma.

ma. The ministers of *France* and *Savoy* complained loudly of the bull as well as of the marriage. *Clement* pretended a total ignorance of the matter till it was too far advanced to be stopped; but there was little or no doubt of his being the chief instrument in it, by his granting a dispensation to the reigning duke, *Francis*, for marrying his brother *Edward's* widow, *Dorothea Sophia* of *Neuburgh*. The emperor, being unable to prevent the match from taking place, sequestered the fiefs which the duke held of the empire and the kingdom of *Naples*; but the match was celebrated at *Parma*, on the sixteenth of *September*, with vast splendor, by the pope's legate *a latere* cardinal *Gozzadini*.

The pope, about this time, was extremely intent upon assisting the *Venetians* in the unfortunate war they were carrying on against the infidels, by not only equipping a considerable naval armament, but by sending the former ten thousand crowns of his own money, and contributions which he levied from the richest cardinals of his consistory. It is also said, that his holiness likewise prevailed with the king of *Spain* secretly to abet the rebellion in *Scotland*, to which he himself also liberally contributed. To give the greater vigour to his preparations against the *Turks*, he published a decree, importing, that one tenth part of all the ecclesiastical livings and benefices whatsoever in *Italy*, should be furnished towards the expences of the war. Hearing that the pretender, after being driven out of *Scotland*, had taken refuge in *Avignon*, he ordered his vice-legate there to treat him with all the honours due to a crowned head.

who declares war against the emperor.

The consequences of the match between the princess of *Parma* and the king of *Spain*, began to unfold themselves soon after the birth of the infant *Carlos*, who now sits on that throne. *Philip* alledged, that the emperor, by not having complied with the terms of the treaty of *Utrecht*, had forfeited all his right to *Naples* and *Sardinia*; and, on pretence of seconding his holiness in his war against the *Turks*, he obtained from him bulls, which raised him subsidies upon his ecclesiastical livings in *Europe* and *America*, to the amount of three millions of ducats. In a short time, by the assistance of his minister, *Alberoni*, he fitted out an immense marine, and had on foot large armies; and it was soon known that the storm was to fall upon *Sardinia*; though, when his holiness granted the indults, he had obtained a promise from him that his forces should be employed against the infidels only, and that he should attack no part of the imperial dominions. He reproached his catholic majesty for this infamous proceeding; and the *Spanish* ministry poorly laid the blame upon the allies not having evacuated *Catalonia* and *Majorca*; which last island was reduced previously to the descent upon *Sardinia*. The expedition was commanded by the marquis *de Lede*, who soon conquered *Cagliari*, the capital of the island, and the open part of it submitted of course;

upon

upon which, the marquis *de Lede*, after leaving four thousand men to secure his new conquest, returned to *Spain*.

This scandalous proceeding of the *Spanish* court was represented by that of *Great-Britain*: king *George I.* having been a guarantee of the neutrality of *Italy*; and he was the only resource the emperor could apply to for protection. The pope, notwithstanding all his pretences to the contrary, was violently suspected by the emperor of having underhand favoured the expedition of the *Spaniards* against *Sardinia*. His imperial majesty complained, that his holiness had shewn no repentment of the infamous breach of faith that *Spain* had been guilty of; and, that he had suffered that king to collect the money upon the *indultos*, when he had refused the court of *Vienna* the same favour. To say the truth, it is highly improbable that *Aldrovandi*, the nuncio at *Madrid*, could be ignorant of the true destination of the *Spanish* squadron. The emperor, therefore, required, that both he and the cardinal *Alberoni* should be cited to appear at *Rome*, to account for their conduct. His holiness, instead of satisfying those just complaints, endeavoured to evade them, on pretence that some of them were unjust, and that others could not be complied with. Many consistories were held on the subject; the ecclesiastical fortresses were put into a state of defence; and agents were sent to *Switzerland* to engage a body of men into the service of his holiness. The imperialists, on the other hand, expelled his nuncio out of *Naples*; all the ecclesiastical revenues there were sequestered; the tribunal of the nunciature was abolished; and the nuncio at *Vienna* was forbid to come any longer to the imperial court.

The court of *Great-Britain* laboured sincerely for preventing a war from again breaking out in *Italy*; and proposed a quadruple alliance; in which *George I.* the emperor, *France*, and the states-general, should be the contracting parties for maintaining the neutrality of *Italy*. The terms of this alliance were negotiated at *London*, and its contents were various. The plan of a peace between the kings of *Spain*, *Sicily*, and the emperor, was laid down; and the substance of the whole was, that the emperor should make a formal renunciation of all his pretensions to the crown of *Spain*; that the duke of *Savoy* should give up *Sicily* to the emperor, and receive for it, in exchange, *Sardinia*; and, that the succession to *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, in default of male heirs, should be settled upon the eldest son of the queen of *Spain*. As the consent of the empire was thought necessary for establishing this mode of succession, the emperor was to use his utmost endeavours to obtain it. *Leghorn* was to remain a free port; and the king of *Spain* was to yield to his son the town of *Porto Longone*, with what he possessed in the island of *Elba*, as soon as the prince of *Spain* should be in possession of *Tuscany*. None of these duchies were to be possessed by a prince who should, at the same time, be king of *Spain*; nor was the king

king of *Spain* ever to take upon himself the guardianship of that prince. It was farther provided, that it never should be allowed, during the lives of the possessors of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, that the troops of any country whatsoever, whether their own or hired, should, either by the emperor, the kings of *France* or *Spain*, or even by the prince appointed to the succession, be introduced into any garrison, city, port, or town, of these dutchies: but, for security of the succession, six thousand *Swiss* were to be put into *Leghorn*, *Porto Ferraro*, *Parma* and *Placentia*.

Sir George
Byng sails
for the
Mediterranean.

Such, with some other additions, not material to this part of our history, was the substance of the quadruple alliance; to which the states-general made some difficulty of assenting; and the court of *Spain* rejected it with an air of haughtiness: upon which, his *Britannic* majesty, in consequence of what had been declared at *London* to the *Spanish* ambassador, ordered a fleet to be equipped, and to sail, under the command of Sir George Byng, who received instructions for his conduct. The preamble of those instructions, the whole of which was very artful, mentions the advances which the *Spanish* court had made for ending its differences with the emperor; and speaks of the armament as a fleet of mediation for terminating the disputes between those two powers.

Sir George, upon his arrival in the *Mediterranean*, was to give notice, by the *British* minister at *Madrid*, of his being instructed to promote all measures that might best contribute to the composing the differences between the court of *Spain* and the emperor. He was then to repair to *Port Mahon*, and to give the like information to the viceroy of *Naples* and the governor of *Milan*; but to intimate, that he was come to make good his master's treaties with the emperor, and to prevent the farther violation of the same by the arms of the catholic king: and, if the *Spaniards* should attack the kingdom of *Naples*, which could be only done with a view of invading *Naples*, or that of *Sicily*, he should hinder and obstruct them with all his power; only he was not to use force until he found that all his friendly endeavours for a reconciliation were ineffectual.

Defeat of
the *Spanish*
fleet
by the
English.

Upon the admiral's arriving off *Cape St. Vincent*, he informed colonel Stanhope, the *English* ambassador at the court of *Spain*, of his instructions; which being communicated to cardinal *Alberoni*, he treated them with great indignation, and, in a manner, put his *Britannic* majesty to defiance. It was even with difficulty that he could be prevailed upon to lay the letter before his catholic majesty; whose only answer was, "That admiral Byng might execute the commands of his master." The admiral again put to sea, and, on the first of *August*, arrived in the bay of *Naples*, where it was expected the *Spaniards* would make their descent. Instead of that, they landed in *Sicily*, and, after reducing great part of the island,

Island, they were, at that time, besieging *Messina*. Byng carried two thousand imperialists from *Naples* to garrison that citadel, and found that the *Spanish* general obstinately persisted in his resolution to conquer the island. In the mean while, he fell in with their main fleet, consisting of twenty-seven sail of men of war, besides fire-ships, bomb-vessels, galleys, and store-ships; the whole being commanded by admiral *Castanata*, who had four rear-admirals under him. An engagement ensued, in which the *Spanish* fleet was utterly destroyed. The consequences of this victory was, that all the *Spanish* designs in *Sicily* were dashed in pieces. The many treaties of peace, congresses, and conventions, that followed, are foreign to this part of our history.

In the year 1728, the duke of *Parma* invited the pretender Treaty of to the crown of *Great-Britain* to reside in his dominions; *Seville* upon which his agent in *England* was ordered to leave the concluded kingdom. That same year the treaty of *Seville* was concluded. By its ninth article, six thousand of his catholic majesty's troops are, without loss of time, to garrison *Leghorn*, *Porto Ferraro*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*; which troops shall serve for the better securing and preserving of the immediate succession of the said states, in favour of the most serene infant don *Carlos*; and to be ready to withstand any enterprize and opposition which might be formed to the prejudice of what has been regulated touching the succession.

By the tenth article, the contracting powers are to use the softest and most effectual means of persuading the dukes of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, that the garrisons might be quietly received; and stipulating the taking of an oath to be faithful to the regnant powers, in every thing that shall not be contrary to the right of the succession, reserved to the most serene infant don *Carlos*. It is likewise stipulated, that the said garrison shall not meddle, directly nor indirectly, in the government of the places where they are garrisoned; and render to the dukes of *Tuscany* and *Parma* all the honours that are due to sovereigns in their own dominions.

By the eleventh article, his catholic majesty engages to withdraw his troops from the said garrisons as soon as the said successions are quietly settled in the person of don *Carlos* his son.

By the twelfth article, the contracting powers became guarantees for don *Carlos* quietly possessing and enjoying the said states of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, after he has succeeded thereunto.

By the thirteenth article, the kings of *England* and *France* promise to ratify and guarantee all the particular regulations that shall be concerted between his catholic majesty and the two dukes of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, relating to the said garrisons.

The fourteenth article stipulates, that the states-general of the *United Provinces* shall be invited to accede to the treaty;

treaty ; the ratifications of which were to be dispatched within the space of six weeks at furthest.

opposed
in Eng-
land.

This was the treaty that produced so many extraordinary events in *Europe*. The lords in the opposition in *England* moved in their house, "That the agreement in the treaty of *Seville* to effectuate the introduction of *Spanish* troops into *Tuscany* and *Parma*, is a manifest violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tends to involve the nation in a dangerous and expensive war, and to destroy the ballance of power in *Europe*." A negative, indeed, was put upon this motion, but the consequences shewed, that, though *Great-Britain* was not thereby immediately drawn into a war, yet the treaty brought the government of *England* into a vast expence. The emperor objected to the introduction of don *Carlos* into *Italy* without receiving from him the investiture of the dutchies he was to possess ; and made no secret that the court of *Spain's* ultimate view was upon the crown of *Naples* for that prince.

The death of the duke of *Parma* happened at this critical period ; and his dutchess, who was in the imperial interest, was persuaded to say that she was with child ; in which case all the views of don *Carlos* might have been defeated, had the issue been male. The court of *Great-Britain* prevailed with the emperor, whose troops immediately took possession of *Parma*, to emit public declarations, that they did it only to preserve the succession to the dominions, for the son whom, it was possible, the dutchess might be pregnant of. Don *Carlos*, however, was introduced into *Italy* ; the dutchess acknowledged the imposture ; and *Stampa*, the imperial general, withdrew his forces to the *Milanese* ; leaving the administration of the *Parmesan* in the hands of the great duke of *Tuscany* and the dutchess-dowager *Dorothy*.

Death and
character
of *Clement*
XI.

On the eighth of *March*, 1721, died *Clement XI*. after a pontificate of an unusual length ; having reigned twenty years, three months, and twenty-six days. He greatly distinguished himself by his eloquence and literature ; and, at the time of his accession to the popedom, he was thought to have been possessed of more knowledge, as an ecclesiastic or civilian, than all the sacred college besides. But what chiefly contributed to his advancement, was a profound skill in politics with regard to the *Roman catholic* interest ; and it was thought to be owing to his management chiefly, in concert with cardinal *Porto Carrero*, that *Charles II*. of *Spain* made his will in favour of the duke of *Anjou*. Though the natural violence of his temper sometimes embroiled him unseasonably with the court of *Vienna*, yet, by his admirable address, joined to his natural intrepidity, he maintained his authority ; and, during the latter part of his pontificate, he was revered and courted by the *Roman catholic* powers. His greatest art, however, seems to have consisted in balancing those parties which his own intrigues had raised among them.

As

As an abatement to his great qualities, he was penurious to men of merit, even though he admired them and loved their conversation. He was at great pains to find out means to evade the bull against nepotism, that he might enrich his relations, which he did very considerably. He was vindictive and ungrateful, far more than seems to have been consistent with the political part of his character.

The death of *Clement XI.* being properly notified, his body was openly exposed, and the funeral obsequies were performed by his nephew cardinal *Annibal Albani*. Next day, a pompous temporary mausoleum was exhibited in the middle of *St. Peter's* church; on which were represented, in an ingenious and elegant manner, the chief events of his pontificate, but with exaggerated *Latin* inscriptions. *Clement XI.* left behind him fifty-four cardinals of his own creation. He had a particular, and a personal, regard for the pretender to the *British* crown; and, while on his death-bed, he most pathetically recommended his interest to the sacred college.

When the conclave was inclosed, cardinal *Paolucci* was thought to have the best chance of being chosen, but a negative was put upon him by the imperial faction, and the election fell upon cardinal *Conti*, who took upon him the name of *Innocent XIII.* He was the son of *Charles Conti*, duke of *Poli*, one of the four most illustrious families in *Rome*. He had, at the time of his election, two brothers and a sister, all of them nobly allied; and his coronation was prodigiously magnificent. His pontificate was chiefly distinguished by the opposition which he made against the emperor's granting the investiture of the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* to don *Carlos*, pretending that they were immediate fiefs of the church, and not of the empire. The parties concerned, however, paid little or no regard to his remonstrances. The case of cardinal *Alberoni*, who had been banished from *Spain*, made likewise a great noise in this pontificate. His process had been formed in the late pope's life-time, and he was accused of having persuaded the king of *Spain* to employ, against *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, the fleet which he ought to have sent against the infidels; and of having endeavoured to withdraw *Spain* from its obedience to the holy see. He was even accused of holding a secret correspondence with the *Turks*. The cardinal drew up a strong and artful apology, vindicating his own conduct; which was replied to with great acrimony; but the late pope was so much convinced of his innocence, that, when he was on his death-bed, he expressly ordered that he should be admitted to give his vote in the conclave.

We shall, in the history of *France*, have occasion to touch upon this pope's conduct in the case of the bull *Unigenitus*, which had been issued by his predecessor.

Upon the death of *Innocent*, in 1724, the choice of his successor unanimously fell upon cardinal *Vincent Maria Ursini*, pope.

fini, who took the name of *Benedict XIII.* He was son of *Ferdinand des Ursini*, duke of *Gravina*, and of *Jane de la Tolsa*, daughter of the duke of *Grumo*. He was born at *Naples*, on the second of *February*, 1649; and christened by the name of *Peter Francis*: but afterwards, when he entered into the order of the *Dominicans*, he changed his name of baptism, and took that of *Vincent Maria*. Pope *Clement X.* made him a cardinal on the second of *February*, 1672. He was, at the time of his election, sub-dean of the sacred college, bishop of *Porto*, archbishop of *Benevento*, and protector of the order of the canons regular of *St. Saviour*. He was descended from a very ancient family, which had given to the church five popes and thirty-four cardinals, and to the state a great number of illustrious men. This pope was the first that had been chosen, for near two hundred years, out of a monastical order. At the time of his election, he was the senior cardinal of the sacred college, and in the seventy-fifth year of his age. His integrity and humility were, as it were, satires upon the characters of his predecessors. He ordered all the rich hangings and furniture of the vatican to be changed for what was plain; and prohibited his domestics from appearing before him in laced cloaths of any kind; but in coarse purple cloth. He forbade all ecclesiastics from wearing rings; and, in the hottest weather, he wore woollen cloths next to his own skin. But, with all those mortifying circumstances, he had nothing sour or morose in his person or behaviour. On the contrary, he was friendly, affable, polite and generous, especially to the poor, notwithstanding his frugality as to every thing relating to himself. When he was archbishop of *Benevento*, he bestowed, not only his revenue, but his patrimony, both which were very great, upon the public.

Remark-
able hi-
story of
the new
pope.

This appeared by his generosity to the inhabitants, when, in 1688, their city was buried in its own ruins by an earthquake; for the archbishop prevented it from being totally abandoned, by furnishing them with money to repair their private dwellings, as well as the cathedral, churches, hospitals, and other public works; all which was done so completely, that the city appeared more elegant and beautiful after the calamity happened, than it had been before. As to the archbishop, he entered into a public register, signed by his own hand, and published by his order, the miraculous manner in which he escaped the danger. He there relates, that he fell with a friend, who was crushed in pieces, from the top to the bottom of his palace; and, that the rafters formed a roof over him, which gave him breathing space: that there fell with him a box of pictures, containing the history of his patron, *St. Philip of Neri*; which while he was in this dangerous position (though it was locked) burst open, and the pictures placed themselves round him; one of them, particularly, fell upon his head, which was the picture

of the saint praying and looking towards the blessed virgin ; who, with her sacred hand, supported the main beam of the church of *Vallacella*, which was slipped out of its place. He lay under these ruins an hour and an half, but did not think it had been above a quarter of an hour, when he was dug out by his monks.

The rest of this relation, containing his wonderful cure His abste- by the saint, is equally absurd ; and the reader needs to re- mious quire no farther proofs of this good pontiff's enthusiastic course of credulity. This narrative, however, impressed the lower life. clergy, and the common people, with such ideas of the sanctity of his holiness, that he was enabled to introduce into the church very considerable reformati^{ons}. His virtuous and abstemious course of life struck the protestants themselves with admiration ; and some of them were weak enough, because he disliked the splendor of the papal court, to affirm that he was of their religion in his heart. Had it not been for the remonstrances of his relations and private friends, he would again have betaken himself to a monastic life, and have left to his cardinals the administration of public affairs. It appeared, however, in the course of his pontificate, that he was as jealous as any of his predecessors with regard to the rights of the holy-see ; of which his difference with the court of *Portugal* is an example.

Bichi, who had been nuntio at *Lisbon*, had a strong party He quar- of *Austrians*, in the conclave and about the pope's person, rels with against him, on account of a disgust the emperor, when king the king of *Spain*, had conceived to his prejudice, as he had neglect- of *Portu- ed the proper ceremonial when he passed by Barcelona, where gal. that prince resided. The king of Portugal avowed himself to be the friend and protector of Bichi, and demanded that he should be promoted to the purple. This was violently opposed in the consistory ; and tho' pope Innocent XIII. offered to give a cardinal's hat to any other candidate recommended by his Portuguese majesty, yet he gave an exclusion to Bichi. Upon the accession of Benedict XIII. that pontiff would have gratified his Portuguese majesty, but he was almost unanimously opposed by the cardinals, for two reasons. The first was, that they did not chuse a king should dictate to a pope ; and the second, that the pope might see he was not to overrule his consistory. Benedict was obliged to comply ; and, though the chief Roman catholic powers offered themselves as mediators in the quarrel, he ordered *Bichi* to leave *Lisbon* and repair to *Rome*. Upon this, his Portuguese majesty not only commanded all his subjects to leave *Rome*, but cut off all communication between that see and *Portugal*. In short, he acted, in every respect, as if he had been pope within his own dominions. All *Europe* expected, that, supported as he was by *England*, he would have entirely thrown off the religion, with the yoke, of the pope ; but his early attachment*

to superstition prevented him ; nor did he ever receive the satisfaction he had so earnestly contended for.

His death. *Benedict*, notwithstanding all his virtue and mortifications of his body, proved to be a pernicious pope, on account of his having put himself entirely under the direction of cardinal *Coscia*. *Benedict* died on the twenty-first of *February*, 1730 ; and his body was scarcely cold when cardinal *Albani*, as chamberlain of the holy-see, ordered the abbot *Rumoni*, the farmer of the fish duties, and *Loyali*, steward to *Coscia*, to be conveyed, under a strong guard, to the castle of *St. Angelo*. As they were known to be the most oppressive instruments of *Coscia*, it was with great difficulty the guards could prevent their being torn in pieces by the populace. The insurgents ran to a palace, where they were informed *Coscia* was ; but missing him, they threatened destruction to all the *Beneventines* in *Rome* ; nor could they be appeased till public notice was given, that the apostolic chamber had come to a resolution of confiscating the estates of *Coscia* and those of all the *Beneventines*, his creatures. *Coscia* finding it impossible to escape the rage of the people, if he remained at *Rome*, left it under a guard, which was assigned him by the cardinal-chamberlain, and took refuge with the prince of *Caserna* at *Cisterna* ; who, however, acquainted the cardinals with what he had done. The immense wealth of *Coscia* and his creatures was lodged in the castle of *St. Angelo*.

Prosecution of cardinal *Coscia* and his creatures.

The situation of affairs amongst the great *Roman* catholic princes in *Europe*, was, at this time, so critical, that debates ran very high in the conclave, which was assembled for the election of a new pope. The cardinals, after being many days shut up, could agree to the election of none of the capital candidates, each of whom had too powerful an interest to encounter. Tired with confinement, they agreed to leave the election to the inspiration of God ; meaning, they would chuse for pope a cardinal of whom none had thought, and consequently none could be jealous.

Clement XII. pope. After some deliberation, cardinal *Corfini*, by a pretended sudden impulse, was named, and agreed to, with applause ; but he refused to give his consent till next day. Some difficulties intervening, he was not declared till several days after ; but then, to the incredible joy of the people, his election was announced ; and he took the name of *Clement XII*. Cardinal *Coscia* was one of the cardinals who assisted at the election ; but, under pretence of the gout, he avoided appearing in public. Every day, however, producing fresh proofs of his insatiable avarice, and the oppressions of his creatures, his holiness established two commissions ; one for enquiring into the abuses committed during the late popedom, and another to examine into the state of the finances and the expenditures of public money. The commissioners were very severe upon *Coscia*'s agents, committed their persons to prisons, and confiscated their effects ; but he him-
self

self made such a party at the imperial court, that they durst not seize his person. Being assured of that, and having licence to put up the imperial arms in the front of his house, he ventured abroad ; and his holiness, from threatening, began to court him ; but insisted on his resigning the great pensions he possessed from the church, that they might be applied to the support of nuncios abroad ; in which case, he might expect his holiness would be his friend. *Coscia*, depending upon the imperial protection, at first refused to comply ; but the vast number of his creatures that were every day arrested, and convicted of the most infamous peculations, with the extortions and mal-practices proved against himself ; and, above all, his being informed, that, if he stood longer out, he would be forced to comply ; prevailed upon him to offer to resign the archbishopric of *Benevento*, provided a large pension was secured to himself out of the revenues. This condition was rejected, and he was declared incapable of holding the archbishopric longer, on account of his notorious infamy. The cardinal found all opposition unavailing, and simply resigned the archbishopric into the hands of his holiness. In the mean while, the *Beneventines*, who hated the cardinal as much as the *Romans* did, would have pulled his palace to the ground, had they not been prevented by a strong detachment of soldiers sent against them by the apostolic commissary. His other ecclesiastical possessions shared the fate of his archbishopric, for the pope seized them all.

Notwithstanding all his losses, by his deprivations and the confiscations of his effects, *Coscia* was still possessed of immense sums. Though he had paid a mulct of two hundred thousand crowns, his judges were about to have fined him one hundred and fifty thousand crowns, on account of fresh charges against him ; upon which he withdrew secretly from *Rome*, and fled to *Naples* ; having secured to himself a remainder of two hundred and twenty thousand crowns in bills of exchange. Mean while, he drew up a state of his case in the form of a manifesto, complaining most bitterly of the injustice done him.

Coscia flies to Naples.

About this time, a dispute happened between the court of *Rome* and that of *Turin*, concerning the fiefs of *Costanza*, *Costanzone*, *Metafia* and *Cisterna*, in the territories of *Piedmont*, which were claimed by the pope. He was opposed by the king of *Sardinia*, who had exacted an oath of allegiance from the subjects of the disputed fiefs. The latter despised the pope's injunctions, and he assembled a consistory to consult upon his proceeding against them with ecclesiastical authority. The cardinals agreed to the affirmative, and the pope thundered out against them an excommunication. The king of *Sardinia* had, by this time, recalled his minister from *Rome* ; and all manner of correspondence between the two courts was broken up : but, by the mediation of his most christian majesty, the difference was accommodated, to

Dispute between the pope and the court of *Turin*.

the satisfaction of the court of *Turin*. Upon cardinal *Coscia's* retreat to *Naples*, his holiness ordered him to be summoned to appear at *Rome*; and, upon his refusal, executorial letters were posted up; by which the cardinal was declared to be degraded, and deprived of all his benefices, and all the privileges and prerogatives annexed to his cardinalship. The collateral council of *Naples* refused to suffer those letters to be executed within that kingdom; upon which the pope ordered complaints to be made to the court of *Vienna*; while cardinal *Coscia* wrote the most submissive letters to his holiness, excusing himself, on account of his bad state of health, for not immediately throwing himself at his feet.

Conclu- The affairs of the pontificate, since that time, have been
sion of the either so insignificant as to be improper for a general history;
history of or so complicated with those of the other powers of *Europe*,
Italy. which the reader will find in the course of this work, that
we shall omit them here. The present pope succeeded *Benedict XIV.* formerly *Lambertini*; and was elected in 1740. His name is *Rezzonico*; and, after his accession, he took that of *Clement XIII.* He has the character of being a moderate prince; and his pontificate will ever be distinguished by the politeness, and profusion of honours, with which he received his royal highness the duke of *York*, when he visited *Rome* in 1764.

A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD.

THE HISTORY OF
FRANCE.
BOOK I.

HAVING in a former part of this work deduced See the history of the *Gauls* to their conquest by *Julius Vol. V. Cæsar*, and from thence to the year 420, when it p. 496. is supposed (for their history is very dark at that period) the *Franks* chose for their leader, or king, *Pharamond*, who is looked upon to be the founder of the *French* monarchy; and having pursued that detail to the year 786, we shall take up the modern history of *France* from that period. The truth is, though the *French* made unusual exertions of learning in establishing the ancient part of their history, yet it remains still very dark, full of fiction, and unimportant, to almost every reader who is not a *Frenchman*. In the following history of *France*, we shall observe the plan we have already pursued of avoiding repetitions, by frequent references to the same facts that have been delivered in the former part of this history, which is the more necessary in that of *France*, as its sovereigns, and those of *Germany*, were, for some ages, the same. Plan of the history of France.

Charles the Great had formed the noble design of joining Partition the *Rhine* to the *Danube*, which had he been able to com- of *Charles* plete, *Germany* and *France* might, to this day, have had the the *Great's* same head. While he was employed in that and other empire, designs, which, however, partook more of zeal than of humanity or justice, he was attacked by *Godfrey*, king of the *Danes*, and other nations, who, in general, were distinguished by the name of *Northmans*, or *Normans*, and having subdued them, he sent great numbers of them to *Picardy*, which might be one reason, though the ignorance of

See

Vol. VIII.

p. 369.

of the time and country have concealed it from us, why the *Normans* afterwards so easily conquered *Neustria*, the modern *Normandy*. We have already mentioned the impolitic division which *Charles* made of his empire among his children. His son *Lewis*, had, during his lifetime, assumed the title of king of *Aquitain*; but by the deed of partition made by his father, which is strongly guarded and authentic, the father kept in his own hands a paramount power so long as he lived, over all his sons and their subjects. The nature of the division made by *Charles*, by which great part of the present *French* monarchy was given to *Lewis*, and part to his eldest son *Charles*, makes it somewhat difficult to ascertain who was the monarch of *France* after this allotment; but we shall follow the common course of histories, by considering *Lewis*, the king of *Aquitain*, as such. That prince made a vigorous war upon the *Moors* in *Spain*, but apparently without great success, which may be one reason why the *Gascons* murmured at his government; but *Lewis* entering their country put them to flight, declaring that he would hang up every man of them who should rebel for the future. Understanding that the rebels intended again to attack him in his return from *Spain*, he obliged them to give him hostages for the safety of his army, which had the desired effect.

His regulations
and death.

Upon the death of *Charles*, the eldest son of *Charles the Great*, that emperor visited the sea coasts of *Boulogne*, ordered his sea-ports to be regularly fortified so as to shelter his own ships and repel those of the *Normans*, and other pirates, and marched an army into *Bretagne* to overawe the seditious in other provinces. *Charles*, being now old and infirm, by a most solemn and ceremonious act, after consulting his prelates and nobility, associated his son *Lewis* with himself in the empire. After this, *Lewis* returned to *Aquitain*, while *Charles* employed the remaining hours of his life in cares worthy of a monarch, those of providing for the quiet of his successors, and the welfare of their subjects. It appears, that, at this time, the modes of succession to the lands in *France*, was pretty much the same as that which prevailed under the *Saxon* heptarchy. The dukes and counts were no other than civil and military officers, who, if they deserved it, inherited their father's places; and the revenue of the crown consisted in *foederum*, *paratum*, and *mansioaticum*, forage, provisions and furniture.

Lewis the Debonnaire, or, Gentle.

History of
Lewis as
king of
France.

THOUGH we have already written the history of this prince as emperor of *Germany*, yet it is necessary we should record him here as king of *France*. Upon the death of his father, he was in the height of reputation for

for his civil and military accomplishments. All the glorious labours of his father had not been sufficient to clear *France* from barbarity; and when *Lewis* came to the crown he found so much trouble in reducing his subjects to a tolerable conformity with government, that he had thoughts, had he not been dissuaded from his resolution by his father, of retiring to a monastic life. Though historians are divided with regard to the character of *Lewis*, we cannot rank him among the weak princes, when we consider the turbulence, ignorance, and superstition of the age he lived in. At the time of his father's death he was thirty six years of *ibid.* age, and had three sons, who were afterwards the sources p. 380. of all the misfortunes he met with. The bad opinion he had conceived against *Walla*, grandson to the famous *Charles Martel*, was inspired by the bishop of *Orleans*, and on his account he treated his own sisters, who were thought to be too much in *Walla's* interest, with unbecoming severity; though *Walla* appears to have been one of his greatest subjects. One of the reasons that embroiled him with *ibid.* *Bernard*, king of *Italy*, was, that prince having been persuaded by the bishops of *Milan*, and *Cremona*, that he was the head of the *Carlovingian* house, as descended from the eldest son of *Charles the Great*. His legitimacy, however, was disputed, and the *Italian* princes, who supported him merely because they affected an independency upon *Lewis*, abandoned him. Being forced to throw himself at the feet of *Lewis*, he and *Bernard* bishop of *Orleans*, who had been one of his counsellors, with many others of his party, were tried before the parliament at *Aix*. *Bernard* was condemned to lose his eyes, and though he begged on his knees for mercy, yet the operation was performed so unskilfully, that he lost his life in three days after. *Lewis* was too much afraid of the church to punish the bishops with the like severity; though they had been the real occasion of the war. All that they suffered was deprivation, or imprisonment. *Bernard* having been weak enough, in hopes of pardon, to discover all his friends, they were secured, but the laics only suffered death or excæcation.

Lewis, by this time, in imitation of his father, had declared his eldest son, *Lothair*, his associate in the empire. He created his second son, *Pepin*, king of *Aquitain*, and *Lewis*, his third son, whom he had hitherto kept about his own person, king of *Bavaria*. This division was opposed by *Morman*, count of *Bretagne*, who declared himself king. *Lewis* calling a assembly general at *Vannes*, raised an army against the usurper, who was murdered by his own subjects; and *Nimmon*, a *Breton* nobleman, who had never entered into the rebellion, was declared count of *Bretagne*. *Lupus*, count of *Gascony*, followed the example of *Morman*, but was soon subdued by *Pepin* king of *Aquitain*, and sent prisoner to *Aix la Chapelle*, where his sentence of death, was commuted

He divides his empire among his sons.

commuted by the emperor, into that of banishment. *Lewis* soon found that he had either done too much or too little against churchmen. They resented the punishments that, by his own authority, he had inflicted upon their order, and the dispositions he had manifested for reforming the discipline of the church. *Lewis* was devoted to ecclesiastics and the episcopal order to a degree of weakness; and nothing but the scandalous profligacy of their lives could have prevailed on him to call out for this reformation. The clergy knew their power, and when the emperor endeavoured to force his prelates to reside on their respective sees, they found means to introduce into his court *Adelard*, the abbot of *Corbie*, and elder brother to *Walla*, who soon won his confidence, and though he was the chief spring of *Bernard's* rebellion, persuaded the emperor not only to pardon all his remaining associates, but to restore them to their estates and dignities. Not contented with this, *Lewis*, at his desire, took *Walla* for his prime minister, and submitted to do public penance for the death of *Bernard*.

Inconsistencies of his character.

ibid.

p. 374.
Rebellions in France.

There is not in human nature perhaps, a more unaccountable character than that of a prince who is fond of power, but a slave to superstition; such was *Lewis the Debonaire*, who, with his son, the emperor *Lothair*, was entirely governed by *Adelard*, and his brother *Walla*. *Lewis* hearing that pope *Paschal I.* presuming upon his goodness, had neglected to wait for his confirmation before he assumed the pontifical chair, took fire, and ordered his son *Lothair* to march with an army into *Italy*, where he re-established the imperial authority over the pope; but he had no sooner left *Rome* than two noble *Romans* were beheaded in the *Lateran* palace, for having favoured the young emperor. *Lewis*, through the excessive weakness he had for the papal character, pardoned even this audacious cruelty, and the succeeding pope *Eugene II.* promised to behave better. In the mean while, the emperor sent the archbishop of *Rheims* to convert the *Danes*, while he, with his two sons, the kings of *Aquitain* and *Bavaria*, entered *Bretagne* with an army, to crush a rebellion that was breaking out there. Their force being far superior to that of the rebels, the chief of whom was one *Viomarque*, they submitted, and an assembly of the states being held the succeeding spring at *Aix la Chapelle*, *Viomarque*, and the chief *Breton* lords, renewed their submissions. Soon after, understanding that the imperialists had been defeated on the side of *Spain*, the *Bretons* resumed their arms, but were defeated and cut in pieces, with their leader *Viomarque*, by *Lambert*, a *French* general.

Beginning of the emperor's troubles.

The empress *Judith*, the beloved wife of *Lewis*, is admitted on all hands to have been a woman of intrigue in every sense of the word, and possessed of immoderate ambition. When about the year 823, she was brought to bed of a son, named *Charles*, she represented to her husband, that

that by the imprudent partition he had made of his dominions her infant was in danger of being unprovided for. *Lothair* was then returned from *Rome*, where he had been crowned emperor, and his father seems to have been dissatisfied with his conduct, both on account of his ambition, and the management of his war with the *Moors* and *Saracens*, who were victorious in *Spain* and *Italy*, and had made themselves masters of *Sicily*. Count *Boniface*, a French nobleman, equipped a fleet, with which he made a descent upon *Africa*; but matters remained still in great disorder through the rest of the empire. The emperor thought that the making a provision for his young son *Charles*, afforded a proper opportunity for checking the power of *Lothair*. He obliged that prince to consent to his yielding up to his young brother the greatest part of *Germany*, and to swear that he should become the infant's guardian and protector upon the death of the father. The *Moorish* arms were at this time insulting *Aquitain* itself; but received a seasonable repulse from *Bernard*, count of *Barcelona*, whose troops were too weak for him to pursue his blow. Though *Lothair* was at first obliged to dissemble his discontent at the partition of his empire, yet it soon broke out with alarming circumstances; and a universal spirit of dissatisfaction prevailed all over the empire, at the dangerous ascendancy which the empress had acquired over the mind of her husband. This was cherished by *Lothair*, and, in a short time, the empire was divided into two parties, that of the empress, and that of *Lothair*. The *French* clergy, in a council assembled at *Paris*, told the two emperors, that the bishops of *France* had a right to judge them; but that the imperial, had no authority over the episcopal, order. The situation of *Lewis* between his wife, and eldest son, was so perplexing to him, that he issued a commission, the members of which were called *missi dominici*, for enquiring into the state of the empire. At the head of this commission was *Walla*, who, by the death of his elder brother, was now abbot of *Corbie*; and the commissioners were to make their report to a parliament that was to be held at *Aix la Chapelle*, in the year 829. *Walla*, either soured by the austerity of his life, or prompted by a virtuous indignation, charged the emperor and his courtiers with being the sources of all the public distractions, by the unjust partition he had made of his empire in favour of young *Charles*, whose mother he even accused of adultery. The empress seeing that *Walla* was under the influence of *Lothair*, prevailed with her husband to remand him to his cell, and to make *Bernard* count of *Barcelona*, (whom the public looked upon as her lover) his first minister.

The handsome person of the count, the gallantry of his manners, his courage and spirit, favoured this opinion, to the infinite prejudice of *Lewis*; but in other respects, *Bernard's* his army.

his con-
cessions.

ibid.
P. 375.

nard's conduct justified the choice he had made. He laid out a new territory for *Charles*, comprehending all that part of *Germany* that lies within the *Danube*, the *Maine*, the *Neckar*, and the *Rhine*, with the country of the *Grisons*, and the district which now comprehends *Geneva*, and the *Swiss* cantons. Under pretence of a war with the *Bretons*, who still refused to submit to the imperial authority, *Bernard* raised an army, to be commanded in chief by the emperor, who required his sons to join him. At first they durst not refuse; but as *Lewis* king of *Bavaria* was upon his march to the frontiers of *Bretagne*, part of his army returned home, and *Lewis* joined his father with but a handful. The *Aquitain* army offering to serve *Pepin* against his father; he declared himself its head, while *Lewis* escaped from his father's court and joined him. This rebellion proved so formidable, that the emperor *Lewis* durst not face it. His wife retired to a monastery, as *Bernard* did to his government of *Catalonia*. *Pepin*, who was at once unnatural, and insolent, dragged the empress by force out of the convent, and obliged her by threats to prevail on the emperor to take a monk's cowl, and suffer her to assume a nun's veil. She made no hesitation in promising all this, and was impolitically suffered to have an interview with her husband, whom the artful princess instructed how to behave, and *Lewis* demanded to have a meeting with his nobles at *Compeigne*. His behaviour there seemed to be full of the deepest contrition at his past conduct; he promised to suffer his empress to take the veil, but did not mention his own resignation of the empire.

The rebellion against *Lewis* was composed of two many complicated interests, and opposite dispositions, to be successful. The abbot of *St. Dennis*, who at the same time held the abbies of *St. Medard de Scissors*, and *St. Germain*, and was one of the most powerful princes in *France*, raised troops against the emperor, and he was joined by the bishops of *Vienne*, *Amiens*, and *Lyons*, and they declared all who refused to follow them to be the enemies of God and the church. *Lothair* was at this time in *Italy*; but hearing how matters were situated in *France*, he returned thither with his army. It is more than probable, that had the emperor been prevailed upon to pronounce his abdication before the return of *Lothair*; *Pepin* would have usurped the empire, and that *Lothair* was dissatisfied with his conduct, and of that of his brother *Lewis*. The majority of the rebels under the two latter, who were attached to *Lothair*, seem likewise to have been disgusted with *Pepin*; for upon the arrival of *Lothair*, each retired to his own dominions, and left their elder brother in full possession of his father's person. Finding that the latter, by his mild deportment had touched many of the rebels with compassion, he was contented

contented with placing about his person certain monks, whom he gained over, and employed them (one *Gombaud* especially) as his agents with the *German* princes, whom they found ready to take arms in his behalf. The report of this encouraged *Lewis*, who by *Gombaud*'s address had secretly brought over *Pepin* to his party. The *Germans* He re-
demanding an assembly at *Nimeguen*, *Lothair* durst not re- covers his
fuse his father the liberty of presiding in it, and the senti- empire.
ments of the members were so much in favour of the old emperor, that he had the courage to order some of the chief rebels to lay down their arms, and to summon his son *Lothair* to appear before his tribunal, which he was obliged to do, and to throw himself at his father's feet, where, with tears in his eyes, he implored his pardon. His submission daunted the rebels so much, that they made no resistance, and in an assembly which was soon after held at *Aix*, the chief of them were put to death, and the rest condemned to exile. This amendment of the emperor's affairs did not arise from any real affection the *French* had for the person of *Lewis*, but from the disunion of his rebels; and after his restoration (as we may call it) the like disunion broke out among his friends. The pope, *Gregory XIV.* was of opinion, that the vows of the empress in taking the veil were void, because they were involuntary. The monk *Gombaud* thought himself entitled by his services to be first minister; and though *Bernard* was now returned to court, he easily perceived that either through the inconstancy or ambition of the empress, he had but little power. The condition of being admitted to the imperial favour was the party signing his assent to the allotment that had been made for young *Charles*; and to give it the greater validity, *Lothair* was degraded from the dignity of emperor, but allowed to retain that of king of *Italy*; and even there he was not to act but by directions from the imperial court. The kings *Pepin* and *Lewis*, found they were no better than substitutes to the empress, and readily embraced an alliance with their brother *Lothair* and count *Bernard*. In consequence of this alliance, the kings of *Aquitain* and *ibid.*
Bavaria took arms; and the reader has already seen how P. 376.
the rebellion was crushed by the emperor, who sent the king of *Aquitain* prisoner from *Orleans* to *Treves*; but escaping from his escort upon the road, he raised a fresh rebellion, upon which the emperor declared the kingdom of *Aquitain* to be forfeited, and bestowed it upon his youngest son, *Charles*, who was then no more than nine years of age. This fresh act of partiality in favour of the empress *Judith*'s son, renewed the public discontents at the emperor, and lost him the hearts of many *Germans*, as well as *French*.

Lothair had then an army in *Italy*, and the papal power Pope
every day gaining ground, both in *France* and *Germany*; *Gregory*
chiefly

declares
against
him.

chiefly through the differences between the emperor and his sons, which rendered the friendship of the pope to either party of infinite consequence. When the *French* bishops addressed him as their brother, he reproved them for having the insolence to treat him with so much familiarity. The necessity which *Lothair* had for his countenance encreased his influence and importance in the eyes of the public. He represented that having been crowned emperor by a *Roman* pontiff he could not be degraded from that dignity, and that his brothers being acknowledged sovereigns by his holiness they could not forfeit their kingdoms. This application flattered the pride of *Gregory*, who was willing to know in what degree of estimation his authority was held without the bounds of *Italy*. He therefore agreed to repair in person to *France* and *Germany*, where his presence turned the scale against the old emperor. The ecclesiastics, in general, declared against him, and the abbot of *Corbie* resumed his arms, though there is reason to believe, that the dislike entertained by his subjects against the empress gave them too fair a pretext for their rebellion. The pope was reproached by the archbishop of *Mentz*, for lending his countenance to so unnatural a proceeding; but the presence of his holiness, and the force of gold, debauched from their duty the troops of the old emperor, whose person fell once more under the power of his sons, and he was formally but hastily deposed, while *Lothair* seated himself in his throne; the empress was shut up in a monastery at *Tortona*, and young *Charles* confined a prisoner in a castle.

He again
recovers
his affairs.

The indecent and cruel behaviour of *Lothair* towards his father brought about another revolution in his favour. After his degradation, in which the chief ecclesiastics of *France* and *Germany* assisted, he was cloathed in a penitential habit, and shut up in a convent, where his behaviour was so meek and resigned, that it touched the hearts of the monks and inferior ecclesiastics, who were on no good terms with their superiors. The bishop of *Mentz* made the king of *Bavaria* sensible that he was working his own destruction in that of his father; and leaving himself at the mercy of *Lothair*, who was equally perfidious and ambitious. Count *Bernard*, notwithstanding all he had suffered from the emperor, made the like representations to the king of *Aquitain*, and both those princes took the field in order to deliver *Lewis* from the tyranny of his eldest son. *Lothair* could not withstand the confederacy, which was joined by some of the chief noblemen of *France*. After shutting up his father, who remained still clothed in sackcloth (and humbled though undaunted) and his brother *Charles* in the abbey of *St Dennis*, he retired to *Burgundy*, which he ravaged; but was at last forced again to throw himself at the

ibid.

P. 378.

feet

feet of his father, and in the sight of the whole army to implore his pardon with tears.

The acts which, through the superstitions of the time, and punishes his were thought necessary for the reiteration of *Lewis*, being performed in an assembly at *Thionville*, *Ebbo*, archbishop enemies, of *Rheims*, who was under the greatest obligations to *Lewis*, *ibid.* and had performed the ceremony of his degradation with peculiar insolence and barbarity, read his recantation, and delivered in the resignation of his bishopric, which was all the punishment he met with.

The intrigues and ambition of the empress *Judith* did not suffer her husband long to enjoy this gleam of returning unjust tranquility. That she might make sure of the gift of settlement *Aquitain*, she entered into a most unnatural negotiation with *Lothair*, after he had been pardoned by his father; though his accomplices had been severely punished. *Lothair* knew her aim and her motives, and thought to compass his ends without being obliged to her, though he did not discourage the negotiation. He endeavoured to form connections with the *Italian* noblemen, which gave umbrage to the pope, and he complained to the emperor, who prepared to march to *Rome* at the head of an army; but was prevented by a fresh descent which the *Norman* pirates made on the coasts of *France*. In the mean while, she had influence enough over *Lewis* to declare her son *Charles* king of *Neustria*, which comprehended *Upper Burgundy*, *Alsace*, *Switzerland* and *Suabia*, or, according to others, all the territory lying between the *Loire*, the *Rhone*, the *Meuse*, and the *Ocean*, the king of *Bavaria* subscribing to the deed. But he pleaded compulsion, as being in the power of the empress, as did king *Pepin*, whose deputy subscribed to it likewise, and who died in the year 837, leaving behind him two sons *Pepin*, and *Charles*, besides two married daughters. Though he died possessed of *Aquitain*, which had been restored to him; yet the empress prevailed with her husband to deprive *Pepin's* children of all their inheritance, and once more to bestow it upon her son *Charles*; and she obliged *Lothair* to agree to the new partition, by the bait of adding to his *Italian* dominions *Burgundy*, *Lyons*, *Franche Comte*, part of *Lorraine*, of the *Palatinate*, of *Triers*, *Cologne*, *Alsace*, *Francia*, *Nuremberg*, *Thuringia*, *Saxony*, and *Friesland*. According to others, *Charles* was to be put into possession of *Aquitain*, and *Lothair* of all the rest of his brother *Pepin's* *French* dominions.

This iniquitous partition was opposed by the great lords of *Aquitain*, and by *Lewis* of *Bavaria*; and the former took opposed arms in behalf of young *Pepin*, whom they looked upon as by the their lawful sovereign. *Lewis*, old and infirm as he was, *French*, soon reduced his son *Lewis* of *Bavaria* to drop his arms, and ask him pardon; but during the expedition he contracted a disorder

*Lewis of
Bavaria
again
rebels.*

disorder, which terminated in a defluxion upon his lungs, and afterwards proved mortal. The people of *Aquitain* remaining still in arms, *Lewis* appointed an assembly of their states at *Chalons*, upon the *Soam*, where he laid before them, in the most plausible manner he could, the reasons of his giving the investiture of *Aquitain* to his son *Charles*, and promised to make suitable provisions for his grandsons, the sons of *Pepin*. His presence and authority overawed the majority of the prelates, and the lords of great fiefs; but the people in general refused either to acknowledge *Charles* for their sovereign, or to put young *Pepin* into his grandfather's hands. *Lewis*, not being able to prevail in this point, retired to *Poitiers*, and next spring finding that his indisposition still continued, he heard that his unnatural son, the king of *Bavaria*, had again rebelled, and over-run the greatest part of *Germany*. This news reached him in the beginning of *Lent*, which he had used to spend in a most exemplary manner. Leaving part of his troops in *France* for the protection of his wife, and his son *Charles*, he advanced with the other part towards *Aix la Chapelle*, against his son *Lewis*, who precipitately abandoned all his conquests.

*Death of
the em-
peror.*

The doctrine of judicial astrology was at that time, and for many ages after, very prevalent at the *French* court; and the head astrologer was generally consulted in all affairs of moment. Though the indisposition of *Lewis* was far from being dangerous, yet the appearance of a comet at this time, rendered it mortal. He was so impressed with the opinion of its portending his death, that he ordered himself to be carried to an island in the *Rhine*, remarkable for its wholesome air, where being consigned to solitude, his spirits were preyed upon by chagrin at the thoughts of his sons unnatural behaviour. Finding his end approach after six weeks lingering, he sent for his friends, especially his brother, the bishop of *Mentz*, who had always been steady in his allegiance, and divided his treasure and effects between his family, the churches, and the poor; but declared, that though he had pardoned his son *Lewis*, yet his behaviour had brought him to his grave. His death happened on the twenty-first of *June* 840.

To what we have already said of his character, we may add, that too much modesty, and a distrust of his own talents, rendered him a prey to the arts and creatures of his two wives, of whom he was distractedly fond. The first prevailed upon him to make the partition of his dominions among his three sons, which, as we have already observed, was the source of his troubles, and the latter, to violate that partition, which compleated them. By his first wife, *Ermen- grade*, besides his three sons, he had five daughters; *Albaida*, the wife of *Begon*, count of *Paris*; *Gexile*, married to *Eucard*,

Everard, duke of *Frinli*; the son of which marriage was *Berengar*, afterwards king of *Italy*; *Hildegard*, who espoused the famous count *Thierri*, *Adelaide*, married first to count *Conrade*, and afterwards to *Robert le Fort*, count of *Paris*, and *Rotrude*, who died unmarried.

Charles the Bald.

LOTHAIR aspired to be master of his father's undivided empire. Taking advantage of the youth of his brother *Charles*, then no more than seventeen years of age, after seizing *Worms*, he made an attempt upon *Franckfort*; but being vigorously opposed by *Lewis*, he desisted, and concluded a truce for three months. He then recommended the interest and the justice of young *Pepin's* claim to *Charles* and his mother; but at the same time fomented a rebellion in favour of *Pepin*, and used all kind of arts to keep up a difference between them, and to prevent *Pepin* from repairing to the assembly at *Bruges*, where an accommodation was proposed to be set on foot. In the meanwhile, he made use of the truce which he had concluded with *Lewis* to attack *Charles*, who did all he could to appease him, his affairs being embroiled at home, both by the disaffection of the *Aquitainers*, and the frequent descents of the *Norman* pirates. *Charles* finding all his attempts to deprecate the wrath of his elder brother ineffectual, put himself at the head of a small but chosen, army, commanded by friends he could depend upon; while *Lothair* collected together the remains, which were numerous and powerful, of the rebels to his father; and *Pepin* of *Aquitain* besieged *Bourges*. *Charles* raised the siege of *Bourges*, in which his mother was, and beat *Pepin*, though he thereby endangered the safety of his friends, and gave *Lothair* an opportunity of over-running all the tract between the *Meuse* and the *Seine*.

The filial duty of *Charles* not only confirmed but increased his friends; but he chose the method of negotiation, and a truce was concluded till a final accommodation could be settled in an assembly, to be held at *Attigni*. *Lothair* violated every article of it, by cantoning his troops along the *Seine*, and again attacking *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, with whom he had likewise prolonged the truce. The interest of *Charles* and *Lewis* now became the same. After various negotiations, marches, and countermarches, they found means to effect a junction of their troops, and *Lothair* being likewise joined by *Pepin* of *Aquitain*, both parties resolved to leave their several claims to be decided by the sword. A bloody battle was fought near *Fontenoy*, on the twenty-fifth of *June* 842, in which *Lothair* and *Pepin* were defeated; and it is said, that no fewer than a hundred thousand

Ambition
of *Lothair*.

He is dis-
appointed
by *Charles*.

ibid.

P. 391.

and men were killed on both sides. The victory however, was far from being decisive, though it was for some time attended with the best of consequences to the conquerors, who lived together (which is seldom seen among princes) as brothers ought.

Decision The bishops of *France*, at that time, were assembled in a
of the body, pretended to be above the pope, and when provoked,
clergy in even threatened to excommunicate him. The two brothers
favour of summoned a council of those bishops and abbots at *Aix la*
him and *Chapelle*; and after long examinations concerning the mis-
Lewis of behaviour of *Lothair*, he was declared to have forfeited all
Germany. right to the crown of *France*; though others say, that the
 sentence extended to all his dominions, but that is impro-
 bable, and against the truth of history. We must however,
 be of opinion, that in this sentence the dominions of *Lewis*
 of *Bavaria* were included, and the form of proceeding
 justifies us, not only in that, but in the account we have
 given of the power assumed by the *French* clergy of those
 days. After enumerating and censuring the multifarious
 crimes committed by *Lothair*, they asked the two brothers
 whether they intended to govern like him, or according to
 the laws of God, and the land. The first part of the
 question they answered in the negative, the other in the
 affirmative; upon which, the president of the assembly
 addressing himself to the two kings, made use of the
 following words, "Receive the kingdom by the authority
 of God, and govern it according to his divine will: we
 advise you, we exhort you, we command you so to do."
 Whatever constructions may be put upon this celebrated
 transaction, we are of opinion that the whole of it
 amounts to no more than that, the two princes finding the
 people divided with regard to the primogeniture of *Lothair*,
 were resolved to have a decision in their favour from the
 clergy, who by the imprudence, chiefly, of the late emperor,
 were possessed of great temporal, as well spiritual, power,
 which they obtained; but that the assembly were far from
 pretending to set aside the right that *Lothair* had to the do-
 minions left him by his father.

Reflection *Voltaire*, a celebrated writer is of opinion, "That the
 authority annexed to the character of bishops, and the ve-
 neration the people had for them, were the instruments
 made use of by kings to serve their own purposes. These
 ecclesiastics shewed much more weakness than grandeur, in
 thus determining the right of kings, in servile compliance
 to the orders of the stronger party." This writer is too
 general in his censure. The doubts which must naturally
 arise in the minds of the people concerning the rights of
 the two younger brothers, in bar of the primogeniture, re-
 quired to be resolved, and this could be done only by the
 assembly in which they had the greatest confidence, that of
 the clergy; nor can we see the least absurdity in such an
 assembly

assembly commanding two princes who had submitted their claim to its determination, to govern according to the divine will, especially after they had solemnly promised so to do. If the clergy afterwards stretched their power too far, their proceedings cannot affect the case we have here examined.

That the two princes wanted only to have the matter of *ibid.* right determined in their favour appears from the consequence; for they did not at all shew themselves averse to an equitable compromise, which at length took place, as the reader may see in a preceding part of this work. *Italy*, *Aquitain*, and *Bavaria*, were divided into three equal portions; and *Lothair*, in right of his primogeniture, was to have the preference of choice. *Aquitain*, and the country between the *Loire* and the *Meuse*, fell to *Charles*; for which reason, we consider him, at this period, as king of *France* only. *Pepin*, son to the king of *Aquitain*, having been excluded, impolitically, if not unjustly, from receiving any benefit by the late partition, continued at the head of a considerable body of his father's subjects, while the *Normans* and the *Bretons* laid waste the finest provinces of *France*. The three brothers threatened them, but their menaces had no effect. The empress *Judith* was now dead, and *Charles* put to death *Bernard*, who had made so noble a figure in his father's reign, and had been created duke of *Languedoc*.

It was common in those days for princes to grant either for money, or services, large fiefs to their subjects; who holding them by military tenures, were in fact obliged always to have a body of troops in their service. This rendered it difficult for a lord paramount to dispossess or punish any of them, otherwise than by arresting them while they were attending at their court, which seems to have been the case with *Bernard*, who lay a year in prison before he was put to death. His son *William* was at the head of his father's military tenants, and joined *Pepin* of *Aquitain*, and every day encreased the miseries of *France* by the ravages of the *Bretons*, who pretended to be a people independent of that crown, and the invasions of the *Normans*, who took *Roan*, and plundered *Paris* in the year 845. It is hard to say, what the consequences might have been, had those invaders been under any regular command; but though they undoubtedly had their leaders, they seem to have had no principle of unity, either in a king or a general. *Charles* was then encamped at *St. Dennis*, and instead of fighting them, he gave them seven hundred weight of silver, which prevailed upon them to retire, and to promise solemnly that they never would renew their visits. The party of *Pepin* was all this time encreasing, and *Charles* was obliged to yield him up great part of his father's dominions upon his taking an oath of homage and fealty.

Charles
bribes the
Normans;

and becomes hated by his subjects.

About this time, a remarkable alteration appeared in the disposition and conduct of *Charles*. The misfortunes and difficulties he encountered in his youth had rendered him modest, submissive, and tractable, and above all obsequious to the clergy, characters which were effaced in his manhood. At the time we now treat of, he was rapacious, headstrong, despotic and tyrannical, and consequently unpopular. Finding that he had some respite by the bargain he had made with the *Normans*, he attacked the *Bretons*, who twice beat his army. The prince of *Bretagne*, however, was so moderate that he purchased his peace of *Charles*, who was again about to have entered his country, by promises of submission and obedience.

A family compact.

France had now a prospect of enjoying some tranquility, when, instead of the *Norman*, she was harrassed by the *Moorish* privateers, and the calamities which now distressed every part of the empire of *Charles the Great*, forced his three surviving grandsons, though they hated and distrusted each other, to unite themselves by a confederacy which was to support their mutual interests, and to determine the mode of succession to their respective dominions. This proposal arose from *Lewis* king of *Bavaria*, or, as he was then called, king of *Germany*; and from the necessity of the measure itself, as the great subjects of the house of *Charlemagne* taking advantage of the invasions of the *Moors*, the *Normans*, the *Huns*, and various other barbarous nations, were every day loosening the bands of the dependency upon their respective sovereigns, who were in actual danger of having nothing left them but a nominal authority. A meeting was accordingly held between *Lothair*, *Lewis*, and *Charles*, at *Mersen*, near *Maestricht*, where they resolved mutually to support each other, and that among the descendants of *Charlemagne* no regard should be had to primogeniture, so as to affect their independency or interests, excepting the endearments due to consanguinity.

Which is broken by *Lothair*.

In 846, *France* was again filled with civil commotions, which were generally raised by ecclesiastics, and every day produced battles fought by bishops, abbots, and monks, with very considerable bloodshed. *Hugues*, a natural son of *Charles the Great*, who was abbot of *St. Quintin*, was killed before *Tholouse*, and two bishops were made prisoners in one of those quarrels, while the *Normans*, in breach of their engagements, renewed their ravages on the coast of *France*, and laid siege to *Bordeaux*. It happened fortunately for *Charles* that he had then made peace with the *Moors*, who had been defeated in *Spain*, and raising an army he beat the invaders, and sunk some of their ships, and forced them to raise the siege of *Bordeaux*, which then belonged to *Pepin of Aquitain*. *Charles* no sooner returned to *Paris* than the *Normans* renewed their visits, and being favoured by the *Jews* entered *Bordeaux*, which they plundered. The nobility

bility of *Aquitain* imputed this disgrace and disaster to the inactivity of *Pepin*, and in gratitude to *Charles* they crowned him king of *Aquitain* at *Orleans*, and he received their oaths of fealty.

Lothair reproached *Charles* for breaking the family convention by the peace he had made with the *Saracens*, who erected *Bretagne* had brought his kingdoms to the brink of ruin, and solicited into a *Lewis* of *Germany* to enter into an alliance against him, but kingdom. *Lewis* rejected the proposal. The differences among the ecclesiastics of *France* still continuing, the ravages of her coasts by pirates of all nations, were renewed, and *Pepin* reassembling his friends recovered great part of his dominions. This encouraged *Nomenon*, the prince or duke of *Bretagne*, already mentioned, to revolt, and having by the assistance of count *Lambert* taken *Rennes*, he again assumed the title of king, and dying soon after, he left it to his son, *Herispee*, who in a bloody battle defeated the forces of *Charles*. *Herispee* offered to become a feodatory to the crown of *France*, a term in those days amounting to little less than independency, and *Charles*, who after his defeat had retired to *Angiers*, was obliged to accept of his proposal. *Charles* was more fortunate on the side of *Aquitain*, where *Pepin*, and his brother *Charles* fell into his hands; and he shut them both up in convents.

We have already seen the state of the empire upon the *ibid.* death of *Lothair*, and the events that followed it. At this p. 382. time, the people of *Aquitain* again revolted, on account of the severity shewn to their prince. *Charles*, in chastising the *Aquitainers*, proceeded so cruelly, that *Lewis* of *Germany* took advantage of the general disaffection of his subjects to his government, to send an army commanded by his son *Lewis*, to take possession of the *French* crown. In the mean while, *Pepin* of *Aquitain* escaped out of his monastery, and the *Aquitainers* declaring for him drove the *Germans* out of their country; but *Pepin* being dissatisfied with their inconstancy, compromised matters with his uncle *Charles*, whom, for distinction sake, we are now to call *Charles the Bald*, and retired to *Germany*.

Charles the Bald, in order to fix the *Aquitainers*, declared *Charles* his soon king of *Aquitain*, which had so good an effect, excommunicated that they gave a total defeat to the *Norman* invaders, whom they had before used to join, and scarcely three of them and de- escaped to their ships. *Pepin's* adventures during this interval are not known; but it is certain, that thinking himself ill used by *Charles*, he joined the *Normans*, and assisted them in ravaging his own country. The mismanagement of *Charles the Bald*, joined to the inconstancy of the *Aquitainers*, effected another revolution in favour of *Pepin*, who was soon after expelled, and *Lewis* of *Germany* was again invited to take possession of the crown of *Aquitain*. *Charles* all at once found himself deserted,

Lewis of Germany crowned king of France.

Charles recovers his crown.

ed, and applied to his uncle the count of *Suabia* for his advice. The count gave it with great freedom, and told him that his misfortunes were owing to his ill conduct. *Charles* perceiving that the archbishop of *Sens* had by the influence of his brother *Lewis* of *Germany*, assisted by some other bishops, anathematized and deposed him, was reduced so low as to publish a rescript, containing the following expressions, "At least, the archbishop ought not to have proceeded to depose me, before I had appeared before the bishops who consecrated me king: it was just that I should first have undergone their censure, to whose paternal correction and chastisement I was always ready to submit myself." He published other rescripts, addressed to the nobility, and offered to refer his past and future conduct to a full and free assembly, or parliament, to be held at *Verberis*; but threatened to treat all who should not comply with his proposal as rebels. All those rescripts did him no service. The *Normans* again invaded *France*; *Charles*, with a thin attendance, was obliged to fly to the extremity of his kingdom, and *Lewis* was crowned king of *France* by the archbishop of *Sens*, who was in his turn excommunicated by the prelates of *Charles the Bald's* party. Even *Pepin* of *Aquitain*, and *Lothair* king of *Lorraine*, son to the emperor *Lothair*, had consented to the coronation of *Charles*, who seemed now to have no dependence but upon the levity and inconstancy of his subjects.

Charles joined *Lewis* in the new revolution, and persuaded him to send back his *German* troops, and to trust entirely to the affections of his *French* subjects. *Lewis* consented, and sent them to treat with *Charles* (with whom they all along secretly corresponded) about his renouncing all pretensions to the crown of *France*. When *Lewis* sent back his troops, he paid them, and thereby exhausted his treasury. The two brothers informed *Charles* of those circumstances, and, as he still retained a small army under his command, he recovered his crown, which *Lewis* had neither treasure nor friends to defend, without the least difficulty. It is necessary that the reader of the following history should observe, that at the time we now treat of, the present kingdom of *France*, besides the feodatory kingdom of *Bretagne*, contained four other kingdoms possessed by the descendants of *Charles the Great*; that of *France*, properly so called, that of *Lorraine*, which owned *Lothair*, the second son of the emperor *Lothair*, for its master; and that of *Arles*, or *Provence*, which consisted of *Provence*, *Dauphiny*, and part of the ancient kingdom of *Burgundy*, and was held by *Charles*, the third son of the same emperor, and the kingdom of *Aquitain*. The last kingdom, as we shall have occasion to observe, continued long to be governed by its own princes.

The

The king of *Lorraine*, from being the intimate friend of *Charles the Bald*, had sided with *Lewis of Germany*; and when *Lorraine*, the revolution in favour of *Charles* took place, he returned with readiness to his alliance with him, and complimented him upon his restoration; but in the mean time he offered his mediation to the two uncles, which was the more necessary, as the *Normans* had actually made a settlement on the *Seine*, and the *Saone*, after plundering the richest provinces of the kingdom. The interview between the two brothers took place; but the history of *Lorraine* at this time is equally uncommon as infamous. *Lothair* had married *Theutberge*, the daughter of *Hubert*, duke or count of *Outre-le-mont-joure*; but being passionately fond of *Walrade* his concubine, he charged his lawful wife with incest with her brother *Hubert*, and according to the superstitious customs of those times, she proved her innocence by her champion standing the ordeal of boiling water, which was performed by the accused thrusting his arm to the bottom of a vessel filled with boiling water, and bringing from thence a ring. The arm being sealed up for three days, if no marks of scalding then appeared upon it, the party was then declared innocent. We shall not here examine into the possibility of this being performed without scalding; but it is certain, that *Gonsier*, archbishop of *Cologne*, confessor to the king, and father or uncle of *Walrade*, swore that the queen had confessed to him her being guilty of incest, upon which *Lothair* renewed the process, during the dependence of which, the queen and her brother escaped to *France*, where they were received and protected by *Charles the Bald*. The consequence was, that *Lothair* married *Walrade*; and *Gonsier*, with some other bishops, decreed the marriage to be valid, and that the queen had been guilty of incest.

Charles was at this time at war in *Bretagne*, where one of *Solomon*, after killing *Herispee*, assumed the title of king, *Bretagne*, and beat the troops of *Charles*, who however, found means to engage in his interest *Robert le Fort*, or *the Stout*; one of the best captains of that age, and made him governor of the dutchy of *France*, by which we are to understand the country between the *Seine* and the *Loire*. The loss that *Charles* sustained in *Bretagne* was not compensated by his success in *Normandy*, where he employed, by the payment of a large sum of money, a body of *Normans*, seated on the *Saone*, under a famous freebooter, one *Wailand*, to dispossess a colony of their countrymen settled on the banks of the *Seine*, and upon the island of *Oiselle*. *Wailand* attacked the latter with a fleet of two hundred and sixty boats, called in those days ships, and obliged them to ransom themselves by paying him six thousand pounds in gold and silver, a sum of which we can at present have no adequate idea.

Charles however, found himself in a more undesirable situation than before, for the vanquished made their conquerors their protectors, and remained in their settlements.

Domestic troubles of Charles the Bald. *Charles the Bald*, at this time, was engaged in an unsuccessful expedition against his nephew the king of *Provence*. Returning from thence, he employed count *Robert le Fort* against the *Normans*, whom he defeated, and forced them to give him hostages for their departure out of the kingdom. The treachery of *Wailand*, whom *Charles the Bald* was obliged again to take into his service, and the growing numbers of the *Normans*, prevented this capitulation from taking place. *Judith*, the daughter of *Charles the Bald*, had, according to the *French* historians, been married to two kings of the *West Saxons*, father and son, and returning to *France*, she eloped with *Baldwin*, who is called the *Forrester of Flanders*, while *Lewis*, the eldest son of *Charles*, and his second son the king of *Aquitain*, married likewise without his consent. The family of *Charles the Great* was at this time filled with domestic dissensions. *Carloman*, the son of *Lewis* of *Germany*, rebelled against his father, and the legates who had been sent by pope *Nicholas I.* to examine into the validity of the king of *Lorrain's* marriage, were diverted by his money from executing their commission; but they prevailed upon *Charles the Bald* to pardon his daughter *Judith*, and to give her husband *Baldwin* the fee of the earldom of *Flanders* as her fortune.

Death of the king of Arles. The corruption of the two legates coming to the pope's knowledge, he deposed the archbishops of *Cologne*, and *Treves*, who had declared *Lothair's* marriage to be valid, and annulled the whole of the process. *Lothair* had bought his brother, the emperor's friendship on this occasion, by the cession of the fine country of *Alsace*; and the emperor shut up the pope in the church of *St. Peter*; but being informed of the treachery of the prelates, he banished them out of his dominions. Upon the death of the king of *Arles*, *Charles the Bald* seems to have been excluded from all share in his succession, which was divided between the emperor and *Lothair*.

In the year 864, *Charles the Bald* reduced to his duty his son, the king of *Aquitain*, who was soon after unfortunately killed; forced the king of *Bretagne* to do him homage; repulsed the *Normans*, and made prisoner *Pepin* of *Aquitain*, who was at their head. The *Normans* in those days were heathens, and *Pepin* being more than suspected of having apostatized, the prelates and nobles who were appointed to try him, condemned him to death; but through the moderation of *Charles* he died under a slight confinement. The repeated invasions of the *Normans*, and the *Danes*, who had killed *Robert le Fort* in battle, continued the distresses of *Charles*, whose kingdom was so much exhausted by the subsidies

fidies he had paid them, that he was obliged to raise the last payment of four thousand pounds in silver by a capitation tax.

In 867 he annexed the county of *Contentin* to the king- dom of *Bretagne*, and conferred the kingdom of *Aquitain* the king upon his eldest son *Lewis*, by which he made both princes his of *Lor- friends*, and dissolved the dangerous connections between *rain*. them. The marriage affair of the king of *Lorrain*, which, was a most iniquitous transaction, continued to embarrass the house of *Charles the Great*. The archbishops of *Cologne*, and *Treves*, after their deprivation, laid open to the pope a shocking scene of corruption and perjury, and his holiness enjoined *Lothair* to take an oath, the substance of which, was it not for the profligacy and ignorance of the times, would be incredible, that he had never known his concu- bine as a wife, and twelve of his chief nobility were oblig- ed to corroborate his oath with theirs. This disconcerted the schemes of *Charles the Bald*, and *Lewis of Germany*; but *Lothair* brought the *German* over to his side, and in the year 869, he died at *Placentia*, leaving his possessions to be contended for among his relations. *Charles the Bald* lying nearer to them than *Lewis the German*, took possession of them, and was crowned at *Metz*; but the pope asserted the right of the emperor, who was brother to the deceased. *Lewis the German*, and *Charles the Bald*, saw the necessity of uniting, and made a partition of the kingdom of *Lorrain*, which was then vastly more extensive than the dutchy now going by that name. The cities of *Cologne*, *Utrecht*, *Strasbourg*, *Basil*, *Treves*, *Metz*, and their territo- ries, with all the countries between the rivers *Ourt* and *Meuse*, together with *Aix la Chapelle*, and most of the di- stricts between the *Rhine* and the *Meuse*, were allotted to *Lewis*. *Lyons*, *Besançon*, *Vienne*, *Tongres*, *Toul*, *Verdun*, *Cambray*, *Viviers*, and *Uzes*, together with *Hainault*, *Zea- land*, and *Holland*, became the portion of *Charles*. The emperor being thus set aside from any part of the *Lorrain* succession, complained to the pope, who wrote, but in vain, most stinging letters to *Charles*. The latter, strength- ened by so considerable acquisitions, disregarded them so much, that he never answered them, though his son *Car- loman*, in holy orders, at this time headed his father's armies, and soon afterwards broke out against him in open rebellion. *Adrian* was then pope of *Rome*, and *Charles the Differ- Bald*, without any regard to the authority of his holiness, ences be- employed his own bishops to excommunicate his son and tween all his abettors. The pope continued to ply *Charles the Charles Bald* with most virulent letters for this invasion (as he called *the Bald*. it) of his authority; but *Charles* acted with so much spirit, and the that he not only silenced the pope, but forced him to pope. consent that he should be successor to his nephew *Lewis* in the empire, if the latter should die without male heirs.

Many

Many intrigues happened on account of this succession; but they can convey no information to the reader.

Affairs of
Bretagne.

Two of the sons of *Lewis the German* had been in rebellion against him, but he reclaimed them by gentle methods. *Carloman* remained in arms against his father *Charles the Bald*; and being taken prisoner his eyes were put out; but escaping to *Lewis the German*, he died at his court. After this, *Charles* engaged *Solomon* to assist him against the *Normans*; who, by the secret favour of *Solomon*, preserved their ships from destruction, and obtained them a capitulation. *Charles*, at this time, was looked upon as a most perfidious prince; and *Solomon* thought it his interest that he should always have a multiplicity of enemies, to divert him from renewing his pretensions upon *Bretagne*. *Solomon*, soon after, was assassinated, and *France* again thrown into convulsions; which were encreased by the emperor, *Lewis II.* dying, without male issue, in the year 875.

Charles the Bald
purchases
the empire
of the
pope.

The *Greek* emperor being, at that time, in possession of *Sicily* and the greatest part of *Naples*, had still a vast sway in the affairs of *Italy*; and *Lewis the German* depended upon him for his succeeding to the imperial authority, though it was now little more than a phantom, unless possessed by a prince of great power and spirit. It has been said, with vast confidence, by some authors, that *Charles the Bald* purchased the reversion of the empire, by money, from pope *John VIII.* and, considering the unbounded insolence of the *Roman* pontiffs of those days, and the weakness of *Charles the Fat*, it is not unlikely. Be that as it will, *Charles* eluded, by the most notorious breaches of faith, all the dispositions that had been made by *Lewis*, and his son *Carloman*, to obstruct his march to *Rome*; and received the imperial crown from pope *John VIII.* on *Christmas-day*, 875. The acquisition of the imperial crown cost *Charles* immense sums; but he indemnified himself by the treasures of his predecessor, which he lavished upon the pope and his other adherents.

ibid.
p. 383.

Death of
Lewis of
Germany.

Lewis the German died next year, and *Charles* gave in marriage the only daughter of his predecessor and nephew, *Lewis*, to his own brother-in-law, *Boson*; whom he created duke of *Lombardy* and his viceroy in *Italy*. While *Charles* was in *Italy*, *Lewis the German* invaded *France*; but, upon the return of the emperor, he retired to his own dominions, and sued for peace. *Charles*, at this time, once more altered his character. He seemed to be elevated with the thoughts of his being an emperor. He appeared in public in *Greek* robes, and he assumed unusual airs of haughtiness when he treated with his prelates, whom, both he and the pope, sought to reduce. He was always jealous of his brother, *Lewis the German*; who died in the year 875, and left his dominions to be divided among his three sons, *Carloman*, *Lewis*, and *Charles*. *Charles the Bald* endeavoured to take advantage

ibid.
p. 383.

advantage of this event, but was entirely defeated by his nephew *Lewis*.

As the pope had made himself a vast number of enemies, Interview by the preference he had given to *Charles*, he now called between upon that emperor for assistance. Though *Charles* was then the pope recovering from a dangerous pleuretic fever, he assembled and the states, settled the regency upon his son, and gave the *Charles* command of his troops to *Boson*. He then set out for *Italy the Bald*. with his empress, attended by a most magnificent equipage, and was met by the pope at *Pavia*; where they understood that *Carloman*, who was stiled king of *Bavaria*, was in arms, and claimed the imperial dignity. *Charles* waited to be joined by his army from *France*, but both officers and soldiers refused to pass the *Alps*; upon which, the pope fled to *Rome*, and the empress retired to *Morienne*; but *Charles*, in following her, died in a wretched hut, at a place called *Brios*; having received from a *Jew* physician, one *Zedechias*, a poison, which was so strong that his attendants were obliged to Death of bury his body by the way. He died in the fifty-fourth year the latter of his age. As he lived in the times of ignorance and barbarity, we can know little of his character but from his actions. He seems to have been sensible of his error in raising the *French* prelates to too great a pitch of power, but he ran into another extreme by endeavouring to reduce them by means of the papal power, which he impolitically aggrandised, as his successors in the empire felt. *Hincmar*, the archbishop of *Rheims*, made a noble stand for the *Gallican* church, against those usurpations of the popedom: but all was to no purpose; for *Charles*, towards the end of his life, was so jealous of the *Gallican* bishops, that he scarcely suffered one of them to continue a year in the same see. *Charles the Bald*, near the end of his life, discovered talents for government, which he acquired rather from experience than nature; but his reign, in general, was unpopular. His first wife was *Hermentrude*, the daughter of *Eudes*, count of *Orleans*; by whom he had four sons and one daughter. We have mentioned the death of one of those sons, the king of *Aquitain*. *Carloman*, another of his sons, after losing his sight, died in the dominions of his uncle, *Lewis the German*. *Lothair*, another son, died an abbot; and we shall have occasion, hereafter, to mention his eldest son, *Lewis*; as we have already done *Judith*, his daughter by the first marriage. His second wife was *Richilde*, sister to count *Boson*; and it is thought she and her brother hired the *Jew* to poison him. None of the sons he had by this lady survived himself; nor, so far as is known, was the *Jew* ever punished.

Lewis

Lewis III. *or*, the Stammerer.State of
France.

CHARLES *the Bald*, upon his death-bed, bequeathed his imperial, as well as regal, badges of dignity to his son *Lewis*, who succeeded him in both capacities. The feudal constitution had at this time got the better of the sovereign power; and nothing could be more despicable than the imperial authority trampled upon by creatures of its own raising. *Lewis*, who was called *the Stammerer*, from an impediment he had in his speech, endeavoured to strengthen himself, by ballancing the parties of the great feudatories to his crown; but he thereby only encreased their number and the opposition to his government. The empress was with her husband at the time of his death; and *Lewis*, who knew the disaffection of his great lords, retired to *Compeigne*; after which he was crowned by *Hincmar*, archbishop of *Rheims*.

ibid.
p. 384.

Though *Lewis* pretended to succeed his father, *Charles the Bald*, as emperor; yet, if that dignity was hereditary, the right of *Carloman*, son to *Lewis the German*, was certainly preferable to his. The pope, who joined with *Lewis*, was obliged to fly from *Rome* to *France*. He was there received with honour, and convoked a council of the clergy at *Troyes*; where the *Gallican* prelates were so prevalent, that they enacted decrees which raised them to a footing with temporal sovereigns. They enjoined all secular powers, be they ever so high, to pay them due honours, and not even to sit in their presence without their permission.

Corona-
tion of
Lewis.

Though the pope crowned *Lewis*, he could not be persuaded to bestow the same honour upon his queen, *Adelaide*; because, according to some authors, he doubted of the validity of her marriage with *Lewis*; but, in reality, his holiness entered into the interests of *Boson* and the empress-dowager; and, upon his return to *Italy*, all that *Lewis* could obtain of him, was to excommunicate some of his undutiful vassals: a censure which they little regarded.

His death.

In the year 878, *Lewis* had a friendly interview with his cousin, *Lewis of Germany*; and another family compact seems to have been settled between them; but all their schemes were disconcerted by the powerful marquis of *Languedoc*; who, in spite of the papal and regal authority, kept possession of that province, and even harrailed the other subjects of *Lewis*, who died, as he was upon his march to chastise him, in the year 879, with the character of having been a weak prince; leaving his wife, *Adelaide*, pregnant of a son who was christened *Charles*.

Lewis

Lewis and Carloman.

LEWIS the Stammerer left his kingdom, as well as his Depressed family, in a deplorable condition, through the prodigious power of the crown feudatories. At the head of regal power them was count *Boson*, already mentioned; *Hugh*, the abbot, grandson to *Robert le Fort*; *Thierri*, chamberlain of the king's household; and *Bernard*, count d'*Auvergne*. The *French* nation was divided into two parties; one, which was attached to the family of *Lewis the Stammerer*; while another favoured *Lewis of Germany*, whom they invited to take possession of the *French* crown. *Boson* had married his daughter to *Carloman*, the second son of *Lewis the Stammerer*; and, being a nobleman of vast interest in *France*, he prevailed, in an assembly met at *Mentz*, to crown both the sons (*Lewis* and *Carloman*) kings of *France*; while his old friends and party were numerous enough to vote him into the sovereignty of *Arles*; which was, on his account, amplified beyond the lake of *Geneva*. The manners of those times were certainly barbarous to a degree hardly to be expressed; and it was easy for any man, who had a superior understanding, to raise himself by perfidy, perjury, and wickedness. *Hugh*, the abbot, acted as guardian to the young princes: but an abbot, *Goscelin*, and *Conrade*, count of *Paris*, invited the king of *Germany* to mount the crown of *France*, on pretence of restoring the splendor of *Charlemagne's* family. This project went so far, that all the part of *Lorraine* which had been possessed by *Lewis the Stammerer*, was ceded to the *German* prince; who, by the intrigues of his queen, *Luitguard*, invaded *France*. The malecontents of his party not being able to support him, a congress of all the descendants of *Charles the Great* was held at *Gondreville*, on the *Meuse*; at which the young kings of *France* ceded their rights to *Lorraine* and the kingdom of *Italy* in favour of the other branches of the family; and a partition of power was agreed upon between the two young princes; the former acting as king of *France*, and the latter as king of *Aquitain*.

In 880, *Lewis* defeated the *Normans* at *Lacour*; but not being able to prosecute his victory, they continued their ravages, and *Lewis* was obliged to send a body of troops to protect *Lorraine*, then possessed by the emperor *Charles the Gross*. *Lewis* did not long survive this act of friendship, for he died soon after, not without suspicion of poison.

We are now to consider *Carloman* as the sole monarch of which *France*. At the time of his brother's death, he was besieging *Vienne*, which was defended by *Hermengard*, consort to *Boson*, king of *Arles*. Hearing of his brother's death, he sole mortured the siege into a blockade; the management of which narch. he left to his general, that he might fight the *Normans*, who now equally desolated *Germany* as *France*. Though he twice defeated

defeated them, he was obliged to bribe them with twelve thousand pounds of silver for an intermission of their ravages; but, in the mean while, *Vienne* was surrendered by capitulation, and *Hermengard* was suffered to retire to *Autun*.

Charles the Gross, whose dominions were ransacked by the *Normans* in like manner as those of *Carloman*, proposed to turn their joint forces against them; but, before this design could take effect, *Carloman* was accidentally killed in hunting, by a javelin which was aimed at a boar, but struck him in the thigh. He and his brother are celebrated for the goodness of their hearts; and it is said, that *Carloman*, on his death-bed, pretended that he had been wounded by the boar, that he might screen the innocent author of his death from punishment.

Charles the Gross called to the succession.

Charles, the posthumous son of *Lewis the Stammerer*, was still in being, and was then about five years of age. *Hugo*, the abbot, remained the faithful guardian of him, as he had been of his brothers; but being disliked by the great landholders of *France*, they called in *Charles the Gross*, to whom they gave their crown, under pretence of his being descended from the elder line of *Charles the Great*; and, that they never could be happy, unless the empire and *France* were united, especially as they had so many barbarians to encounter.

Charles the Gross.

and
mounts
the throne.

Invasions
of the
Normans.

THIS prince mounted the throne of *France* at a time when his reputation was high with the public, but it was soon diminished. While emperor, he had granted the *Normans* a settlement in the country of *Friesland*; and their king, *Godfrey*, had married the sister of *Hugh*, the abbot; who was a natural son of *Lothair*, king of *Lorraine*, and had a claim upon that kingdom. *Godfrey* was resolved to support this claim; and *Henry*, duke of *Saxony*, the general of *Charles the Gross*, in a conference concerning an accommodation, engaged a nobleman, whom *Godfrey* had offended, to cleave his skull; which put an end to his life: while *Hugh*, by a like stroke of treachery, lost his eyes, and was shut up in an abbey. The *Normans*, upon this, besieged *Paris*, by land and water, with a prodigious fleet and army. The former is said to have consisted of seven hundred ships, and to each ship we may allow eighteen men; and the numbers of the latter were about thirty thousand; the whole being commanded by one *Sigefroi*, an able but barbarous general. The city, which was then confined to the island in the river, was defended by count *Eudes*, assisted by *Gezelin*, the bishop, and *Hugh*, the count, of *Paris*. *Sigefroi* pressed the siege so briskly, that, notwithstanding the brave defence made by the besieged, *Eudes* was obliged to apply to the emperor for relief. His general, the duke of *Saxony*, accordingly,

ingly, attempted to raise the siege ; but was himself killed ; and, during its continuance, the bishop and the count died ; by which the dignity of the latter devolved upon his nephew *Eudes*.

The ministers of *Charles* represented to him the ambitious views of the *Normans*, who intended to erect a kingdom in *France*, of which *Paris* was to be the capital ; and, that the valour of *Eudes* must, at last, give way to their courage, perseverance, and numbers. *Charles* raised a great army ; but he found that the *Normans* could be diverted from their enterprize only by money. He was, therefore, obliged to pay them a large sum ; and to agree to their taking winter-quarters in *Burgundy*. The reader may judge of the largeness of their ships from one circumstance ; that, the *Parisians* refusing to suffer them to pass under their bridges, they were carried over land, and launched into the *Seine* above the city.

Charles the Greaf, by this disgraceful treaty, and by his own weak behaviour both in public and private, rendered himself despicable in the eyes of his subjects. He drove from his court *Ludard*, bishop of *Verceil*, the only able counsellor he had about him ; and he confined his empress, *Rachael*, on pretence of their having criminal intercourse together, to the abbey of *Andelau*, in *Alsace*, of which she was the foundress. She submitted unwillingly to her confinement, and insisted upon her undergoing an ordeal, to prove, that she was innocent, not only with regard to that prelate, but untouched by her husband himself. The truth is, *Charles*, by this time, had fallen into a state of idiotism ; upon which he was abandoned by his courtiers, and even by his menial servants ; and he must have perished for the want of common necessaries, had he not, like a beggar, received them from the charity of the archbishop of *Mentz*.

Being deposed from the empire, it was with difficulty that and miserable he was allowed the revenues of a few villages in *France* to subsist on ; and, what is most amazing, though he had neither been degraded nor dethroned in *France*, he died, as a private man, in the year 888. His advancement to the *French* throne, in prejudice of *Charles the Simple*, the posthumous son of *Lewis the Stammerer*, was owing to the artful policy of the *French* nobility, who thought that they could be more free, or rather licentious, under a prince with a disputable title, than under one whose right was unquestionable.

Eudes, or Odo.

FROM a daughter of *Lewis the Debonnaire* came *Guy*, Competitor for the duke of *Speleto* ; and from a daughter of king *Pepin* was born *Erengar*, duke of *Friuli* ; so that each of those princes crown of was *France*.

was the fourth in descent from *Charles the Great*. *Lewis*, the son of *Boson*, king of *Arles*, was son to the daughter of the emperor, *Lewis II.* but being a child his title was disregarded. *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, was descended from *Bernard*, king of *Italy*; whose illegitimacy had not barred him from being declared such both by *Charles the Great* and *Lewis the Debonnaire*. Such were the competitors for the crown of *France* after the death of *Lewis the Bald*; to whom we may add *Arnold*, the German emperor, who sought once more to reunite *France* to the empire. The modes of descent and inheritance in *France*, *Germany*, *Italy*, *Lorrain*, and the numerous countries that composed the empire of *Charles the Great*, were very uncertain and various; and the *French* nobility put the claims of all those competitors aside by giving their crown to *Eudes*, count of *Paris*, and son of *Robert le Fort*, from a principle of gratitude for his services; though some were so officious as to forge for him a more ignoble title to sovereignty, that of royal descent.

To which
Eudes is
elected.

It is said that *Eudes* accepted the crown of *France* only as trustee and guardian to *Charles the Simple*, who was the heir of line; and, that he offered to resign it, rather than involve his country in a war with *Germany*; and, that his noble behaviour pleased the emperor, *Arnold*, so much, that he recognized him as king of *France* after he had been crowned by the bishop of *Sens*.

We shall not here presume to enter into any disquisition upon the inconsistency of the *French* history at this period, which supposes, that the sovereignty of the *French* crown could be vested in two persons at the same time, and both alive. It is certain that the public distresses and necessities demanded so able and brave a head as *Eudes*, and that he merited the honours he received. Though his army was weak, yet he gave a signal defeat to the *Normans*, near *Mont-faucon*; but a revolt of the *Aquitainers*, through the affection they had for the blood of *Charles the Great*, drew his arms on that side; which gave an opportunity for the *Normans* to destroy *Meaux*, to take many other places of importance, and even to make a fresh attempt upon *Paris* itself.

His trou-
blesome
reign.

An elective title, while a royal heir exists, has been always found precarious, dangerous and difficult to maintain; especially in a state abounding with factious and ambitious nobility; which was the case of *France* at the time we now treat of. When the great line of succession is broken into, every aspiring subject makes it a pretext for withdrawing his allegiance from the actual sovereign, or becoming independent upon him. The prevailing ravages and invasions of the *Normans* favoured those dispositions in the *French* nobility; and *Eudes* no sooner crushed one rebellion or invasion, than another took place. Having subdued the *Aquitainers*, one count *Walgair* took the city of *Laon*; where he proclaimed *Charles the Simple* king. *Eudes* invested and took the

the place, and in it *Walgair*, whom he left to the judgment of his peers; and his head was struck off. Another commotion was raised in *Aquitain* by *Eblon*, abbot of *St. Dennis*; but it was soon quelled: while the remains of *Walgair's* party brought the queen-dowager and her son *Charles* from *England*; whom they proclaimed king of *France*, and crowned him at *Rheims*.

Here the *French* history becomes again mysterious. *Eudes* had certainly offered to resign his right to the crown of *France* to the emperor, *Arnold*; and gave him up part of *Lorrain*. This could only proceed from the idea that the emperor was lord-paramount of *France*; and, if so, he was superior even to *Charles the Simple*, and *Eudes* held his crown from him; while he himself declared he acted only as regent of the kingdom. But how could *Arnold*, who was himself illegitimate, though of the blood of *Charles the Great*, acquire this superiority over the legitimate line, if the customs and laws of the *Franks* and *Salians*, which took root in *Germany*, had not admitted of a local superiority in the mother country? Be this as it will, the counts of *Vermandois* and *Senlis*, and the other *French* princes descended from *Charles the Great*, applied to *Arnold* in favour of *Charles the Simple*; and *Arnold* seems to have inclined to their party. They besieged *Laon*; but *Eudes* obliged them to raise the siege and retire.

Finding that the nobility, in general, were averse to his *Hedivides* government, he referred his interest to the emperor *Arnold*; the king-who approved of his conduct, but suffered him to resign to dom with *Charles the Simple* the greatest part of his kingdom, and pay *Charles* him homage for the remainder. Soon after this compromise, *Eudes* died, in the year 898, and the fortieth of his to whom age. From the little we know of him in history, he was a he does brave, wise, and disinterested prince. We have already homage. stated our difficulties with regard to his right.

Charles the Simple.

IT is only in compliance with custom that we have given *Charles the Simple* a place to *Eudes* among the kings of *France*; for, though *Simple* sole he was crowned and exercised the regal functions, yet he king of still was a substitute in more respects than one; and, not- *France*. withstanding he left behind him a son, called *Arnold*, yet he did not succeed him in his title of king; so that his party transferred all their interest to *Robert*, his brother. Upon the death of *Eudes*, *Charles the Simple* was acknowledged sole king of *France*: but, by this time, *Burgundy* was erected into a kingdom; which comprehended *Switzerland* and the greatest part of *Franche Comte*. *Lorrain* was in the hands of the emperor of *Germany*, who gave it to his son *Zuentibold*; and *Lewis*, the son of *Boson*, was king of *Arles*. The *Lorrainers* rebelled against *Zuentibold*; and *Charles the Simple*, who

who was not deficient in personal courage, might have easily re-annexed it to his crown, had it not been for his indolence; through which he was prevailed on to make a scandalous treaty, and to leave *Zuentibold* in possession of that fine country. It was not, however, till after the death of his faithful support and counsellor, *Folques*, archbishop of *Rheims*, that *Charles* was stigmatized with the epithet of *Simple*. But we are now to turn our eyes towards the revolutions that happened in the constitution of *France*.

Consider-
ations on
the history
of the
northern
ations,

vindicated
from the
charge of
barbarism.

The source of all the misfortunes she laboured under, at this time, undoubtedly, consisted in her being unprovided in a marine. Modern writers have been very lavish in bestowing the epithets of barbarous and uncivilized upon the *Normans*, and other northern nations. That they were without the use of letters seems more than probable; or, if they had any characters in writing or engraving, they were confined to their priests, or some particular order of men; and the very few remains of them now extant are unintelligible, or, at best, the sense of them is but conjectural. However, if this deficiency in letters discovers their ignorance, it also proves, at the same time, that we have no means of coming to an acquaintance with their real history and constitution. What we know of them, at this time, comes from their enemies, who were astonished and confounded at the rapidity of their conquests and the rapaciousness of their behaviour. The latter is excusable only by that necessity which occasioned their original migrations from their native countries; too barren to support their numerous inhabitants: but, notwithstanding all those disadvantages, we can, by no means, pronounce them to have been more barbarous than their *European* contemporaries. *England*, undoubtedly, owes to them the noblest branches of her constitution (for the *Angles* and *Saxons* were northern people) as all *Europe* does its feudal system. If *England* adopted more of their customs than other nations of *Europe* did, she is, at this day, the more free and happy. In one respect, all *Europe*, *England* excepted, were barbarians, compared to the northern nations; because the latter cultivated a marine, while *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy* had none. By this they were successful in most of their expeditions; and it is amazing that the *French* had never made use of the vast forests with which their country abounds, for building ships, as the *English* did, to encounter their invaders. In the reign of *Charles the Gross*, they had penetrated from *Holland* into *Flanders*; and, as we have already seen, they formed the siege of *Paris*, and continued it for a year and an half. They carried it on by battering rams; but, though the city was bravely defended by *Eudes* and bishop *Goscelin*, yet *Charles the Gross*, as we have already seen, instead of fighting them, gave them money; which only enabled them to renew their ravages. *Charles the Simple* had so little power to check them, that he was unable to punish

the earl of *Flanders*, by whose orders the archbishop of *Rheims* had been assassinated.

The *Normans* sailed up the *Loire* and the *Seine*, and were Progress now headed by *Rollo*; who was of noble, if not royal, extraction; but driven out of *Denmark*; and he founded the *Normans*. hopes of his future fortune upon the uncivilization of the nations whose descendents now term his followers barbarous. He was not only the leader, but the legislator, of his people; and, when he took *Rouen* by composition, he taught them to observe its terms. He did not, as *Sigefroi*, and their former leaders, had done, march them from place to place; and, as it were, spring by surprize upon their prey. He fixed his residence in *Rouen*, and soon convinced the *French*; that he was resolved to make it the seat of a regular government. In the reign of *Eudes*, *Charles* and his friends had courted the alliance of these *Normans*, who were now in possession of almost all *Neustria*, and were extending their conquests into *Artois* and *Picardy*.

The people called upon *Charles* to defend them, as he did Original upon the great lords; to enable him. They knew his necessities; but refused to move, unless their governments, and of fiefs in *France*. the lands they held from the crown, were converted into hereditary fiefs, to be held by them and their posterity, upon condition of doing homage and fealty for them, and promising to serve the king in his wars: an engagement which bound them no farther than as they had power to break it. The institution of those hereditary fiefs gave the first fatal blow to the *Carlovingian* princes of *France*, by dismembering their crown of its finest possessions. *Rollo*, equally politic as brave, was sensible of this; and that those great fiefholders were too much employed in settling the affairs of their own estates, to run to the assistance of their prince or country; and rejecting all proposals of a truce, he demanded, thro' *Francon*, archbishop of *Rouen*, that negotiations should be opened for an ample peace; the basis of which was to be a permanent establishment for himself and his followers. *Francon* insinuated, that the truce was demanded only with that view; upon which *Rollo* agreed to an armistice. Some of the lords of *Burgundy* and *Aquitain*, disliking the neighbourhood of *Rollo*, persuaded *Charles* to break the truce; upon which *Rollo* invested *Chartres*; but the inhabitants, with the bishop, in his robes, at their head, favoured the confederated lords with a sally; and *Rollo* was besieged in his turn. He cut his way through the *French* troops, and, being joined by great numbers of his countrymen; they, in resentment of the perfidy of the lords, renewed their ravages with more fury than ever; while the lords, who had depended upon crushing *Rollo* at once, retired to their estates.

Charles had now no dependence but in the great sway that the archbishop of *Rouen* had over the mind of *Rollo*. That relate prevailed over his resentment; the treaty was re-

Robert the Norman obtains Neustria and Bretagne. renewed; and *Francon* proposed that *Rollo* should become a *Christian*, and marry *Giselle*, the daughter of *Charles*, who was to give him the country of *Neustria* for her dowry. *Rollo* demanded *Bretagne* (which had now ceased to be a kingdom) likewise; alledging, that *Neustria* was too much exhausted to support his subjects. His demand was admitted, and the treaty finished, on condition of his doing homage to *Charles* for the two provinces. The custom of the times required, that, in performing this ceremony, the vassal should kiss his lord's feet; which *Rollo* refused to do; and, when it was agreed that one of his soldiers should do it for him, the *Norman* stomached the indignity so much, that, in performing it, he almost overturned *Charles* in his chair of state.

His great sagacity and success.

Robert, brother to king *Eudes*, was the chief counsellor of *Charles* in agreeing to this treaty; the consequences of which were, perhaps, not so disgraceful to the *French* crown, as the terms would have been, had the *French* feudatories prevailed. *Robert* seems to have been sensible of this, and that it would be the interest of *Rollo* to support *Charles* against his over-grown lords. On *Christmas* day, *Robert* stood sponsor to *Rollo*, who was baptized *Robert*, and ever after known by that name. The chief officers of his army turned *Christians* likewise; and the ease with which their conversions was performed, makes it highly probable, that, before that time, they either had no religion at all, or were too much employed in war to mind any. *Robert* discovered wonderful sagacity in the plan of government he laid down for his new dominions, which he accommodated, as far as he could, to the constitution of *France*; and the laws he enacted were particularly levelled against piracy and robbery, the crimes to which his subjects had been chiefly addicted. The facility with which they were reduced into a social state, under wholesome laws, and cultivating the arts of peace, is a proof how far the *Normans* were from being barbarians; and, that they were guilty of excesses, only that they might be the sooner relieved from the necessity of committing them. His court resembled, in every respect, that of his lord-paramount. He had under him his great officers of state; his counts, bishops, and barons. His inferior magistrates were provided with most excellent laws for the stricter administration of justice. He encouraged an intercourse between his *French* and the *Normans*; and, before his death, he not only saw his dominions the most populous, and the best cultivated, of any in *France*, but his subjects exemplary beyond those of any nation round, for their docility, industry, obedience, and every social virtue. His countrymen, some of whom had acquired immense riches by their depredations, repaired to *Normandy*; where they settled, to the vast benefit both of themselves and the country; and *Bretagne*, from being a kingdom, was now only a fief dependent on *Normandy*.

The *Carlovingian* line was, by this time, extinguished in *Germany*; but the *Lorrainers* had so great an affection for of *Charles* the family of *Charles the Great*, that they bestowed their the *Simple* crown upon *Charles the Simple*. His minister was one *Haga-* to his mi-
non, a private gentleman, on whom he had devolved his go- nister *Ha-*
 vernment, to the great disgust of his friends, especially the *ganon*.
German princes. *Haganon* is said to have had capacity, and
 he advised *Charles* to have an eye on his son-in-law, *Robert*,
 duke of *Normandy*, whose spouse was not fourteen, while
 he himself was sixty; nor had the marriage ever been con-
 summated. Two persons were accordingly sent to the *Nor-*
man court, where they were concealed by the dutchess; but
 being discovered by *Robert*, he hanged them as spies.

About this time, *Robert*, duke of *France*, as he is called,
 brother to king *Eudes*, relying upon the good offices he had
 done *Robert* of *Normandy*, proposed to the latter to dethrone
Charles, and to seat himself on the throne of *France*, which
 had belonged to his brother: but the *Norman* wisely and pe-
 remptorily refused his assent.

Upon the *Norman's* death, an assembly of the nobility held
 at *Soissons*, would have deposed *Charles* for his attachment to
 his minister; but, upon the interposition of the archbishop
 of *Rheims* and count *Hugh*, they were satisfied with his be-
 ing displaced. Soon after, *Charles* lost a faithful friend by
 the death of *Richard*, duke of *Burgundy*; which encouraged
 his factious nobility to renew their cabals; and *Charles*, pre-
 tending he was thereby absolved from his promise of discard-
 ing *Haganon*, recalled him to court. The lords, provoked
 at this step, besieged and took *Laon*; distributed *Haganon's*
 money among their followers; declared *Charles* to be inca-
 pable and unworthy of reigning; and crowned duke *Robert*
 at *Rheims*. *Gilbert*, whom *Charles* had made duke of *Lor-*
rain, being head of the conspiracy, which soon grew to be
 very formidable, it was joined by the duke of *Burgundy* and
 the count of *Vermandois*; and *Robert*, after his coronation,
 had an interview with the emperor, *Henry I.* of *Germany*,
 with a view of reducing *Charles* to circumstances similar to
 those under which *Charles the Gross* had died.

Robert, upon his return from this interview, assembled his
 army, and consulted his friends upon the most effectual me-
 thod for carrying his great design into execution. The blood
 of *Charles the Great* was still respected in *France*, and *Charles*
the Simple was then at the head of an army. Being unable
 to keep it long together, he resolved upon a bold stroke;
 which he intended to be decisive. All of a sudden, on the *Char le*
 fifteenth of *June*, 923, he passed the river *Aisne*; attacked kills his
Robert; and, with his own hand, killed him, fighting, at rival, *Ro-*
 the head of his army; but, in the end, he himself was beat. *bert*, with
 The sudden death of *Robert* occasioned great confusion in his own
 his party. Though crowned, he is not properly ranked hand.

among the *French* kings ; but, as if *Charles* had been dead, and the crown of *France* purely elective, three competitors started up to succeed him : his son, *Hugh* ; *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois* ; and *Raoul*, duke of *Burgundy*.

The reader is here to observe, that the *French* historians, before this period, used the terms count and duke promiscuously : nor does there appear to be any difference between them.

Herbert was soon set aside, through some dislike the electors had taken to his person ; and *Hugh* referred his pretensions to his sister *Emma*, who had been married to the duke of *Burgundy*, and whose decision was in favour of her husband ; who was accordingly crowned at *Soissons*.

He is
treacher-
ously
made a
prisoner.

Charles was now overwhelmed with misfortunes, which the spirit wherewith he bore them shewed he did not deserve. Being deserted by all, and scarcely having bread to eat, he attempted, but in vain, to escape into *Normandy* ; where he was sure of a dutiful reception from its duke, *William* ; and he was forced to throw himself upon the emperor, *Henry the Fowler* ; to whom he offered to resign his part of *Lorraine*. *Henry* began to raise troops to restore him, when *Charles*, receiving a most respectful message, was persuaded, by the profound dissimulation of count *Herbert*, to repair to *Vermandois* ; where he was made prisoner, as he lay in bed, within the castle of *Chateau Thierry* ; while his queen, *Egiva*, fled with her son *Lewis* to *England* ; where she was received by the king her brother.

Raoul, at first, met with some opposition from the count of *Auvergne* ; who was, at the same time, duke, or rather governor, under the king of *Aquitain* ; but he was obliged to submit to superior force. A fresh invasion of *Burgundy*, by the *Normans* from *Denmark*, headed by a chief called *Rainold*, after this, for some time, employed *Raoul's* arms ; while the *French Normans*, at the same time, shewed themselves dissatisfied with his title ; and the *Lorrainers*, far from recognizing his right, by the advice of their duke, *Gilbert*, submitted to the *German* emperor.

Fresh in-
vasions of
the *Nor-*
mans.

The *French Normans* were now in arms, and had invaded the county of *Artois* ; but they were so straitened between the armies of *Raoul* and the count of *Vermandois*, that they must have yielded themselves prisoners, had they not made a desperate attack upon the camp of *Raoul*, whom they wounded and defeated ; and it was with difficulty that the count of *Vermandois* prevented him and his troops from being entirely cut in pieces. *Raoul* was forced to bribe the *Normans* with money, before he could prevail with them to retreat to their own country ; and he was preparing to pass the *Leire*, to fall upon the duke of *Aquitain*, when a body of *Huns*, for the sake of prey, invaded the frontiers of *France*, and forced *Raoul* to buy their retreat likewise with money.

A dis-

A dispute which soon after happened, between *Raoul*, King and the count of *Vermandois*, about the county of *Laon*, *Raoul* and induced the latter once more to restore *Charles* to his regal the count dignity. *Hugh*, duke of *France*, who had married *Egiva's* of *Ver-* sister, and the duke of *Normandy*, seconded the count, and *Ver-* *mandois* did homage to *Charles* for their dominions. *Raoul* was, at quarrel. this time, raising troops in *Burgundy*, but had left his wife *Emma*, in *Laon*. *Hugh*, duke of *France*, apprehensive of the event, after both armies had taken the field, prevailed with *Raoul* to gratify the count of *Vermandois* in his claim upon *Laon*; but *Emma* refused to deliver up the county; while the emperor *Henry*, and the duke of *Normandy*, was seconded by pope *John XI.* in attempting the restoration of *Charles*. The count of *Vermandois* had given his son as a hostage to the duke of *Normandy* for the completing that restoration; and by a feigned submission to *Charles* procured his liberty; but soon after the German emperor abandoning the party of the unfortunate *Charles*, *Raoul* put the count of *Vermandois* in possession of the county of *Laon*, upon condition of his again shutting up *Charles* in prison, which he did; so that *Egiva* was again obliged to fly to *England*, and *Charles* was left with no friend of any consequence in *France*, but the duke of *Normandy*. It is probable, that *Charles* would have been put to death after this new reconciliation, had it not been for the jealousy which *Raoul* entertained of the count of *Vermandois*, which induced him to send for *Charles* to *Rheims*, where he and his nobles made him magnificent presents, cared for him, and settled a competent provision for his future subsistence. *Charles* died soon after, in the castle of *Perronne*, in the fifty-first year of his age, and on the ninth of *October* 929.

Death of
Charles
the Simple.
His issue.

The first wife of *Charles the Simple*, mother to *Giselle*, married to the duke of *Burgundy*, is unknown. His second wife was *Frederune*, sister to the bishop of *Chalons*, and mother to four daughters, *Hermentrude*, *Frederune*, *Hildegade*, and *Rotrude*. His third wife was *Egiva*, granddaughter to *Alfred the Great*, of *England*, and sister to *Edward the elder*, by whom he had his only son *Lewis*. After the death of *Charles*, she married the count of *Troyes*, second son to the count of *Vermandois*.

Raoul, or Rodolph.

THIS prince, notwithstanding all the defects of his *Raoul's* title, shewed himself worthy of a crown, by his great spirit and conduct after the death of *Charles the Simple*. He actions. drove the interloping *Normans* out of *France*, or obliged them to mingle with those settled in *Normandy*. He forced the duke of *Gascony*, and many other rebel lords to do him homage, and he repelled the *Hungarians*. Being now with-

He subdues the count of *Vermandois*.

out a rival, and assisted by *Hugh*, duke of *France*, he disregarded the count of *Vermandois*, whom he had always both dreaded and hated, and who had allied himself with the count of *Flanders* (with whom he gave his daughter in marriage), with *Gilbert* duke of *Lorraine*, and the emperor *Henry*, to whom he performed homage, on the old principle of the emperors of *Germany* being lords paramount of *France*. A bloody war ensued upon this step, and it was chiefly managed by *Hugh*, duke of *France*, who dispossessed the count of *Eu*, *Amiens*, *St. Quintin*, *Peronne*, *Ham*, *Arras*, *Chateau*, *Therrei*, and *Rheims*. The count had thrust his son, though he was now no more than five years of age, into that archbishopric; which was now filled by *Artand*, a monk. The count of *Vermandois* is, on all hands, acknowledged to have been a prince of great parts, but he was detested for his ambition, treachery, and ingratitude to *Charles the Simple*. This was the true reason why he was not elected king of *France*, to which he had a claim in right of blood. He was at vast pains to persuade the great lords that *Raoul* sought to abolish the feudal system, and to reannex their estates to the crown; and that they therefore ought to take his, the count's, part. They believed him, and secretly assisted him; but upon losing *Laon* to *Raoul*, he was, by the *German* emperor, persuaded to do homage to that prince for his estates. Both *France* and the empire were at this time threatened by an invasion from the *Bulgarians*; but when the peace of *France* was restored, and a league formed between *Henry* and *Raoul*, the barbarians turned their arms against *Italy*. *Raoul* had then leisure to treat, but with arms in his hands, with *Hugh* count of *France*, who had the management of the war against the count of *Vermandois*, and made some difficulty of restoring the places he had taken from them; but at last he yielded them, and *Raoul* soon after died, on the fifteenth of *January* 936, in the fourteenth year of his reign. It is agreed on all hands, that *Raoul* possessed all the qualities that enter into the composition of a great king, and a general; and, notwithstanding the defects of his title, had he lived in times less turbulent, would have rendered the *French* a great and a powerful people.

Dispute about the succession to the crown.

He was succeeded in his duchy of *Burgundy* by his brother *Hugh*, surnamed the *Black*, to distinguish him from *Hugh*, the *White*, duke of *France*, and a competitor for the crown. The count of *Vermandois* opposed him, nor had the country of *Aquitain* ever owned his brother; so that, notwithstanding the breach of the royal line, it is plain, that the genius of the *French* government still leaned towards hereditary monarchy. This was fully seen in the revolution which happened about this time. *Lewis*, the son of *Charles the Simple*, and his mother *Egiva*, were still living in *England*; and *Athelstan*, then king, entered into a concert with *William* duke of *Normandy*, the faithful friend of the *Carlovingian*

vingian race, for the restoration of young *Lewis*, who was nephew to himself, and the dutchess of *France*. The interests of the great lords were so equally balanced, that one of them could not raise himself to the throne when opposed by the other two. This was the case with the two *Hughs*, dukes of *France* and *Burgundy*, and the count of *Vermandois*.

Lewis Outremer.

THE duke of *Burgundy*, as he had promised to *Athel-Lewis* *Stan*, applied in favour of *Lewis* to the duke of *France*, *Outremer* and meeting with a favourable reception, the archbishop of *Sens* was sent over, with some other lords, to *England*, where it from they performed homage to their young king, and attending *England*. him to *France*, he was crowned on the twentieth of *June* 936, at *Rheims*. He was then no more than seventeen years of age, and the duke of *France* was appointed to be his governor. *Hugh the Black*, duke of *Burgundy*, thinking that he had not been sufficiently considered in the scheme of the restoration, was then in arms, and had seized upon *Langres*; but the duke of *France*, aided by the name and presence of the king, not only forced him to submit, but to yield up to him great part of his dominions. The king, young as he was, saw that his countenance and authority was made use of only to aggrandize subjects already too powerful, and he refused to be tutored longer by the duke of *France*; but the latter joining with the count of *Vermandois*, he was obliged to re-enter into his tutelage.

Lewis was still uneasy, and privately invited over his mother *Egiva*, who through the jealousy of the great *French* lords had been forced to remain in *England*. Upon her arrival in *France*, she formed a strong party against the duke of *France*, consisting of *Hugh* duke of *Burgundy*, the archbishop of *Rheims*, and others. The duke of *France* was joined by the counts of *Vermandois* and *Flanders*, and the duke *Normandy*, who disapproved of the persons about the king. *Gilbert* duke of *Lorraine*, joined the royal party, and *Lewis* got possession of all *Lorraine*. The duke of *France* raised an army, as the emperor *Otho* did another. *Lewis* was driven from *Lorraine* by the duke of *France*, and *Gilbert*, or, as he is called by some, *Sigebert*, was defeated by *Otho*, and drowned in endeavouring to escape. *Lewis*, to make *Otho* his friend, married his sister *Gerberg*, the widow of *Gilbert*; but in the mean while, the confederate lords under *Hugh* duke of *France*, put *Hugh*, son of the count of *Vermandois*, in possession of *Rheims*, and laid siege to *Laon*, the only place of importance in the kingdom that was actually held by *Lewis*, who indeed raised the siege, but was afterwards beaten by the confederates, and obliged to fly towards *Dauphiny*. His distresses procured him friends.

William

He is dissatisfied with his ministers.

ibid.

p. 394.

William duke of *Normandy* declared for him; pope *Stephen VIII.* sent a legate into *France* with monitory letters, commanding the great lords to lay down their arms; and the emperor *Otho* interested himself in his favour; so that in a short time an accommodation was effected, and the tranquility of *France* restored.

The duke of *France* acquires more power. It was soon broken by the base assassination of the duke of *Burgundy*, which had been directed by *Arnold* count of *Flanders*; but above all, by the levity, or some worse principle of the king, who courted the power that he could not break, and made the duke of *France* more formidable than ever, while he himself was a mere cypher in his own nominal kingdom. He thought at first to have availed himself of the spoils of the count of *Vermandois*; but that family was still powerful, united, and befriended by the duke of *France*. *Lewis* then turned his eyes towards *Normandy*, where he formed a mean and ungrateful project to seize that dutchy, in which he is said to have been countenanced by

Treachery of *Lewis* towards the young duke of *Normandy*. the duke of *France*. As its duke was then a minor, and the administration in the hands of *Bernard* the *Dane*, it was easy for *Lewis*, as lord paramount, to find a pretext for entering the country, where he was received with proper respect at *Rouen*. He then thought he might venture to seize the person of the young prince, whose name was *Richard*; but the *Normans* ran to arms, and obliged *Lewis* to produce their duke. He appeared publicly with him in his hand, loaded him with caresses, declared he intended to educate him as his own son, and he soothed the credulous *Normans* so effectually, that they suffered the king to carry the child to *Laon*, where, by the black suggestions of the count of *Flanders*, a plot was laid to take away his life: It was discovered by his governor, *Osman*, who in the disguise of a groom, bundled the child up in a truss of hay, and conveyed him on horseback to his uncle, the count of *Senlis*. *Hugh*, duke of *France*, refused to suffer the king to proceed against the dominions of the young duke, till *Lewis* consented to put him in possession of the county of *Bayeux*. The count of *Senlis*, who carefully watched over the person of the young duke, and *Bernard* the *Dane*, wisely endeavoured to detach the king from the duke of *France*, by representing to him, that they had no objection to his taking possession of the whole dutchy during the nonage of the duke; and this policy succeeded so far, that the duke of *France* found himself obliged to evacuate *Bayeux*, which he had already seized.

The *Normans* defeat *Lewis* and take him prisoner. A descent was soon after made on the coast of *Normandy* by *Aigrol*, a king of *Denmark*, who had formerly been expelled by his own subjects, and lay under the greatest obligations to the late duke of *Normandy*, in favour of his infant son. *Bernard* the *Dane*, was then in high favour with *Lewis*, and put himself at the head of the *Normans* to re-

pel the invasion. When the two armies, however, were ready to fight, the *Normans*, by a sudden wheel, joined the invaders, cut in pieces the *French* army, with eighteen counts at its head, took *Lewis* and carried him captive to *Rouen*. It was in vain for *Lewis* first to reproach, and then to supplicate, *Bernard*, who continued steady in the measures he had laid down. Queen *Gerberg* threw herself at the feet of her brother *Otho* for her husband's deliverance; but that emperor totally condemned his conduct. She applied, with better success, to the duke of *France*, who brought the *Normans* to agree to the deliverance of *Lewis*, upon all the former charters in their favour being renewed and confirmed by the king, his prelates, and nobles, and one of the king's children, with two bishops, were to remain in *Normandy* as hostages for the punctual execution of the agreement. The zeal shewn in this treaty by *Hugh*, was the effect of self interest, for the king still found himself a prisoner till he should deliver up the city of *Laon*, as a recompence for the pains he had taken in his deliverance. *Lewis* was obliged to comply, and *Hugh* rendered himself more powerful than ever by bringing about a match between his daughter and the young duke of *Normandy*.

This formidable accession of interest to a subject already *Confederacy* overgrown, did more than the tears of *Gerberg*, or the intrigues of her husband, could effect. *Hugh's* greatness against the alarmed not only *Arnold*, count of *Flanders*, and *Conrade*, duke of *Burgundy*, but the emperor *Otho* himself; and they joined with *Lewis* in a confederacy against the duke of *France*, the *Normans*, and the house of *Vermandois*. They took *Rheims*, but were obliged to raise the siege of *Senlis*. They would have attempted the city of *Paris*, belonging to the duke of *France*; but they were overpersuaded by the count of *Flanders* to besiege *Rouen*. This proved a tedious and an unsuccessful undertaking, and the confederates were reduced to such distress, that the emperor proposed to buy the retreat of their army from the *Normans*, by delivering into their hands the person of the count of *Flanders*. The latter, having a hint of this proposal, decamped in the night time; but the noise of his departure threw such a consternation among the confederates, that they fled, and great numbers were cut off by the *Normans*. Their disgrace did not dissolve the confederacy; and the war was continued for two years longer, but in the mean while, *Lewis* resigned to *Otho* all his part of *Lorraine*. Upon the taking of *Rheims* by the confederates, *Hugh* of *Vermandois* was deprived of the archbishopric, which was restored to *Artaud*; but *Hugh* keeping up his pretensions, a council was held at *Verdun*, in which *Hugh* was censured. Upon the rise of this council another was convoked by the pope's authority, for terminating the great difference

Who ac- difference between the king and the duke of *France*. This quires the council met at *Fargelheim* in 949, and the emperor *Otho* had name of credit enough to prevail with the pope's legate to excom- *Hugh the* municate the duke of *France*, or as he was called in those *Great*. times, *Hugh the Great*, and his adherents, particularly the duke of *Chartres*, and *Hugh*, the pretender to the archbishopric of *Rheims*. *Lewis* appeared as a suppliant at this council, *Otho* as his protector, and *Marini*, the pope's legate, with the *German* bishops, as his judges. *Lewis* was, at that time, without troops, territory, or money; and addressing himself to the assembly, he said he was ready to vindicate his conduct, either by submitting it to the examination of the members, or by single combat against his enemies. New excommunications were thundered out against the duke and his abettors, but without diminishing their power in *France*. The *Huns*, or *Hungarians*, made a fresh irruption into *Champagne*, and the king regained possession of *Laon*; and, by the mediation of the emperor *Otho*, an accomodation was at last concluded between *Lewis* and the duke of *France*.

Elope-
ment and
marriage
of the
queen
mother.

Lewis made use of this short respite in endeavouring to strengthen his authority in *Aquitain*; but he found himself under a necessity of confining his mother *Egiva*, at *Laon*. During the absence of *Lewis* in *Aquitain*, she made her escape, and married, when she was forty five years of age, *Herbert* count of *Troyes*, a younger son of the count of *Vermandois*, who had behaved so unworthily towards her husband. *Hugh the Great*, seems by this time, to have been tired of the almost perpetual variance he had with the king, and perhaps, he was not a little influenced by the fear of *Otho's* growing power, and the excommunications that had been published against himself. In this situation, just as fresh differences were on the point of breaking out between him and *Lewis*, he suddenly proposed to leave their interests to the arbitration of their two wives, who were sisters. *Lewis* readily accepted the proposal, and the ladies effected what neither the power of the emperor, nor the pope could bring about, who joined their forces in driving the *Hungarians* out of *France*. *Lewis*, after this, repaired to *Aquitain*, where he made a considerable progress in re-establishing his authority; and upon his return he held an assembly of his states, in which his eldest son, *Lothair*, was recognized by the members as his successor to the crown. Soon after this, an accident put an end to the life of *Lewis*, for while he was hunting a wolf between *Laon* and *Rheims*, he fell from his horse, by which he was so terribly bruised, that he died on the fifteenth of *October* 951, being no more than thirty three years of age.

Death

and cha-
racter of

The only real stain upon the memory of this prince, who from his early residence beyond sea, was called *Outremer*,
was

was his conduct towards the young duke of *Normandy*. We *Lewis* cannot be persuaded that he entered into the horrid design *formed* by the count of *Flanders*; but the reannexation of two such capital provinces as *Normandy*, and *Bretagne* were, to his crown, seems to have overcome the gratitude he owed to the family of *Rollo*. The misfortune of *Lewis* was the overgrown power of his great subjects, particularly of *Hugh*, duke of *France*, which all his spirit, courage and address, could never surmount. He was but once married, and that was to *Gerberg*, who, as we have already seen, was sister to the emperor *Otho*, and bore him seven children; *Lothair*, who succeeded him; *Carloman*, who died a hostage in *Normandy*; *Lewis*, who died young; *Charles*, who was afterwards duke of *Lorrain*, and *Henry*, who died an infant. The daughters were, *Mava*, who married *Conrade*, king of *Burgundy*, by whom she left a numerous issue; and *Alrade*, the wife of *Rainold*, count of *Rouci*. We shall close our account of this prince, by observing that, though he left behind him only two sons, *Lothair*, and *Charles*, yet he was so sensible of the pernicious practice of dividing kingdoms, that he left the latter wholly unprovided for.

Lothair.

THE *French* historians, with all the pains they have taken, have not been able to make a consistent character of *Hugh the Great*. They accuse him of unbounded ambition, and yet represent him in situations when he might have mounted the throne of *France*, but declined it out of reverence to the true heir. Upon the death of *Lewis* he made the strongest professions of loyalty to the queen dowager, and conducted her son, young *Lothair*, who was but fourteen years of age, to *Rheims*, where he was crowned by archbishop *Artaud*. After his coronation, *Lothair* bestowed on *Hugh* the title of duke of *Aquitain*. The reader is here to observe, that in those days the title of duke of a province implied no more than the government of a province, which was resumable by the king, if he had power, but the title of count was hereditary; as the possessor had the actual property of the estates and lands to which it was annexed. *Laon* continued to be the residence of the court, and the royal family could scarcely raise a decent subsistence amidst their few remaining estates and vassals; for, in point of power and property, *Lothair* was scarcely the tenth man in his own kingdom. The giving the title of duke of *Aquitain* to *Hugh*, disobliged the count of *Poitiers*, who held it before, and he refused to resign it. *Hugh* carried *Lothair* into *Aquitain*, where he besieged the count in *Poitiers*, but was unable to take the place; and in his retreat he was attacked by the count, who was beaten.

In

Death of
*Hugh the
Great.*

In the year 955, *Hugh the Great* died. His eldest son was the famous *Hugh Capet*, who being but sixteen years of age, was by his father recommended to the care of *Richard* duke of *Normandy*, while his other three sons were under the tuition of their mother, sister to the queen dowager. Their brother *Bruno*, and likewise brother to the emperor *Otho*, was then archbishop of *Cologne*, and held *Lorraine*, under the title of archduke. His influence over his sisters often prevented them from quarrelling, and, by his advice, the two eldest sons of *Hugh the Great*, *Hugh*, and *Henry*, paid homage to *Lothair* at his court. This was so acceptable to the young king, that he gave *Hugh* his father's title of duke of *France*, and that of duke of *Burgundy* to *Henry*.

Attempt
to betray
the duke
of *Nor-*
mandy.

Invasion
of the
Normans.

The count of *Flanders* retained itill his antient rancour against the family of *Rollo*; and continued his sollicitations, with the king of *France*, to reannex *Normandy* and *Bretagne* to his crown. *Lothair*, like his father, fell into the temptation, and put himself at the head of a confederacy against the duke of *Normandy*, composed of the counts of *Flanders*, *Chartres*, and *Anjou*. They first attempted to trepan the person of *Richard*, by inviting him to a conference; but their design was discovered by two knights of *Chartres*, who met *Richard* on the road, and he rewarded the one with the sword, and the other with the gold chain, that he wore. *Lothair* loudly disclaimed all knowledge of this treachery; but not being able to persuade *Richard* to repair to his court to do him homage, both parties took arms, and *Richard* was obliged at last to call to his assistance the *Danes*, who landed in great numbers, and laid a considerable part of *France* desolate. The public threw the miseries which the inhabitants suffered from those pagans, upon the count of *Chartres*, whose clergy obliged him to come to an accommodation with *Richard*, and restore to him *Eureux*. This produced a general peace; but *Richard* did not find it easy to get rid of his pagan auxiliaries. They flatly told him, that they were resolved, in imitation of his predecessor *Rollo*, to make a settlement in *France*; nor would they have been persuaded to return to their own country, had not many of them inclined to turn christians, while the others accepted of a large sum of money, and departed. The death of *Arnold*, count of *Flanders*, induced *Lothair* to attempt to annex to his crown some part of his dominions; but the young count's subjects made so brave an opposition that he remained in possession of all his estates. The truth is, the duke of *Normandy*, and the other lords of great fiefs, were by no means fond of encouraging those resurrections; and that for obvious reasons. *Lothair*, though poor, had not, like his father, an overgrown subject to contend with; for he was faithfully served by the duke of *France*, and his brother the duke of *Burgundy*, who enabled him to recover
many

many of the smaller fiefs that had been usurped from his crown, and to compel the lords of others to perform their services, and pay their homages; by which means he became a far more powerful prince than either his father or grandfather had been.

Bruno, archduke of *Lorrain*, was now dead; and the Affairs of *Lorrainers* were much more attached to the *French* than the *Lorrain*. *German* monarchs, between whom their allegiance had so often fluctuated. *Lothair*, in his mother's right, and in that of his uncle *Bruno*, had a great land estate in *Lorrain*, and his brother *Charles* having no provision, he bestowed it upon him; and he extended his pretensions even to the sovereignty of all *Lorrain*. *Charles* entered upon the possession of his estates, and *Lothair* was in hopes that he would be able, by his brother's means, to make such a party among the *Lorrainers* as would put him in possession of that country. *Otho* II. was then emperor of *Germany*, and being involved *ibid.* in wars at home, he divided the two brothers, by giving *P. 402.* *Lorrain* to *Charles*, who consented to hold it in homage from the *German* emperor. This enraged *Lothair* so much, that, by the help of *Hugh Capet*, he raised a great army, and proceeded with such rapidity, after making himself master of *Metz*, that he entered *Aix la Chapelle*, where the imperial court was, just at the time dinner was served up to *Otho*, who narrowly escaped being made prisoner; but he lost all his plate and rich effects; and then *Lothair* returned home. Next year *Otho* entered *France* with sixty thousand men, as *ibid.* we have already seen; but the year following he made peace with *Lothair* at *Rheims*, and retained the sovereignty of *Lorrain*; to the infinite disgust of *Lothair's French* subjects, who reproached him for having sacrificed the honour of their crown.

Lothair married *Emma*, the daughter of *Lothair* king of *Marriage Italy*, and gave his own sister *Matilda*, in marriage to *Conrade*, and death king of the *Transjuline Burgundy*. Upon the death of *Otho* II. of *Lothair* the king of *France* protected, his son *Otho* III. against the attempts made by *Henry* of *Bavaria* to set him aside from his father's succession. At the same time he invaded *Lorrain*, and took *Verdun*; but his brother *Charles* defeated him before *Cambray*. This added to the disgust the *French* nation had already conceived against *Charles*, and rendered him perfectly detestable in their eyes, but encreased their esteem and affection for *Lothair* in proportion. *Lothair* bade fair to have, in some measure, retrieved the lustre of the *Carlovingian* line, when he died, on the second of *March* 986, in the forty-sixth year of his age, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by his queen; but that charge was chiefly founded upon what happened afterwards, for she cleared herself of it to the queen mother, by a letter, and in terms, that appear too natural not to be sincere.

Lothair

His character.

Lothair seems to have been as brave as any of the descendants of *Charles the Great*, and wiser than them all; but with regard to moral honesty, it was almost unknown to the princes of those times, and the mention of it is hardly to be found in the writings of their clergy. His prudence appears from the friendship in which he always lived with the great dukes of *France* and *Burgundy*, and his balancing parties among his own subjects, so as to recover and maintain the credit and authority of a sovereign, which he held and maintained towards the latter part of his reign. He had the virtue of generosity in an eminent degree, for it reached even to profusion, which possibly might be the reason of his not succeeding better than he did in re-establishing his authority.

Lewis the Fifth, or the Idler.

Succeeded by *Lewis V.*

Lewis poisoned.

HUGH CAPET had, by *Lothair*, been made the guardian of this prince, who was an only son, and but nineteen years of age at the time of his accession to the throne. Young as he was, he had married a lady, who is by some said to have been the daughter of the count of *Arles*, and by others, of an *Aquitain* nobleman. He had been, in his father's life time, created duke of *Aquitain*; and he did not live very happy with his wife. His uncle, *Charles of Lorrain*, accused the queen dowager, *Emma*, of adultery with the bishop of *Laon*, whom *Lewis* drove out of *France*; and *Charles* swelled the charge against her, with that of having poisoned the late king her husband. *Lewis* likewise dispossessed the archbishop of *Rheims* of his see, after a bloody dispute. The emperor *Otho III.* supported the reputation of *Emma*, and a war must have broken out between the *French* and *Germans*, if their differences had not been made up by *Beatrix*, the sister of *Hugh Capet*, and wife of *Frederic* duke of the *Upper Lorrain*. Some pretend that, at this time, king *Lewis* nominated *Hugh Capet* to succeed him, having himself no children, and *Charles of Lorrain*, who was undoubtedly the male heir of the *Carlovingian* line, being detested by the *French*. An improbable condition is annexed to this nomination, that of *Capet* marrying the queen, whose name was *Blanche*, who is generally allowed to have poisoned *Lewis*, after he had reigned fourteen months. He died in the year 987, with the character of having been a weak prince. Great allowances however, are to be made for his youth, and to the arts of *Charles of Lorrain*, who was the chief accuser of the two, to embroil the royal family.

Hugh

Hugh Capet, and his son Robert.

THE *Carlovingian* line upon the throne of *France*, is now supposed to be extinct. The reader needs to look for no other causes of this extinction than the general weakness of its princes since the death of *Charles the Great*, the ravages of the *Normans*, the *Huns*, and other foreign nations, and the *German* wars, which gave opportunities, as we have already hinted, for the great lords to emancipate themselves from the regal authority, and to erect their possessions into hereditary estates. In the mean while, the imbecility and incapacity of their kings, first brought their authority into contempt; it broke the reverence of the people for the lineal succession of their monarchs, and substituted in its place the rights of the nation.

Hugh Capet seems to have been perfectly sensible of this, and to have considered himself, even in the late reign, as *Capet's* being successor to the crown of *France*. The people, or at least the great lords, looked upon him in the same light, disputed and he had made such previous dispositions that he stepped by *Charles* into the throne without the least opposition. He was, at this time, possessed of the great counties of *Paris* and *Orleans*, and the duchy of *France*; his brother was duke of *Burgundy*, and his brother-in-law, duke of *Normandy*; besides being fortified with all the *German* interest of the queen dowager, *Emma*. Notwithstanding all those advantages which appeared so decisive in his favour, many of the great lords disliked his assumption of the royalty, and sided with *Charles of Lorraine*, whom they looked upon as the true heir. But that prince was dilatory in asserting his right, and suffered the count of *Poitiers*, who was likewise duke of *Aquitain*, or *Guienne*, who was and ready to have joined him, to be crushed, so that he was forced to recognize *Hugh's* authority. The reduction of this great lord, did not establish the tranquility of *Hugh's* government. *Charles* besieged and took the city of *Laon*, and in it the persons of queen *Emma*, and of her supposed lover, the bishop, and treated them both with an unmanly severity; notwithstanding the interposition of the court of *Germany* in favour of the queen, and of the prelates in favour of the bishop. After this, *Hugh* besieged *Charles* in his turn in *Laon*; but was defeated, and forced to raise the siege; and *Arnold*, archbishop of *Rheims*, whom *Hugh* had raised to that see, ungratefully put *Charles* in possession of that city, and afterwards headed his armies. This archbishop was natural son to king *Lothair*.

The bishop of *Laon*, who was thought to be one of the most insinuating men of his age, had by this time wormed himself into the good graces of *Charles*, but held a secret correspondence with *Hugh*. The latter assembling a strong

army advanced against *Rheims*, as if he had intended to retake it; but turning short, he marched to *Laon*, which he surprized, by the aid of the prelate, and in it, the persons of the duke and dutchess of *Lorraine*, and archbishop *Arnold*. The duke and dutchess died under confinement at *Orleans*, and their son, who continued to enjoy *Lorraine*, dying without issue, the male branch of the *Carlovingian* family is thought to have been extinguished in him.

Hugh Capet associates his son with himself in the government.

As *Hugh Capet* confined his ambition to the exaltation of his family, he was very moderate as to his own person and pursuits, and after he had defeated the duke of *Guienne*, he prevailed upon the states of the kingdom to associate with himself his son *Robert* in the government; in which desire he easily prevailed, and the young prince was crowned with great solemnity by the archbishop of *Sens*. After this, *Hugh* reduced his equipages, ornaments, and attendants to the condition of a private lord, but was indefatigable in administering justice to his people, and in promoting their welfare, by which he won their affections; but above all he gained the hearts of the clergy, by not only restoring all that the crown had unjustly taken from them, but by obliging his great lords to follow his example. Tho' the confinement of the duke and dutchess of *Lorraine* gave him no trouble; yet he found great difficulty in bringing archbishop *Arnold* to punishment before an assembly of prelates, and nobles, which he convened near *Rheims*. Though the proof of the prelate having betrayed that city was extremely clear, by the priest who had opened the gates to *Charles*, (by *Arnold's* orders,) being produced; yet the judges were backward in condemning him, as not being authorized by the holy see to try him; and the archbishop of *Sens*, the president of the assembly, openly rebuked the two kings, as they were parties in the prosecution; for appearing at court, lest their presence should influence the sentence. *Arnold*, to gain his liberty, confessed the charge, and submitted to degradation; while *Gerbert*, a monk of *Rheims*, and supposed to be the most learned ecclesiastic of his age, was made bishop in his room. Pope *John XV.* looked upon the whole of this proceeding against *Arnold* (unexceptionable as it seems to be) as an invasion of his authority; and ordering another council to be held, *Gerbert*, who had been tutor to the emperor *Otho*, was deposed, and *Arnold* reinstated in the archbishopric; but the two kings, notwithstanding this decision of his holiness, kept *Arnold* in prison.

Gilbert made archbishop of *Rheims*.

Wife constitutions of *Hugh*.

It appears that *Hugh*, powerful and politic as he was, was unable to restrain the ambition of his great lords, who were perpetually at war among themselves. When a count of *Anjou* besieged *Tours*, the two kings sent a messenger ordering him to desist, with an injunction to ask him who made him a count? The same power, replied the other, who made your master a king. Though *Hugh Capet* fixed the

the government of *France* to a greater consistency than it had enjoyed before, yet he introduced into it few or no material innovations. He obliged his feudatories to be more punctual, than they had hitherto been, in the performance of their homages and services; but he left them in possession of all their constitutional privileges. The great officers and governors under the crown had a right to be tried by their peers, that is, in the assembly to which they belonged, the members of which were in that sense their peers. The great lords (as we have already observed in the case of the duke of *Normandy*) who held immediately of the crown, had great officers under them, who formed their courts of peers likewise; and *William* duke of *Normandy*, commonly called the *Conqueror*, introduced the same constitution into *England*. It does not however appear, that the lords who held immediately under the crown had ecclesiastical peers in their courts. The regular subordination of nobility was not quite settled at the time we treat of, though it seems to have made a progress; and the institution of the twelve peers of *France* cannot be certainly fixed before the reign of *Philip Augustus*.

The vast prudence and political virtues of *Hugh Capet*, Who was farther seen in making *Paris* the capital of his king- makes dom, as it had been of his dutchy, and of his building *Paris* his fortifications, especially on his sea-coasts, on pretence capital. of defending them against the *Normans*. The providence he shewed for the establishment of his son in the sovereignty, appeared in his taking every occasion of producing him to the eyes of his people clad in those regal ornaments which he himself had resigned; so that though he retained the title of king, he acted in every respect as the first minister of his kingdom, a province for which he was well qualified. He was not even over solicitous in composing the differences among his great lords, because, perhaps, he thought their dissensions weakened them. He His death, died in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the eighth of his reign, on the twenty-fourth of *October* 987, and was buried in the abbey church of *St. Dennis*. His wife's name was *Adelaide*, and history has recorded her as a most accomplished woman. She is said to have been the daughter of the duke of *Aquitain*, who was count of *Poitiers*, who had refused, till he was subdued, to submit to *Hugh's* authority; others pretend that she was an *Italian*. By her, he had a son, *Robert*, who succeeded him, and three daughters, *Hereditige*, wife, first to the count of *Hainault*, and afterwards to the count of *Dasbourg*; *Alice*, who was married to the count of *Nevers*; and *Gillette*, whose husband was the lord of *Abbeville*. *Hugh Capet* had likewise a natural son, *Goscelin*, a man of great merit, and archbishop of *Bourges*. As to *Hugh's* character, we have sufficiently described it.

Robert *alone*.

Robert
embroiled
with the
pope on
account of
his mar-
riage.

He is ex-
commu-
nicated
and oblig-
ed to di-
vorce his
wife.

He mar-
ries un-
fortun-
ately a
second
time.

HUGH CAPET had been at great pains to improve the personal and acquired talents (which were very eminent) of this prince, to the greatest advantage. The pope, who had not thought himself sufficiently considered in the advancement of his family, soon raised a storm against *Robert*, on account of his marriage with *Bertha*, sister to the king of *Burgundy*, on pretence of consanguinity, than which nothing could be more frivolous. His holiness ordered *Robert* to release archbishop *Arnold* out of his confinement, and to reinstate him in his see. *Robert* loved his queen, though she was neither young nor handsome; and in hopes of softening his holiness in the case of her marriage, she persuaded her husband to gratify him in restoring *Arnold* to his liberty and his archbishopric. This compliance had no effect upon his holiness, who next year summoned a council at *Rome*, at which *Gerbert*, late archbishop of *Rheims*, but now archbishop of *Ravenna*, assisted, and *Robert's* marriage with *Bertha* being declared void, he was enjoined to part with her under pain of ecclesiastical censure. The king refused to obey so unjust a sentence, and he was excommunicated. At that time, excommunications were held in the most dreadful abhorrence by the common people; his subjects deserted him, and he was abandoned by all but two domestics, who threw the remnants of what had been eaten by the king and queen to the dogs, and the dishes into the fire. A general rebellion being threatened, *Robert*, to prevent it, and to relieve himself from so undesirable a life, consented to part with *Bertha*, who behaved as a woman of spirit and resolution, for she refused to part either with the title or state of a queen. This divorce might, in a great measure, have been prevented, had not *Gerbert*, bishop of *Ravenna*, out of pique, joined in the censure; and becoming pope, he even confirmed *Arnold* in the see of *Rheims*.

Robert was unfortunate in his second marriage with *Constance*, daughter to *William*, count of *Arles*, a woman of the most ungovernable passion and ambition, though lively and very beautiful. The excommunication of *Robert* had encouraged disorders in his state, and *Eudes*, count of *Champaign*, bribed the governor of *Melun* to betray to him that city. The count *de Melun*, complained to *Robert*, who invested and took the town, and ordered the governor to be hanged over its walls. *Robert*, after this, composed upon equitable terms that were pleasing to both parties, certain differences that had arisen between the duke of *Normandy* and other great lords.

The

The death of his uncle *Henry*, duke of *Burgundy*, broke The suc-
 into his repose. *Robert* was his lawful heir; but his title cession to
 to the county of *Beauvais* was disputed by *Eudes*, the bastard *Burgundy*
 of the late duke, and by a count of *Burgundy*, son of the disputed.
 duchess dowager, who pretended he had been adopted by
 the late duke *Henry*. This last claimant was favoured by
 the people of the dutchy, who were fond of being govern-
 ed by a prince whom they could call their own, and by the
 great lords of *France*, who were unwilling that the crown
 should be aggrandized by the acquisition of so powerful a
 fief. The duke of *Normandy* took part with the king, and
 assisted him with twenty two thousand men, whom he com-
 manded in person. This turned the scale of war in *Robert's*
 favour. He gave to the bastard *Eudes*, the patrimony be-
 queathed to him by his father. The other competitor and
 his friends, the count of *Champagne*, particularly, were
 obliged to submit, and to gratify the people in their passion
 for being governed by a prince of their own (though he
 could not be called independent while *Burgundy* remained
 a fief of the crown) *Robert* invested the dutchy in his second
 son *Henry*.

Robert, after finishing this war, might have been happy, *Robert*
 had it not been for the furious vindictive disposition of his associates
 queen, of whom, notwithstanding his love for peace, he his son
 was passionately fond. In his family, and at his court he with him
 loved order and regularity; and having been early ac- in the
 customed to appear in public as a king, he often assisted at govern-
 divine service in his royal robes, and even composed music ment.
 (some parts of which are still extant) for the use of his
 chapel. His eldest son *Hugh*, was then seventeen years of
 age. The queen prest *Robert* to declare him his associate
 in the government; she was opposed by the ministers, but
 she was their superiour; and though *Robert* was told that his
 wife wanted her son to be raised to royalty only that, in case
 of her husband's death, she might govern the kingdom, he
 assembled his states and proposed the prince for his associate.
 Out of regard to him they complied, and *Hugh* was so-
 lemnly crowned.

As peace was the favourite principle with *Robert*, he took Furious
 no concern in the quarrels amongst the great lords, which, insolence
 at this time, filled all *France*. Policy perhaps, in a great of the
 measure, dictated that conduct; but *Robert* found himself queen.
 always obliged to have a watchful eye upon *Eudes*, count of
Champagne, who endeavoured to get possession of *Troyes*,
 and *Méaux*. *Robert's* zeal for religion led him to order a
 council to examine into the doctrine of certain enthusiasts,
 resembling the *Manichee* heretics; and the unhappy delin-
 quents being by their judges, consigned to the flames, *Robert*,
 his queen, and court, were present at the barbarous exe-
 cutions. The insolence of the queen was now grown to a
 pitch of insolence and ferocity that rendered her intollera-
 ble.

ble. Having conceived a disgust with *Hugh de Beauvis*, one of her husband's chief favourites and counsellors, she applied to the count of *Anjou* for his assistance in revenging herself; the count sent her twelve ruffians (called, in the language of those times, gentlemen) who attacked *Hugh* while he was hunting with the king, and without regard to his presence, or his earnest entreaties that they would spare the life of his minister, they put him to death and cut off his head upon the spot; nor had *Robert* the spirit to revenge the insult.

Who

drives her
son from
the court.

The queen's ambition was not contented with domineering over her husband, for she was alike imperious over her son, that she might be said to have two kings under her feet. The young prince could not bear his ill usage, and retired from court, with some of the nobility. *Robert* ordered his ministers to expostulate with him, and he plainly laid the blame upon his mother, whose arrogance and avarice, he said, were equally intollerable, as she abridged him even in the means of making a decent appearance. *Robert* knew there was but too much justice in his son's complaints, and offering to give him all proper satisfaction, he returned to his duty, though his mother was bent upon employing force against him. *Robert's* reputation, after this, was very high all over *Europe*, for *Henry II.* emperor of *Germany*, submitted to his arbitration the differences he had with the counts of *Flanders* and the *Lorrainers*; and he settled them to the satisfaction of all parties. Those two princes, after that, lived together, and visited each other with the greatest harmony, and had come to a resolution to reduce the exorbitant power of the pope, *Boniface VIII.* but the execution of their design was prevented, first by the pope's death, and soon after by that of *Henry*. Upon his death, many of the *Italian* states, who equally hated the imperial and papal power, offered to put themselves under the protection of *Robert*; but apprehensive that his acceptance might involve him with *Conrade*, who had succeeded *Henry* in the imperial dignity, he declined their offer, especially as he was no stranger to the fickle dispositions of the *Italians*. He endeared himself more than ever to his subjects by this wise moderation, and though he was inclinable, upon the troubles which afterwards broke out, both in *Germany* and *Italy*, to have attempted to recover the sovereign rights of his family over the *Lorrainers*, yet his love of peace made him desist.

ibid.

p. 412.

Robert re-
fuses the
crown of
Italy.

Death of
his eldest
son.

Robert's eldest son *Hugh*, though guilty in his youth of some disorders, continued dutiful and obedient to his father after returning from his elopement, but died in 1024, in the flower of his age, just as he was beginning to be a wise and useful associate to his father in the government. *Robert* shewed as much concern as his queen did indifference, at his death, and though *Robert* had thoughts of substituting

stituting his second son *Henry* in the place of the deceased, she opposed him with such vehemence, that his tranquility was broken by the two factions into which his court was divided. The queen favoured her third son *Robert*; and many of the courtiers, out of a presumption that she would in the end prevail over her husband's resolution, followed her party in opposition to that of *Henry*. Contrary to their hopes and expectations *Robert* adhered to *Henry*, and was joined by the majority of his nobles, upon which, the queen did all she could to prevail with him to advance neither, hoping that if he should die she would have interest enough to place *Robert* upon the throne. But she had now forfeited her former influence over the king, and without farther consulting or considering her, he associated his son *Henry* with himself in the government.

Constance retained, however, a strong party, and the king continued to be still so indulgent to her, that she offered to support her favourite son against his elder brother. Not being able to succeed in that, her resentment broke out equally against both, and she found means to persecute them so cruelly, that she drove them to take refuge in *Burgundy*. The king marched against them with an army; but gladly listened to an abbot, who represented the princes as acting in self defence against the ambition and malice of a wicked woman, and that they sought no more than to be sheltered against her fury. An accommodation accordingly ensued between the father and his sons, and *Robert* employed his troops in checking some of his *Burgundian* vassals, who were building fortresses, in order to render themselves more independent of the crown. *Robert* having his reasons why the prelate of *Langres* should be one on whom he could depend, named one to that see (though he seldom interfered in the election of bishops) but he was poisoned by the monks. *Robert* named another; but while he was waiting for the issue of his instalment, which was to be performed under the eye of his son *Henry*, who remained at *Langres* for that purpose, the king died at *Melun*, on the twentieth of *July* 1026, after reigning thirty-three years, and living 60. He was adored by his subjects of all ranks, whom he had the art to unite in their affections for his person, on account of his equanimity, wisdom, moderation; and, in short, (had it not been for the weak compliances he shewed for his wife,) for every virtue that could adorn a man and a monarch. His education under his father's eye contributed greatly to his success in restoring the lustre of the *French* monarchy; for though *Robert* did not affect to be a great warrior, yet he maintained his dignity with so much reputation, that he was seldom insulted by his great vassals, who strengthened his authority by quarrelling amongst themselves.

The queen favours her third son.

Accommodation between the king and his sons.

Robert's death and character.

Henry I.

Intrigues
of queen
Constance.

FRANCE had the happiness of having, in the first kings of the *Capetine* line, princes of consummate wisdom, and abilities. Such was *Henry I.* who at the time of his accession to the crown, was about twenty-seven years of age, of a matured judgement, and an intrepid resolution. His mother, as we have hinted, had, during the late reign, acquired a vast party in the state, and hating *Henry*, she did all she could, to transfer his crown to her younger son, *Robert*. Her chief abettors were the count of *Flanders*, and the turbulent *Eudes*, count of *Champagne*. Both of them had interested views in the part they acted; but the queen sought to gratify their ambition, provided she could gratify her own revenge. She promised to *Eudes* half the towns of *Sens*, which he immediately reduced, as he did *Melun*, and *Soissons*. This struck the neighbouring places with such consternation, that they threw open their gates upon his approach. *Henry*, who had not seen the depth of the conspiracy which had been formed against him, and was astonished by the progress of his enemies, retired with only eleven persons in his retinue, to *Robert* duke of *Normandy*. That prince and his ancestors had always been sensible that the great *French* lords regarded the settlement his family had made in *France*, with an evil eye, and they had been generally on the side of the crown. They knew that the possession of their own dutchy must be precarious, if the king, from whose predecessors they held their dominions, was ruined. They readily entered into his interest, and promised to exert their utmost in serving him. This assurance encouraged the king's friends to repair to his standard, and two armies, the one consisting of *Henry's* own subjects, the other of *Normans*, were soon formed. The king, with his troops, carried all before him, and after beating the count of *Champagne*, twice drove him out of the field. The duke of *Normandy* carried fire and sword wherever he marched; he punished the rebels by making them undergo the death of traitors, and at last, the count of *Anjou*, to save the farther destruction of *France*, interposed. A negotiation was set on foot. *Robert*, brother to the king, having never been very sanguine in his rebellion, was contented with a grant of the dutchy of *Burgundy*; but the queen died of mere spite and disappointment.

Robert
duke of
Normandy
re-esta-
blishes
Henry in
his domi-
nions.

Henry
marries
the em-
peror's
daughter.

The soul of the rebellion being thus removed, *Henry* proved on all hands victorious. But though he chastised the rebels, and reduced both the greater and lesser nobility to their duty, we are not to imagine that the duke of *Normandy*, the chief instrument of his successes, served him upon motives that were merely generous and disinterested; for

for *Henry* was obliged to reward him with the cession of *Gisors*, *Chaumont*, *Pointoise*, and part of the *Vexin*. It was about this time, that *Henry* is supposed to have been affianced to *Matilda*, daughter to the *German* emperor, *Conrade*; but it is uncertain whether the marriage ever was consummated. *Rodolph*, of *Transjurine Burgundy*, dying, *Eudes*, count of *Champagne*, who was his undoubted heir by his sister *Bertha*, laid claim to his succession. In the king's life time, *Eudes* had presumptuously insisted upon being declared his heir, but *Rodolph*, who knew his factious aspiring disposition, when on his death-bed, sent the regalia of his kingdoms of *Burgundy* and *Arles*, to the emperor, and made a will in his favour. *Conrade* had then upon his hands an *Hungarian* war; and *Eudes*, who had formed a strong party in *Burgundy*, over-run great part of the kingdom, but upon the return of the emperor to his own dominions, he was dispossessed of all he had taken. *Eudes* attacked *Lorrain*, and had it not been for the irrational turbulence of his disposition, he must have succeeded, but his rashness hurried him into impracticable attempts, and he lost his life at a siege.

Eudes, who had been long the scourge of the *French* monarchy, left his large possessions to his two sons, *Thibaud* and *Stephen*. Copying after their father they refused to pay *Henry* homage, because he had given their family no assistance in their late war with the emperor. They having thus put *Henry* to defiance, they invited into their association *Eudes*, the youngest brother of *Henry*, (as is most probable) but *Henry* proved victorious. The confederates were defeated; *Eudes* was taken prisoner, and confined for three years in *Orleans*; *Stephen*, count of *Champagne*, and his brother, were stripped of great part of their states, and the conspiracy was crushed. By this time, the feudal law became so well understood on the part of the crown, that the states of *Galeran*, count of *Melun*, one of the confederates, were confiscated, and became part of the royal revenue, and himself attainted of felony. This was a bold step in *Henry*, especially as his family was scarcely yet freed from the leading strings of the great lords; but the imitation of it in like circumstances aggrandized the crown of *France*.

Though the settlement of the *Normans* in *France* had been of infinite service to the princes both of the *Carlovingian* and *Capetine* lines; yet most of them would have been glad of a specious pretext for reannexing that great dutchy to their crown, nor could *Henry*, notwithstanding the powerful obligations he lay under to the blood of *Rollo*, resist the temptation. *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, swayed by the idle superstitions of the age, had gone on a pilgrimage to the holy land, and had prevailed with the states of his dutchy, before his departure, to receive and recognize as his successor, *William*

Rebellion
against
Henry.

Who in-
vades
Normandy

William, his natural son (bastardy in those days being scarcely reckoned a bar to succession) as his heir; and put him under the tuition of *Henry*, and *Alain* duke of *Bretagne*. The dissatisfaction which this step gave was general, and the affairs of the dutchy fell into the greatest disorder, so that had not *William*, young as he was, exerted prodigies of valour in his own defence, he must have sunk under the rebellion. *Alain* endeavoured to serve him, but was obliged to return to his own estate, where he soon after died, as was thought of a slow poison. *Henry*, far from attempting to protect *William*, or to quell those commotions, invaded the frontiers, took possession of the castle of *Thulleries*, to which he pretended to have a right, and burnt the town of *Argenton*. Perceiving however, that he could not succeed in making himself master of the succession, he listened to the ministers of young *William*, with whom he joined his troops, and engaging the rebel lords, compleatly defeated them at *Val de Dunes*, but with the danger of *Henry's* life, who was beaten from his horse. *Henry* soon after became jealous of that very power, which he had thus rescued and raised, and left *William*, on that account, involved in war with *Geoffery Martel*, count of *Anjou*.

Jealousy between him and that duke *William* the bastard
Henry's jealousy of young duke *William*, seems not only to have been on account of his great power, but of his aspiring warlike disposition, which already indicated the conqueror of *England*. When the count of *Tholouse*, descended by a second marriage from *Richard II.* duke of *Normandy*, claimed that succession, he was privately encouraged by *Henry*, and at last publicly, by his marching to raise the siege of *d'Arques*, in which however he was unsuccessful, and his troops were beaten. After this, there was a rooted hatred between the king and the duke, each thinking the other ungrateful. It is true, an accommodation was patched up, but the count of *Anjou* still pursuing his claims, *Henry* released his brother *Eudes* out of prison, and gave him the command of an army, with which he entered *Normandy* by one quarter, while *Henry* entered it by another. *Eudes* was beaten, and *Henry* was obliged to give *William* his own terms.

His marriage with the princess of *Russia*.
Henry, before this, had concluded a very singular match with a princess of *Russia*; but we know nothing of her family, or what particular part of *Russia* she came from, or whether she was a pagan or a christian. According to some authors, her name was *Anne*, and she was the daughter of *Farastan*, duke of *Muscovy*; but the chief motive of *Henry's* demanding her in marriage seems to have been, that the pope might have no pretext for persecuting him on account of consanguinity, which, if he had married an *European* princess, it would have been almost impossible for him to have avoided, as it reached to the seventh degree of kindred.

By

By this lady he had three sons ; and the eldest, *Philip*, tho' but seven years of age, was, in an assembly of the states, and with their unanimous consent, solemnly crowned king by the archbishop of *Rheims* ; and, after swearing to protect the religion and liberties of the kingdom, he received the eventual oaths of allegiance from the nobles. *Henry* was, at this time, infirm ; and he appointed *Baldwin*, count of *Flanders*, to be guardian to his son in case of his decease, which happened soon after, some say by poison, and others by his living irregularly after taking physic, in 1059, being in the fifty-sixth year of his age and the thirtieth of his reign. *Henry* was no favourer of the popedom ; nor did he, without secret indignation, see pope *Leo IX.* presiding in a council at *Rheims*, placing and displacing prelates as he pleased ; but he made a firm opposition against pope *Nicholas II.* who intended such another visit to *France*, and was obliged to drop the design. The only unprosperous part of his reign was during his dispute with the duke of *Normandy*, whose genius was certainly superior to that of any prince of his age ; and their fixed animosity was transmitted to their posterity, to the destruction and desolation of their respective territories. *Henry* was brave in his own person, though cool ; and his sending a challenge to the emperor, *Henry III.* who, he thought, slighted him, begot a lasting friendship between those two princes.

Appoints
his son his
successor,
and dies.

Philip I.

THIS prince, at the time of his accession to the throne of *France*, was about eight years of age ; and *Henry* of *Philip* had wisely committed him to the care of *Baldwin the Pious*, count of *Flanders*, his brother-in-law, preferably to his queen, who was a weak woman ; or his brother, the duke of *Burgundy*, who was an ambitious prince. *Henry's* choice does honour to his memory. *Baldwin* had all the abilities, and, what is more extraordinary, all the virtues, that were of the requisite for the faithful discharge of his trust. Though we can scarcely suppose a juncture more delicate than that of a minority amidst a barbarous, but ambitious, nobility ; and a superstitious, but designing, clergy ; yet *Baldwin* kept both in awe, without losing the esteem or affection of either. Under pretence of opposing the *Saracens*, he marched into *Aquitain*, where some commotions were beginning, and reduced that country to quiet. *Baldwin* had a more difficult task to manage with regard to the duke of *Normandy*, who was his son-in-law. That prince pretended, that *Edward the Confessor*, of *England*, had made him his heir to the crown of *England* ; and it is certain, that, during his reign, the *Normans* were very powerful in that kingdom, and had introduced into it many of their laws and customs.

If

If it should seem strange to the reader that *William* should depopulate his own dutchy, by suffering his subjects to live in *England*; he is to reflect, that the perpetual influx into *France* of the northern people, who all of them considered *William* as their sovereign, gave his dutchy more subjects than it could maintain; and he thought it more for his interest to send the overplus to *England* than to *France*. Tho' historians, in general, have omitted this circumstance, yet nothing can be more probable, than that the great number of *Normans* settled in *England* contributed greatly to the success of *William's* invasion. We are not, at this distance of time, to indulge a vein of conjecture how far *Baldwin* might be influenced in assisting *William* in his preparations, by the knowledge he had of his disposition, equally politic as valiant and aspiring; or whether he might not wish to see him removed out of *France*, and involved in future wars. *William*, when young, had been an over-match for all the *French* power, conducted by able kings and generals; and the encouragement he met with among the *Norman*, the *Breton*, and the *Flemish*, adventurers, was so great, that he was at the head of an army which could more easily have made him king of *France* than of *England*. It is certain, that *Baldwin* assisted him both with men and money for his expedition; but he could not foresee that the success of it would be so ruinous, as it afterwards was, to *France*.

Death of
the count
of *Flan-*
ders.

When *Philip* was fifteen years of age, he lost his worthy guardian the count of *Flanders*; and, about the same time, died *Geoffrey Martel*, count of *Anjou*, who had been so troublesome to the house of *Burgundy*. He left his dominions to his sister's sons, *Geoffrey* and *Foulques*; but the latter quarrelled about the division of their territories; and, by bribing his brother *Geoffrey's* generals and officers, he trepanned him into his power, and clapped him up in prison. *Philip* threatened *Foulques* if he did not set his brother at liberty; but *Foulques* making him a present of the *Gastinois*, *Geoffrey* was left to languish in confinement.

Divisions
in that
country.

The ignorance and superstition of that age was linked with a disregard to all right, moral or political; and every thing was left to the decision of either force or treachery, and often of both; while the most bloody quarrels generally happened between the nearest relations. *Philip's* guardian, *Baldwin*, count of *Flanders*, had left that earldom to his eldest son, *Baldwin*; and the county of *Frize* to his younger son, *Robert*. A quarrel ensued between the two brothers; *Baldwin* was killed in battle; his widow and his young sons, *Arnold* and *Baldwin*, fled to *Philip*, who received them with the highest professions of friendship; and *Robert* remained sole possessor of his father's estates.

Philip entered *Flanders* with an army, but it was beaten, and young *Arnold* was killed; upon which, the widow, and her son *Baldwin*, fled to the emperor, *Henry III.* as *Philip* declined

declined giving them any farther protection, having been won over by count *Robert*. *Henry* would have assisted them, had not *Philip*, not only declared himself in *Robert*'s favour, but, married *Bertha*, his wife's daughter by a former husband; so that *Baldwin* was obliged to make a cession of his paternal estates to his uncles, and to content himself with the possession of *Hainault*.

Those, and other, flagrant instances of impolitic injustice and avarice, sunk *Philip* in the esteem of his subjects, and drew upon him the animadversion of pope *Gregory VII.* who exhorted the duke of *Aquitain*, and the great lords of *France*, to oppose their authority and arms against such a monster, as he called him; and promised to assist them with the papal artillery. Some *Italian* merchants, who had been plundered in *France* of their effects, in which his holiness, very possibly was concerned, added to his resentment; but, being then embroiled with the emperor, he could not second his threats; nor, indeed, did the *French* lords give him any great encouragement. They were then intent upon opposing the formidable power of *William*, duke of *Normandy*, now king of *England*, who had fallen into *Bretagne* with an army, to oblige its duke, *Hoel*, to recognize him for his immediate superior. *Philip* was joined by his great lords, who forgot all their animosity against him on this occasion, and levied a numerous army; which forced *William* to raise, with some loss, the siege of *Dole*; and conclude a peace not greatly to his honour or advantage.

Philip grew more presumptuous than ever upon this superiority he had obtained. That he might compass his ambitious schemes, he was daily weakening his own power by laying oppressive taxes upon his subjects; but the purpose of his reign was to re-annex *Normandy* to his crown, without consideration of treaties, agreements, or good faith of any kind. With this view, he gained over *Robert*, eldest son to the duke of *Normandy*; a brave prince, but ambitious, and easily to be imposed on. The sternness of the father's nature, had given *Robert* cause of complaint, and they were in arms against each other when *Philip* made *Robert* a present of the town of *Gerberois*, in *Beauvoisin*, that he might more commodiously distress *Normandy*. The father besieged him; and the son, in a sally, defeated and dismounted him; and was upon the point of committing parricide when he recognized his father's voice; fell upon his knees, mounted him on his horse, and conducted him out of danger.

Even this affecting scene did not bring about a sincere reconciliation. The father and the son, indeed, clapped up a hasty accommodation, which *Philip* employed all his arts to break; in which he was but too successful: for *William* never could pardon his son, though he was sensible of *Philip*'s treachery towards them both. As nothing could be
more

more dissimilar than the dispositions of *William* and *Philip*; it was not long before the flames of war again broke out between them; and *William* besieged the city of *Mantes*; which, after ravaging all the neighbouring country, he took and burnt down to the ground.

Death of
William
the Con-
queror.

While he was indulging himself in the sight of the conflagration, being over-heated, he was retiring from the flames; when, leaping a ditch, he received a contusion in his stomach, which, meeting with a gross habit of body, carried him to his grave. The tenor of his last will was undoubtedly just; for he left his dutchy of *Normandy*, which he had received from his ancestors, to his eldest son, *Robert*: and he had an undoubted right to dispose of his kingdom, which he had conquered, to his second son, *William*. *Robert* most impolitically asserted his claim to the kingdom as well as the dutchy. *William* invaded *Normandy*; and *Robert* dispossessed his younger brother, afterwards *Henry I. of England*, of the *Contentin*; supposing him to have been in a correspondence with *William*.

The three brothers, by turns, applied to *Philip*; who acted with great duplicity towards them all: for, though he pretended to take arms against *William*, and to favour *Robert*, he, in fact, abandoned the interest of the latter, who was obliged to consent to a peace. *Henry* recovered possession of the *Contentin*: *William* kept his conquests; and paid *Philip* a large sum of money.

Philip re-
pudiates
his wife,

Soon after, *Philip*, growing tired of his wife *Bertha*, of *Frize*, by whom he had two sons and a daughter, obtained, from some mercenary divines, a divorce from her, on pretence of consanguinity; and grief killed her, at *Montreuil*; to which place she was confined.

Foulques, who, from his dark, surly, cruel disposition, was called *Rechin*, count of *Anjou*, was married, in his old distempered age, to *Bertrade de Montfort*, who was esteemed the handsomest woman in *France*.

deceives
the prin-
cess of *Ca-*
labria,

By this time, *Emma*, the daughter of count *Roger*, brother to the duke of *Calabria*, whom we have so often mentioned in the history of *Italy*, had arrived in *France*, by the king's own desire; and had brought with her an immense sum in jewels and gold, given her by her father, who was very rich: but the countess of *Anjou*, having herself a passion to become queen of *France*, had privately invited *Philip* to pay her a visit at *Tours*; and, being smitten with her charms, he eloped with her to *Orleans*; refusing to marry the *Calabrian* princess, whom he stripped of all her jewels and money. *Philip's* passion for the countess blinded him so much, that he procured a divorce between her and her husband; and, resolving to marry her, *Eudes*, bishop of *Bayeux*, half-brother to *William the Conqueror*, performed the ceremony, in presence of two other *Norman* bishops; all the rest of the

and mar-
ries the
countess
of *Anjou*.

Gallican

Gallican prelates declining the office. This happened in the year 1093.

Pope *Urban II.* then held the see of *Rome*, and was not of See p. 57. a disposition to suffer such flagrant enormities to pass uncen- Vol. VII. fured. He was then busied in the affairs of the crusades; p. 44. *et* but having, in a council at *Autun*, ordered the king's marriage with the countess to be examined, he laid him under the lesser excommunication, and threatened him with the greater, if he did not put her away. *Philip*, instead of bearing bravely up against the storm, yielded to it, and behaved with the utmost submission and seeming penitence; for which he obtained from the pontiff a suspension of the greater censure, upon promising that he would live no longer with the countess as her husband. He broke his word; and the greater censure was issued against him in the year 1095, in the famous council of *Clermont*. The hypocrisy of *Philip* procured him absolution; but relapsing into his criminal cohabitation with the countess, he was a third time excommunicated.

The martial flame which, at that time, seized the *French* He be- crusaders, in whose number *Philip* refused to enroll himself, comes rendered him, at once, despicable and hateful in the eyes of contemp- his subjects. *Henry*, of *Burgundy*, at the head of the *French* tible army, had delivered *Portugal* from the infidels, and held it among his in right of his wife. *Philip's* brother, *Hugh*, who is, by subjects. the *French* historians, termed *Hugh the Great*, had taken upon him the cross, as had great numbers of the leading *French* nobility; but the middling noblemen seem not to have been so forward; and their backwardness is, by the historians of the times, imputed to indolence. Had the principle of their remaining at home been founded on a disdain of superstition and vulgar notions, they had been commendable; but it was grounded on the desire they had to aggrandize themselves during the absence of the great lords, and the king's example served them for a pretext.

Philip being under an excommunication behaved with the most abject meanness, nor had he authority sufficient remaining to check the meanest of his nobility; so that all *France* was, for some time, a continual scene of blood and commotion. *Philip*, however, by the force of money, prevailed with pope *Pascal* to refer his case to a council at *Poitiers*. The event was, that he was again excommunicated; but his true queen being now dead, matters were mitigated in his favour at the court of *Rome*, by the help of money; and *Philip*, at last, by the most scandalous submissions, obtained absolution. But even this was insufficient to restore the dignity of his government, till he associated with himself his son *Lewis* in the government. He associates his son *Lewis*

This prince may be termed the prodigy of that age. He with him had sentiments of honour, virtue, and true piety; and his in the government. conduct was such as discovered that he was sensible of his father's

father's errors. But the times were too degenerate to require only the brightness of a virtuous example for their amendment. *William*, duke of *Aquitain*, and the duke of *Anjou*, notwithstanding the injuries the latter had received from *Philip*, continued steady in their allegiance; but their loyalty was owing to the insolence of the minor lords, who, while their superiors were employed in the crusade, insulted the crown and the great feudatories who remained behind; so that the interest of the latter and that of the crown became the same. The executive power of government devolved upon young *Lewis*; who assembled an army, and resolved to give law to those restless disturbers of civil authority. His father was, by this time, sunk into a contemptible state of indolence, through his passion for *Bertrade* (who was recognized as his queen) and his own natural disposition: but the activity of the son supplied his defects; for he soon re-established the authority due to government, by dispossessing the petty tyrants of their castles, and obliging them to refund the spoils they had acquired by rapine, especially from the clergy.

Practices of *Bertrade* against young *Lewis*. *Lewis* being heir-apparent to the crown of *France*, *Bertrade* could not, without discontent and jealousy, see the growing popularity and successes of young *Lewis*; which he owed to virtues and abilities uncommon to youth, especially in a prince. As she had two sons by the king, she practised all her arts, and employed all the credit she had over his affections, to set *Lewis* aside from the succession. *Lewis* was not insensible of her designs; but saw, that, in order to prevent them, he must involve his country in new scenes of distress by a civil-war. He therefore took leave of his father, and retired to *England*, where he met with a reception suitable to his rank and merits. *Henry I.* was then king of *England*, and, being himself a scholar, and an excellent judge of mankind, he was sincerely affected with the situation of *Lewis*, and struck with horror when he received a letter, signed with his father's name, requesting him, by way of favour, either to dispatch or imprison the young prince. *Henry* generously communicated this letter to *Lewis*, and it was agreed that he should return to *France*, and do himself justice.

She poisons him, but he recovers. Upon the arrival of *Lewis* in *France*, he discovered that the inhuman order had been the machination of *Bertrade*, who supposed *Henry* to be as wicked as herself; and that *Philip*, slave as he was to her charms, detested her practices. Apprehensive that she was unable to conquer the seeds of paternal love that still remained in *Philip's* heart, and that she was in danger of falling a victim to the public odium, or of being brought to justice by *Lewis*, as the validity of her marriage had not yet been sufficiently established by the court of *Rome* and the clergy, she procured poison to be administered

tered to the young prince; but the skill of a foreign physician, after all the *French* physicians had given him over, joined to the natural goodness of his constitution, conquered the effects of the poison, though it was very strong.

If the dotage of *Philip* for *Bertrade* can admit of an alleviation, it must arise from her consummate art and address, which were still more powerful than her beauty. She could impose equally upon the rigid, the easy, the virtuous, and the most discerning. She had prevailed upon her former husband, morose and severe as he was, not only to consent to her marriage with the king, but to employ all his interest at the court of *Rome* to get it declared valid; and even *Lewis*, notwithstanding the atrocious provocations she had given him; was not proof against the enchantment of the penitence she pretended for her barbarity. Poisonings, and assassinations, were then familiar to the great, and mentioned without horror, provided a strong reason could be shewn for committing them. *Bertrade* pleaded that of natural affection for her own children; which she urged with such an air of openness, and, at the same time, of contrition for her practices against so deserving a prince as *Lewis*, that he forgave her, and promised to become the protector of her children.

This reconciliation procured from the court of *Rome* and the clergy of *France*, a confirmation of the marriage between *Philip* and *Bertrade*; and the latter end of his reign became more easy than its commencement or progress had been. He had the personal qualities of courtesy, liberality, and compassion. The customs of the times, and the examples of the *German* emperors, had reconciled to his people the abject submissions he made to the see of *Rome*; and, when he died, on the twenty-ninth of *July*, 1108, he had reigned, with his father, fifty years, and by himself forty-seven; so that he must have died in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

Tho, in compliance with the current of *French* history, we have been obliged, in reciting facts, to be severe on the memory of this prince, yet some allowance is to be made in his favour to the unfriendly complexion of the authors, both *French* and *English*, who have transmitted his history. His not engaging in the mad expedition to the *Holy Land* was an inexpressible crime in their eyes, and, very possibly, contributed to exaggerate the effects of that native indolence to which he was too much addicted. His chief acquisition, while he was upon the throne, was the county of *Bourges*, which he bought from its lord.

By his first wife, *Bertha*, he had *Lewis*, his successor; *Henry*, who died young; *Constantia*, who first married the count of *Troyes*, and, being divorced from him, *Bohemond*, prince of *Antioch*. By *Bertrade*, who finished a life of gallantry and intrigue by a course of contrition and penitence,

he had *Philip*, count of *Mante*, who died without issue; and *Cæcilia*, who was wife, first of *Tancred*, prince of *Antioch*, and afterwards of *Pons de Toulouse*, count of *Tripoli*.

Lewis VI. afterwards called Lewis the Gros.

Difficulties of Lewis the Gros at the time of his accession.

THE degeneracy and turbulent dispositions of the *French*, at the time of the accession of *Lewis VI.* had gone too far to be subdued, either by his authority or example; and his power was too weak to effect a thorough reformation. The absence of the great lords upon the crusade, some of whom had more actual power than the king himself, and whose interest it was to have crushed those petty tyrants, was of great detriment to *Lewis*. The chief difficulty, however, he had to encounter, arose from the policy and ambition of *Henry I.* king of *England*; who, being afraid lest the duchy of *Normandy* would be annexed to the *French* crown, privately fomented the discontents of that kingdom. The last, and indeed capital, disadvantage that *Lewis* lay under, arose from the weakness of his real influence; as he was in actual possession of little more territory than *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Etampes*, *Compegne*, *Melun*, and *Bourges*. These estates were often intercepted by those belonging to the factious barons; the chief of whom were the lords of *Corbeil* and *Monte du Puiset* in *Beauce*, *de Couci*, *de Montfort*, *de Montlherre*, and *de Rochefort*; so that the king had often great difficulty in bringing his forces into one body.

His advantages.

To ballance those inconveniencies, *Lewis* had some advantages. The clergy, and the most respectable of the *French* lords, who had been left at home, had a reliance upon his valour, justice, and moderation; and cheerfully lent him their assistance, when they could do it with any measure of safety to themselves. In like manner, the common people, who groaned under the intermediate tyranny of the king's rebels, served them with reluctance, and were always ready to take arms for the crown when it was able to protect them. But the secret, and afterwards open, intervention of *Henry I.* of *England*, defeated the best laid schemes of *Lewis*.

He beats

Henry I. of *England*. He was thirty years of age when he came to be sole monarch of *France*; and had made an amazing progress in subduing his rebels, when he quarrelled with *Henry I.* for having supported them under-hand. *Lewis* demanded, that *Gisors on the Apte* should be demolished. *Henry* refused to comply. *Lewis* challenged him to single combat; which *Henry*, haughtily and scornfully, refused: but *Lewis* beat him in the field; obliged *Henry* to conclude a peace, and to order his son, *William*, to do him homage for the duchy of *Normandy*.

maindy: a ceremony which *Henry* refused to comply with, as being too mortifying for a crowned head to submit to.

Peace being thus restored to *France*, by the assistance which the great lords at home had afforded to *Lewis*, the latter found himself at leisure to turn his arms entirely against the rebellious vassals of his crown; but his chief allies became now too jealous of his power to give him the same assistance against them that they had against *Henry*, whom they both feared and hated. He besieged the insignificant castle of *Puisset* three times before he could take and demolish it; and, as soon as, by his own valour, he was in a fair way of restoring tranquility to his kingdom, *Henry*, without seeming to break the late treaty, created him fresh disturbances. The count *de Blois*, and *Champagne*, nephew to *Henry*, refused to submit to *Lewis*, upon some of those frivolous pretexts for which the bold rebels of those times were never at a loss. *Lewis* strengthened himself by an alliance with *Foulques*, count of *Anjou*, son to queen *Bertrade*, by her marriage with *Foulques Rechin*, who refused to acknowledge *Henry* as his superior for the county of *Maine*, which he held in right of marriage; and he was joined likewise by the earl of *Flanders*.

Henry, on the other hand, on pretence of supporting his nephew, carried over a strong army to *Normandy*, which had between been invaded by the confederates. A battle ensuing, the *French* army was totally defeated, and the earl of *Flanders* was crushed to death in the rout. *Lewis* was too wise a prince, after this, to think of desolating his country by continuing the war; and *Henry* concluded an honourable peace for himself at *Gisors*. The count of *Anjou* did him homage for his county of *Maine*, as *Alain III.* did for his duchy of *Bretagne*; and the whole was concluded by a double marriage: one, of *William*, *Henry's* eldest son, with the heiress of *Anjou*; and the other, of one of *Henry's* daughters with *Alain*, son to the duke of *Bretagne*. About the same time, *Lewis* married *Adelaide*, the daughter of the count of *Maurienne*, ancestor to the dukes of *Savoy* and the present king of *Sardinia*. She proved, afterwards, a wise and virtuous princess.

Henry I. by this time, had thrown his elder brother, *Robert*, into prison; and *Lewis*, who considered *Robert* as his immediate vassal, interested himself strongly for his deliverance; the rather, as he was pressed by *Robert's* son, *William*, who threw himself at the feet of *Lewis*. The latter had, already, smarted too much from the king of *England* to provoke him afresh; but he informed *William*, that he was ready to assist him to the utmost, provided he could engage in his cause the counts of *Flanders* and *Anjou*. *William* repaired to the courts of those two princes, whom he found sincerely disposed to serve him, and to enter into a war against *Henry*.

This juncture was inviting, as *Henry* was struggling with vast difficulties in *England*, where he was become unpopular, through the great taxes he was obliged to impose upon his subjects; and the imprisonment of his brother-in-law had created him a number of enemies.

which is
successful
at first,

The confederates took the field, but, at first, with no great success, as *Henry* had been before hand with them; and *Lewis* was obliged, with some mortification, to retire. The difficulties of *Henry* encreasing, they took the field again while he was in *England*. He had given orders to his officers in *Normandy*, to keep themselves, as much as possible, within the walls of their fortified places, till he could come to their assistance with an army. This left the confederates at liberty to ravage the open country; and the earl of *Flanders* even burnt the suburbs of *Roan*, the capital of *Normandy*.

Henry was, all this while, taking measures for assisting them; and, having somewhat accommodated his affairs in *England*, he carried over an army into *Normandy*; great part of which he found in the hands of the confederates, who were upon their march to besiege *Noyon*. The arrival of *Henry* in *Normandy* encouraged the counts of *Anjou* and *Champagne* to take the field; and they joined him with so much speed and secrecy, that *Lewis* and his confederates were amazed, when, on their march to *Noyon*, they found they could not proceed without a general engagement.

Lewis drew out his army in two lines; the foremost commanded by *William* of *Normandy*, and the second by himself. *Henry* divided his army into three lines. In the front he placed the *Normans*, the middle line was commanded by himself, and the third by his sons. *William* the *Norman's* charge was so furious, that it broke the line of the *Normans*, who were mostly cavalry, and made a strong impression upon the division commanded by *Henry*. The dispute was more fierce than bloody. *Matthew Paris* says, that *Henry* must have been cut down by *William* of *Embrouene*, had it not been for the goodness of his helmet; but, that the king, recovering from the blow, beat the aggressor from his horse and took him prisoner.

but *Lewis*
and his al-
lies are to-
tally de-
feated in a
battle at
Noyon.

While the battle was doubtful, the king's sons brought up the body of reserve, consisting of the *Englishmen* at arms, who decided the victory in favour of *Henry*, which prince did not leave the field till he saw it compleated. *Lewis*, whose person, during the battle, had been in as much danger as that of *Henry*, escaped on foot, with difficulty, to *Andely*. The earl of *Flanders*, being mortally wounded, was carried off in a litter; and *Henry* returned, in triumph, to *Roan*.

Lewis, finding he was no match for the *English* monarch in the field, applied for assistance to pope *Calixtus* II. who

was then holding a council at *Rheims*, with heavy complaints of *Henry*; and his holiness undertook to mediate between them.

The reader, in the course of our history, has had but too many opportunities of observing the prodigious influence of the papal power in that age. *Henry* of *England* was an exception to the weakness of princes on that head; and, following the example of his father, he refused to be dictated to by the pope, either in his ducal, or regal, dominions. He paid him, however, the usual deference due to his rank and authority; but obliged *Lewis* to accept of the terms of peace he was pleased to prescribe. It must be acknowledged, that *Lewis* was, at this time, in no comfortable situation. The count of *Anjou* had been bought off by *Henry*; the earl of *Flanders* was dead of his wounds; and *Normandy* was entirely reduced to *Henry's* obedience.

A woeful accident, which happened at this time, turned *Henry's* his triumphs into mourning. The *Normans* had imported two eldest into *France* the vice of drinking; to which the *English* sailors, sons, and who came over with *Henry*, were far from being averse; his chief and the crew of the ship, which carried *Henry's* two sons, lords, the earl of *Chester*, and the chief officers of his household, drowned. being intoxicated, the ship foundered in the entrance of the harbour, and all on board her were drowned.

This accident altered the plan of *Lewis's* conduct, and he renewed his intrigues for giving the duchy of *Normandy* to *William*, the son of *Robert*, who, at the same time, married *Sybilla*, second daughter to the count of *Anjou*. The new count of *Flanders*, who was a *Dane*, joined *Lewis* and the count of *Anjou* (who had given *William* the duchy of *Maienne*, as his wife's fortune) in their design of giving *Normandy* to *William*: but *Henry's* credit with the pope defeated all their designs; for he obtained a divorce between *William* and the count of *Anjou's* daughter, on account of consanguinity. This was not sufficient for the purposes of *Henry*; for he entered into a league with the emperor of *Germany*, *Henry V.* who treated his excommunication at *Rheims* with great indignation; and, on that account, invaded *France* with declarations that amounted next to a design of conquering it.

The danger of *France* became now a common cause to all A great army the subjects of *Lewis*, and they assembled under his banners my raised to the number of two hundred thousand; a force which ter- in *France* rified the emperor to such a degree, that he abandoned his against the enterprize and retired into *Germany*. *Lewis*, seeing himself *German* thus freed from danger, and at the head of so noble an ar- invasion, my, proposed, before it was dismissed, to put prince *William* in possession of the duchy of *Normandy*; but his great lords soon made him sensible, that there was a great difference between defending the kingdom, and serving the king,

of *France*; and that they were resolved not to set so bad a precedent for themselves and their posterity as to assist him in a private quarrel he might have with any of his subjects. They even told him, that *Normandy*, being possessed by a powerful prince, who was able to ballance the influence of the crown, was necessary for their safety. In short, they refused to obey *Lewis*; but the vast army he had assembled rendered him more respectable in the eyes of all the other princes of *Europe* than he had ever been before.

The *Ori-* The threatened invasion of *France* by the emperor *Henry*
flame pro- V. was so alarming, that the banner of the abbey of
duced. *St. Dennis*, which was no other than a crimson flag fixt to a gilt lance or staff, was carried before *Lewis*, by way of summons for all his subjects who were capable of bearing arms to range themselves under it. This banner has ever since been known by the name of the *Ori flame*; and though it is first mentioned in history on this occasion, as the standard of rendezvous to all the *French* nation, we can scarcely doubt that long before this time, either that or some other flag was made use of for the same purpose; as the ready obedience paid to it by the subjects of *France* was so general. *Henry* I. was daunted by the appearance
See Vol. VIII. which *Lewis* made in the field. His son-in-law the em-
p. 432. peror was in the same condition as *Lewis*; for the great *German* princes had refused to follow him in an expedition which had not for its object the general welfare of the empire. *Lewis* however, by this time, had got the better of many prepossessions of his great lords, and had become popular. The earl of *Flanders* having been assassinated by his subjects, he had the credit to procure that dutchy for *William*, whom we have so often mentioned, son to duke
Affairs of *Robert* of *Normandy*. By this he gained two great points,
Normandy as it rendered *William* a formidable opponent to *Henry* I. in his claim upon *Normandy*, and established a precedent for his giving away a great fief of his crown. He was counteracted in a most masterly manner by *Henry* I. who married his daughter *Matilda*, the empress dowager of *Germany*, to young *Geoffrey* of *Anjou*, who has been since so well known by the name of *Plantagenet*, and persuaded his father to go upon a ridiculous pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, that he might have the sole management of his new son-in-law's affairs. As *Henry* had made that match only to be a counterbalance to the interest of his nephew, the count of *Flanders*, he called to his assistance another ally the earl of *Champagne*, who took part with *Thierri*, count of *Alsace*, who had a preferable right of blood, against *William*, who died about this time, of an accidental wound. *Thierri* upon this, took possession of the county of *Flanders*, and made his peace with *Lewis* by paying him homage.

In

In the year 1128, the affairs of *Lewis* were in so pro- See
 mising a state that he ventured upon several regulations in p. 59.
 the laws and police of his kingdom, and after the example
 of his predecessors he associated his eldest son *Philip* with
 himself in the government. The expulsion of pope *Innocent*
II. out of *Italy*, and his taking refuge in *France* gave great
 credit to the government of *Lewis*, and upon the death of
 young *Philip*, by a fall from his horse, *Lewis* had interest
 enough, by the assistance of that pope, to substitute his
 second son *Lewis*, as his associate, in a most numerous
 assembly of his states held at *Rheims*. This measure was the *Lewis*
 more necessary, as the blunt honest indignation of *Lewis* was discon-
 every day breaking out in expressions of detestation at the certs his
 tyranny, oppression, and venality of his great lords, who great
 on that account had actually formed a scheme for setting lords.
 aside his family from the succession to the crown. The
 virtue of *Lewis*, even in that age, established his throne in
 security, and the most disaffected of his subjects, notwith-
 standing all that *Henry I.* could do to the contrary, were
 reconciled to him, and revered him. The duke of *Guienne*
 and *Aquitain*, setting out on a religious pilgrimage, had be-
 queathed his great dominions, little inferior to those of the
 crown of *France*, to his daughter *Eleanor*, on condition of
 her marrying young king *Lewis*. The marriage was ac-
 cordingly celebrated at *Bordeaux*, to the vast joy and satis-
 faction of *Lewis the Gross*, who had been for some time in a
 declining state of health. When he thought he was draw-
 ing near to his end, taking his royal signet from his own
 finger, he put it upon that of his son, giving him at the
 same time an advice that was worthy of a patriot king.
 Though he recovered from that illness, he refused even
 afterwards to admit of any royal distinctions about his per-
 son; but they were more than supplied by the acclamations
 of his grateful and happy people, who crowded about him
 as often as he appeared in public. His fatness, by which His death
 he obtained the name of *Lewis the Gross*, or *Fat*, hastened and cha-
 his death, which happened on the first of *August* 1137, in racter.
 the sixtieth year of his age. *Lewis the Gross*, is deservedly
 looked upon as one of the best men that ever filled the
 throne of *France*, and his abilities must have been as con-
 spicuous as his virtues, if he had lived in better times, or
 enjoyed the same opportunities of exerting the latter as the
 former.

Lewis VII. or the Young.

THE nobles of *France*, who had been overawed dur- Troubles
 ing the late reign, renewed their licentiousness under of *France*
 this prince, who at the time of his accession to the crown at the

accession
of *Lewis*
VII.

was no more than eighteen years of age ; but, young as he was, by the help of strong garrisons and a well disciplined army, he suppressed them. *Stephen*, earl of *Boulogne*, though not the direct heir of blood, was then king of *England*, and had assigned his dutchy of *Normandy* to his son *Eustace*, who had married the sister of *Lewis the Young*. *Thibaut*, earl of *Champagne*, elder brother to *Stephen*, was discontented at the preference given to him and his family, and his discontent was favoured by a difference which happened between *Lewis* and the court of *Rome*, on account of the latter favouring the election of one *Pierre de la Chatre*, who, against the king's inclinations, had been chosen into the archbishopric of *Bourges*. *Pierre* took refuge with the count of *Champagne*, whose differences with the king rose to such a height, that the count of *Vermandois*, first minister of *Lewis*, divorced his wife, who was cousin to that count, and married *Petronilla*, sister to the queen of *France*. This second marriage was condemned by the pope, ecclesiastical censures were threatened, *Lewis* entered *Champagne*, ravaged the country, and burnt thirteen hundred people in one church. This inhumanity struck *Lewis* with remorse ; he admitted *Pierre de la Chatre* to the archbishopric, and convoking the members of his council, he laid before them a design he had formed for expiating his crime, by taking upon him the cross, and undertaking an expedition into the *Holy Land*.

Opposite
characters
of *St. Ber-*
nard and
Suger.

Two clergymen at that time governed the councils of *France* ; and one of them influenced those of almost all *Europe*. This was the famous *St. Barnard*, abbot of *Clairvaux*, a plausible, but hot-brained enthusiast, with a tongue and pen more polished than was common in that barbarous age, so that not only his own cotemporaries received his dictates as oracles, but many authors of after ages have quoted his writings, as containing the truest maxims of civil and ecclesiastical polity ; and in his life time he was considered as a being between human and divine. The other, a contrast to *St. Barnard*, was *Suger*, commonly known by the name of *Sugerius*, abbot of *St. Dennis*. His appearance was as mean as his birth ; but the solidity of his judgment, his unaffected virtues, and the plainness of his manners, had placed him high in favour with the late king, who was an excellent judge of mankind, and with the most discerning princes of that age. *St. Barnard* affected to disapprove of the king's undertaking the expedition in person, without the approbation of pope *Eugene III.* which was soon obtained, and then *St. Barnard* became an advocate for the expedition, with a zeal that rose to frenzy, by his rendering the sanctity of his person and character responsible for its success. *Suger* complied so far with the foolish humour of the times, as not to disapprove of *Lewis's* contributing towards the expedition in men and money ;

but

but he persisted firmly in his opinion that he ought not to attend it in person, but to remain at home, for the wise government of his people by his authority, and the promotion of their happiness by his example.

A general assembly was convoked in 1147, at a little A new village called *Verelay*, or *Vezelay*, in *Burgundy*, lying between *Auxerre* and *Nevers*, and it was so respectable for the underdignity and number of its members, that it is distinguished in the *French* records by the name of the great parliament. Here *Bernard* had an opportunity of displaying all the frothy pomp of his eloquence. For want of a commodious church or house, the assembly was held in a plain at the foot of a hill, on the brow of which a tribunal was erected, where *St. Bernard* was seated, so that all might hear him. He produced the pope's letter, he enforced the piety and devotion of the expedition; he bewailed in the most pathetic manner the condition of the *Christians* in the *Holy Land*, and he represented the undertaking itself as being little less meritorious than if the adventurers were to march to relieve our Saviour from the cross. His speech made such an impression upon the assembly, that they were affected with the same enthusiasm which possessed himself. The king sprung from his throne, and receiving the cross, which the holy father had entrusted with *Bernard* to bestow upon him, he placed himself upon the same tribunal with the saint, and the air then resounded with the acclamations of the cross, the cross!

Ridiculous as the fact may seem to modern readers, this Names of crusading madness was so epidemical, that even ladies were the crus- smitten with it, and *Eleanor* the queen consort, was the saders. second person in the assembly who prostrated herself before the saint and received the cross. Her example was followed by all the great men of the realm, the principal whereof were *Robert*, earl of *Dreux*, brother to the king; *Alphonso*, earl of *St. Giles*; *Thierri*, earl of *Flanders*; *Guy*, earl of *Nevers*; *Renald*, his brother, earl of *Tonnerre*; *Yves*, earl of *Soissons*; *William*, earl of *Ponthieu*; *Henry*, the son of *Theobald*, earl of *Blois*; *William*, earl of *Varannes*; *Archibald de Bourbon*; *Enguerrand de Couci*; *Geoffry Rancon de Tailebourg*; *Hugh de Lusignan*; *William de Courtenay*; *Renaud de Montargis*; *Ithier de Thoci*; *Guicher de Mongeay*; *Everard de Breteil*; *Dreux de Mouchi*; *Manasses de Bulli*; *Ancel de Trenel*; *Guerin*, his brother; *William Bouteiller*; *William Agilons de Trie*; and among the prelates, *Simon*, bishop of *Noyon*; *Godfrey*, bishop of *Langres*; *Alwin*, bishop of *Arras*; *Arnold*, bishop of *Licieux*; *Herbert*, abbot of *St. Peter of Sens*; and *Theobald*, abbot of *St. Calomb*, of the same city.

We have in the former part of this history, which is See quoted in the margin, given a general but full account of Vol. VII. this

P. 113.
et seq.

this unhappy expedition ; and we shall here consider it only as relative to *France*. The fury of the people assembled at *Vezelay*, to take the cross, was so ungovernable, that *St. Bernard* was obliged to throw them crosses in large bundles, which he had packed up for that purpose, and these not sufficing, he even cut his garments into crosses ; but crosses being still wanting, he gave the people leave to cross themselves. The numbers of *French* who engaged themselves in the expedition, are variously reported ; but the reader may form some notion of the whole, when he is informed that the horse amounted to eighty thousand.

Return of
Lewis
from the
Holy Land.

Lewis, infatuated as he was, resolved to call another assembly at *Chatres*, which proved to be very numerous ; but the rage of crusading was so far from subsiding, that the members insisted upon *St. Bernard*, to whom they attributed the gift of miracles, taking the command of the army. It was with some difficulty that the good saint succeeded in declining this honour ; but not before he had consulted the pope, who gave him leave. *Queen Eleanor*, who has a singular character in history, for her amorous complexion, and love of variety, attended her husband, and was noted for her intrigues with a handsome young *Turk*, whom she fell in love with, and with *Raimond*, prince of *Antioch*, which he carried on so openly, that it gave her husband infinite uneasiness.

ibid.

The dismal return of the *French* from this expedition, has been already related. It was in fact an expedition against the *Christians* who were settled in *Palestine*, and who by conquest and intermarriages with the natives becoming proprietors of the country detested the crusaders, and both openly and secretly assisted the infidels. *Lewis*, upon his return to *France*, found the affairs of his kingdom in excellent order, by the wise and resolute administration of *Suger*, who together with the count of *Vermandois*, had been left regents.

Is divorc-
ed from
his queen.

The count of *Dreux*, brother to *Lewis*, endeavoured to discredit *Suger*, but the king disregarded his complaints after examining into the state of his kingdom and finances ; all which were in so flourishing a condition, that he forgot the miseries, distresses, and disgraces he had suffered in his unfortunate expedition. The behaviour of his queen however, still stuck in his mind, and he resolved at all events to be divorced from her. He was entirely sensible of her infidelities to his bed, but he was too proud to make that the ground of his suing for a separation. Another, and a never failing expedient was at hand ; that of consanguinity, of which, *Lewis*, upon the death of his able minister *Suger*, resolved to avail himself. For this purpose, he convoked at *Beaujenci*, a council of bishops, before whom he laid his case. The queen was so far from opposing, that she assisted him

him in his suit, and the divorce was accordingly pronounced on pretence of the parties being cousins. The lords of *Gascony* were obliged to swear to the consanguinity.

Mr. *Voltaire*, in the additions to his General History, dis- Remark
covers greater unacquaintance with the canon law and the on *Vol-*
practice of the times, when he says, that if the marriage *taire.*
was null, that the two daughters who were born of that
marriage must have been bastards, and yet that they were
both married afterwards as legitimate daughters of *Lewis*.
That author ought to have known, that a marriage might
in those days have been declared invalid, without the issue
of that marriage being deemed illegitimate, provided it
appeared that the marriage on the woman's part was con-
tracted *bona fide*, which seems to have been the case with
Eleanor.

As to *Lewis*, his behaviour on this occasion can scarcely be
paralleled; for he restored to the lady all her vast fortune.
Her conduct in forwarding the divorce is easily accounted
for, when we acquaint the reader, that she had by this time,
thrown her eyes upon the most sprightly, handsome, and
powerful prince in *Europe*, young *Henry*, duke of *Normandy*,
count of *Anjou* and *Maine*, son to *Geoffrey Plantaganet* and
the empress *Maud*, and presumptive heir to the crown of
England. By this marriage, *Henry* became more powerful
than *Lewis* was within the kingdom of *France*; and the
match having been foreseen and foretold by many, parti-
cularly *Suger*, exposed the king and his romantic notions to
ridicule; and hence we are told that he obtained the epithet
of *Young*, as not being likely to grow old by experience.

Lewis saw his error, when it was too late, and linked *Henry* of
himself with *Stephen*, who was looked upon as the usurper *England*
of *England*, and his son *Eustace*, count of *Boulogne*. This defeats all
attachment proved to be impolitic chiefly through the amaz- his anta-
ing abilities of young *Henry*, who when he was no more gonists.
than twenty years of age, was equal to all the duties either
of the field or the cabinet. *Eustace* attacked *Normandy*, and
Geoffrey, *Henry*'s younger brother, allied himself with *Lewis*;
but the superiour genius of *Henry* defeated all their designs,
for having brought *Lewis* to consent to a truce, he and his
mother went over to *England*, and *Eustace* dying in the
mean time, he succeeded peaceably to that crown, which
was his right by blood.

Though *Lewis*, after the expiration of the truce, invaded The po-
Normandy, yet he met with perpetual defeats and disap- pularity
pointments, and he was obliged to make peace with *Henry*, of *Lewis*
who was the most generous prince of his age. *Lewis* had when he
now no dependence, but upon the affections of his subjects, returned
which he had merited by the goodness of his own heart, from the
and his attention to their welfare. He married *Constantia*, *HolyLand.*
daughter to don *Alonso*, king of *Castile*, whom he had
an

an interview with, while he was upon a pilgrimage to the shrine of *St. James of Compostella*.

His war
with the
count of
Tholouse.

Upon his return in 1155, he was so entirely beloved by the nobles as well as the populace, that they swore a ten years peace among themselves, or in other words, that they would not decide their private quarrels by the sword, but refer them to public justice. Notwithstanding those, and many other precautions that *Lewis* took for the tranquillity of his kingdom, ambition broke into it. *Henry of England*, looked upon *Lewis* in a compassionate, but contemptible light, and omitted nothing that could keep him easy. He wrote him soothing letters, made him agreeable presents, and pretended to trust him with his most important concerns; but was all the while carrying on his own ambitious designs. He claimed, in right of his wife, the county of *Tholouse*, which he said had been only mortgaged by one of her ancestors to the then count, who had married the widow of *Eustace*, count of *Bologne*, sister to *Lewis*. The count of *Tholouse* was brave, and made a noble defence in his capital against *Henry*, who besieged it. *Lewis* raised an army, gave the command of one half of it to his brother, the count of *Dreux*, while he himself led the other to the relief of *Tholouse*, upon which *Henry*, out of a pretended deference and respect for the king, raised the siege; but continued his war against the count of *Tholouse*. It lasted two years, and was terminated by a peace, which did not however, clear up the point of property in dispute between *Henry* and the count. *Henry* performed homage to *Lewis* for his dutchy of *Normandy*, as his son *Henry* did for the counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*; and it was stipulated that *Richard*, *Henry's* second son, should abandon the daughter of a count of *Barcelona*, to whom he had been contracted, to marry one of the daughters of *Lewis*, and that he should inherit the rich dutchy of *Guienne*.

See
p. 65.
and Vol.
VIII.
p. 448.
et seq.

The queen of *Lewis* dying in the year 1160, and leaving only two daughters, he at the request of his nobility, married *Adelaide*, daughter to the count of *Champagne*. This match gained *Lewis* a considerable accession of strength. In the dispute between the popes *Alexander III.* and *Victor IV.* *Lewis* and *Henry* befriended the former, and made preparations for resisting an invasion of *France*, which was threatened by the emperor in favour of the latter. *Alexander* held a council at *Tours*, and had the glory of seeing the kings of *France* and *England*, performing the office of grooms, and holding each of them a stirrup of his horse, while he proceeded with the most solemn gravity to a magnificent tent erected for him in the *French* camp.

The differences that afterwards happened between his holiness and *Henry*, on account of *Thomas Becket*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, belongs properly to the history of *England*;

England; but the king of *France* was involved in its consequences, and for some time a war was carried on between him and *Henry* on that account. We are here to observe, that tho' *Lewis* was destitute of the towering genius and abilities of his cotemporary *Henry*, yet he had useful parts, and such as improved so much by experience, that he at last balanced the great power of that monarch in *France*. This he did chiefly by exciting among his great lords a jealousy of their being in danger from *Henry's* inordinate ambition, more than from the legal exercise of his prerogative as king of *France*.

This jealousy operated so strongly upon the *French* nobility, that, in 1167, *Henry* concluded a peace with *Lewis* at *Montmariel*, where *Henry* in person did homage for *Normandy*, as his two sons *Henry* and *Richard*, did for the counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*, which belonged to the former, and for the dutchy of *Guienne*, which was the inheritance of the latter. As to *Bretagne*, it owed a double homage, and was to devolve upon *Henry's* son *Geoffrey*, it being a fief of *Normandy*, as *Normandy* was of *France*.

The eldest son of *Henry* of *England*, being married to a daughter of *Lewis*, was far from contributing to the repose of either kingdom. *Lewis* confiding in the affections of his subjects quarrelled with *Henry*, because his eldest son had been crowned in *England* while his wife was in *France*. On that pretext he invaded *Normandy*, and never two families were so much embroiled by intermarriages, as those of *France* and *England* were. *Lewis* clapped up a hasty peace, upon *Henry* promising that his daughter should be crowned in form, and prevailed with *Henry* to suffer him, his son and daughter to pass some time with him at the *French* court.

Henry, notwithstanding the superiority of his genius over all the princes of his age, was subject to failings, that were in those days fatal to his repose. He had in a hasty ill-timed fit of passion, dropt some words, which some of his officious followers interpreted into a desire that *Becket*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the firebrand of his kingdom, should be assassinated, which they performed; and the guilt both at home and abroad was charged to *Henry*. He soon found himself unable to get the better of the public odium, which was inflamed by the pope and his clergy, and *Lewis* took measures for aggravating his distresses. He inspired his son-in-law young *Henry*, with a hatred and diffidence of his father. The two other brothers, *Richard* and *Geoffrey*, and, at last, queen *Eleanor* herself, entered into a conspiracy, which was laid for dethroning the elder *Henry*.

The wickedness and unnaturality of this period is hardly credible. It had its root in the papal power. Princes and people were taught to believe that no moral obligation could subsist but in the breast of the pontiff, and thus they

the times
and how
accounted
for.

had no rule of conduct but his dictates, which sometimes proceeded from pride, and capriciousness, but oftener from interest and ambition. All sentiments of nature were therefore stifled, and all merit was comprized in a blind, but furious devotion to the roman pontiff. If any prince could have got the better of this general infatuation, *Henry II. of England* would; but he was forced to yield to the stream of prejudice and prepossession. He saw, all of a sudden, his own family in arms against him, and his enemies multiplying in every quarter. Happily for *Henry*, the rage of implicit devotion to the papal will was not so strong among the common people as among their superiors. This is easily accounted for, when we reflect upon the avarice of the ecclesiastics, who did not think it worth their while to bestow the same pains upon the poor as the rich. *Henry* was indeed obliged to submit to many mortifications; but by the assistance of his faithful subjects he rose superior to them all, by defeating the complicated and unnatural conspiracy which had been formed against him.

New differences
between
the kings
of *France*
and *England*.

Scarcely was a reconciliation between the kings of *France* and *England* effected, than new differences broke out. *Henry*, for reasons which history has not been able to unfold, had kept the daughter of *Lewis*, *Alice*, who was betrothed to his son *Richard*, at his court, without their being married. Public fame was clamorous against *Henry* on that account, and *Lewis* demanded justice of the pope. *Henry* in his defence made some frivolous allegations of the terms of the marriage not having been fulfilled; and his holiness not treating the matter with any degree of asperity, the two monarchs were not only reconciled, but agreed to accompany each other in an expedition to the *Holy Land*. This measure seems to have been agreed to merely to please the pope; for *Henry* had not the least inclination to perform his engagement, and *Lewis* found it impracticable.

The wife of *Lewis*, by this time, had brought him a son, who was afterwards so well known by the name of *Augustus*. This young prince was the hope of the *French* monarchy, and his horse running away with him, just as he began to learn to ride, he passed a whole night in a forest, but returned the next day. This made such an impression upon the spirits of his father, that he performed a pilgrimage to the shrine of *St. Thomas Becket*, at *Canterbury*, where he met with a noble and generous reception from *Henry*. Returning to *France*, he felt the approaches of death, by the attacks first of a palsy, and then of an apoplexy. He gave orders for the speedy coronation of his son, young *Philip*, which was performed with great regularity and solemnity. The right of the archbishop of *Rheims* to crown the kings of *France* was confirmed. Young *Henry* of *England* performed his homage as duke of *Normandy*, and the earl of *Flanders*,
who

who acted as first minister to *Lewis*, and guardian to his son, carried the sword of state.

Lewis did not long survive this ceremony, nor the marriage of young *Philip* with that count's niece; for he died on the eighteenth of September 1180, when he was sixty years of age. Some account of this prince's family may serve to elucidate the subsequent parts of this history. His first wife *Eleanor*, to whom he behaved so generously, and who by all accounts was a woman of unbounded intrigue, died sixty seven years after he married her. The two daughters he had by her, were *Mary*, wife to *Henry* count of *Champagne*, and *Alice*, who married *Thibaut*, count of *Blois*, brother to the said count. *Lewis* by his second marriage with *Constantia* of *Castile*, had likewise two daughters, *Margaret*, married to *Henry* the younger, king of *England*; and afterwards, having no children by him, to *Bela* III. king of *Hungary*. This princess becoming a widow the second time, devoted the remainder of her life to be spent in the *Holy Land*; and she died at *Potolemais*, in 1197. The other sister, *Alice*, died unmarried. *Lewis*, by his third wife, *Adelaide*, daughter to *Thibaut*, count of *Champagne*, a princess of great merit and beauty, had besides his successor *Philip Augustus*, two daughters, *Alice*, whose history is so mysterious, and who had been long contracted to *Richard* of *England*; but was afterwards married to *William*, count of *Ponthieu*, and died in 1195. The name of his second daughter by the same marriage, was *Agnes*. When she was but ten years of age, she was contracted to *Alexius Comnenes*, emperor of *Constantinople*; and next year their marriage was celebrated with great magnificence. She afterwards married the murderer and successor of her husband, *Andronicus* I. and he likewise being dethroned and murdered, she married *Theodore Bramas*, lord of *Adrianople*. As to *Adelaide*, the third wife of *Lewis*, she gave her husband a most magnificent interment in a monastery of his own founding, at *Barbeau* on the *Seine*. His body was put into his tomb with a golden cross at his breast, and rings on his fingers. His monument was afterwards opened by *Charles* IX. who found the body entire, with the above ornaments, and he himself wore the rings. We shall afterwards have occasion to mention queen *Adelaide*.

Philip II. surnamed Augustus.

PHILIP II. whose various epithets of the gift of God, He is sum-
 magnanimous, and conquering, settled at last, into succeeded by
 that of *Augustus*; was fifteen years of age at the time *Philip Au-*
 of his accession to the throne, and gave early proofs of his *genius*.

genius for government. The count of *Flanders*, acted as his tutor or first minister ; but he took the executive power into his own hands, and began his reign with two popular acts. The first was the banishment of all buffoons and jesters from his court, and of the *Jews* who were noted for their usurious practices, out of his kingdom. The nobility attempted to protect them ; but they were obliged to yield to the king, who was supported by his people.

The kingdom of *France* being then in profound tranquillity, the great armies which had been raised by the late king, and *Henry* of *England*, were unemployed, and the kingdom filled with disbanded soldiers, whom *Philip* exterminated by cutting off nine thousand of them at one blow. He ordered the great towns of his kingdom to be walled in for preventing surprizes, and their streets to be paved ; and when his commands were tardily obeyed he saw them executed in person. *Philip*, in imitation of his predecessors, courted the affections of the lower clergy and people, in which he was successful, and during the whole course of his reign he experienced the benefits of that policy.

Whose
mother
flies to
England.

His mother, queen *Adelaide*, was disgusted with the credit which the count of *Flanders* had obtained with *Philip*, and did all she could to divide them ; and to prevent her son's marrying the princess *Isabel*, niece to that count, who had bestowed upon her the county of *Artois*, and a large estate lying along the *Lys*. *Philip* affected to be independent of advice and authority ; and notwithstanding his mother's remonstrances, he married the lady, and they were crowned at *Rheims*, to the great disgust of that prelate, by the archbishop of *Sens*. The queen dowager, and the young king of *England* fled to *Henry* II. with the lords of their factions, and he invaded *France*, where *Philip* received him at the head of a numerous and well appointed army. The count of *Flanders* was for leaving the quarrel to be decided by the sword ; but *Philip* still disdaining to be tutored, shewed himself equally ready to fight or to treat, and *Henry* demanding a conference, was amazed at his firmness and sagacity. A treaty was concluded, by which the queen mother and her followers were restored to their several ranks and estates. This agreement disobliged the count of *Flanders*, and he linked himself with the cardinal of *Champagne*, brother to the queen dowager, and the duke of *Burgundy*. *Philip* was resolved to be beforehand with the confederates, and surprizing that duke's son in one of his castles, he reduced them to reason. We may form some idea of the genius of the *French* nobility at that time, by observing, that the only motive they alledged for their rebellion, was the danger they were in from the king's popularity.

Upon

Upon the death of the countess of *Flanders*, who had been heiress to the county of *Vermandois*, the emperor of *Germany* stepped in to the assistance of the count, when *Philip* offered to annex that county to his crown. This was another quarrel, excited by the jealousy of the nobility against the king. *Philip* affirmed that the alienation of the county of *Vermandois* from the crown, ought to last no longer than the life of the late countess, and notwithstanding all the efforts made by the count and his friends, *Philip* reannexed it to his domain, and left nothing to the count of *Flanders* but the towns of *Perron*, and *St. Quintin*.

In 1182, *Henry* the young king of *England*, died in *France*, upon which *Philip* reclaimed from the elder *Henry*, *Gisors*, and the *Vexin*, which had been given to his sister *Margaret* as a dowry. A reconciliation followed, by the elder *Henry* performing homage to *Philip* for all the lands he held in *France*, and promising that his son *Richard* should marry the princess *Alice*.

The unhappy passion which the elder *Henry* is supposed to have entertained for that princess, was a fruitful source of calamity to his reign and person. It gave the princes of his family and his queen *Eleanor*, whom he kept prisoner for twelve years before her death, a perpetual subject for complaint and dissatisfaction; and *Henry's* second son, *Geoffrey*, duke of *Bretagne*, pretending that *Henry* had not done him justice, by refusing to add the county of *Maine* to his duchy, took refuge at the court of his father-in-law *Philip*, but died of the bruises he received by the fall of his horse at a tournament. The scene that followed justifies the severest of our animadversions upon the morals of that age. *Geoffrey* left *Arthur*, a posthumous son, by *Constance*, daughter of *Philip*; and the right of that son in the succession was undoubtedly preferable to that of *John*, *Geoffrey's* younger brother. *Philip* protected his daughter and her son against the *English* princes, *Richard* and *John*, the count of *Flanders*, and the *German* emperor, and besieged *Chateauroux*; but the siege was raised by the elder *Henry*. A legate of the pope interceded, and the common method of reconciliation took place, by all the princes swearing to take upon them the cross.

Richard, the head-strong prince of *England*, instigated by War between his father, renewed the quarrel about the county of *Tholouse*, then belonging to count *Raimond*, and he invaded *France* and it, as *Philip*, in aid to the count, did the *English* king's possessions in *France*. *Henry* proposed that the princess *Alice* should marry his son, *John*; but this proposal was rejected, as that prince maintained a secret correspondence with *Philip*. The pope, bribed by *English* gold, ordered his legate to interpose, which he did, but in vain; and prince *Richard* of *England*, put himself under the protection of

king *Philip*. With their joint forces they besieged and took *Mons*, in those days, one of the strongest cities in *Europe*. *Henry* was obliged to fly to *Chinon*; but the count of *Flanders*, and some other great vassals of the *French* crown, unwilling to see *Philip* too powerful, refused to serve him any longer against a prince, who like *Henry*, had taken upon himself the vows of the crusade. This obliged *Philip* again to agree to a personal conference with *Henry*, which was broken off by a portentous clap of thunder. The conference was renewed, and a solid peace established. *Philip*, in consideration of a large sum paid in ready money, consented to restore all that *Henry* had lost in *France*, and prince *Richard*, after his return from the *Holy Land*, was to marry the princess *Alice*. This reconciliation had so much the marks of sincerity, that *Philip*, at *Henry*'s earnest request, shewed him the list of confederates against him; at the head of which stood the name of his beloved son, *John*. This is said to have affected *Henry* so deeply, that upon his return to *Chinon*, he died of vexation, and left his crown with his malediction to his son *Richard*, *Philip*'s ally.

Death of
Henry
king of
England.
See
Vol. VII.
p. 160.
et seq.

Never were two princes worse paired than *Richard* and *Philip* were. We have already given their characters. *Philip* was more cool, and less open than *Richard*, who was likewise his superior in bodily strength and feats of arms; both of them were lustful, and avaricious, and, notwithstanding appearances, they had conceived a rooted hatred for each other. They agreed in nothing but their frantic expedition to the *Holy Land*, and there is some reason for believing that in this, they had some interested views; the *Christians* having at that time possession of some noble ports and territories near the *Levant*.

Philip
sets out
on a
crusade

ibid.

Before *Philip* set out on the expedition, some of his counsellors endeavoured to persuade him to remain at home. His mother, and the archbishop of *Rheims*, who expected to be regents during his absence, flattered him with the success of his enterprize; but he limited their authority by a deed, which he drew up in the nature of a testament, and to which he appointed overseers. We have already recounted the fatal success of this expedition. *Philip*, without selling the great posses of his crown, could not have commanded the expence which it required; and after joining the crusaders at the siege of *Acon*, he began to see the folly of his enterprize.

ibid.
p. 161.

The quarrel between him and *Richard*, king of *England*, has been already mentioned; but the particulars are referred to this place. After the queen dowager of *England* had performed homage to *Philip* for the duchy of *Guienne*, he joined his army with that of *Richard*, and they marched in company as far as *Lyons*, where they separated, *Philip* towards the *Alps*, being to embark at *Genoa*, while *Richard*'s

Richard's fleet was to meet him at *Marseilles*; but the rendezvous of both was appointed at *Sicily*, from whence they were to proceed in conjunction to the *Holy Land*.

Tancred was then king of *Sicily*, and his right was disputed by *Constance*, wife to the emperor *Henry*, *Philip's* ally; but *Tancred* had imprisoned the queen dowager, *Jean*, sister to *Richard*. *Tancred* was obliged to dissemble with his two powerful guests, and upon the arrival of *Richard*, who demanded his sister to be set at liberty, *Tancred* evaded the demand. *Richard* upon this attacked the city of *Messina*, and grossly affronted *Philip* for offering to interpose, because his troops were actually in possession of that city. This treatment exasperated *Philip* to the last degree, and it is generally said; that he had formed a scheme with *Tancred* for cutting off *Richard* and his army. This was betrayed to *Richard* by *Tancred*, who was nettled at *Philip's* not having properly supported him, and the quarrel went very high. *Richard*, impetuous, haughty, and overbearing, kept no terms with *Philip*. Both his troops and finances were in a much better condition than those of the *French* king, and he obliged *Tancred* to pay him forty thousand ounces of gold; in satisfaction for a debt, which seems to have been little better than pretended.

After many altercations, the shame of blasting a holy expedition by personal dissensions, brought the two kings once more to a parley. *Philip* insisted upon *Richard* marrying his sister *Alice*, which he positively refused, because she had been debauched by his father, and because his mother was then in treaty for marrying him to *Berengaria*, a *Navarrese* princess; a match which actually took place. He offered however, to restore the dowry, which had been consigned with *Alice*, and which consisted of towns and estates. In short, the shame of returning after the pompous declarations with which they set out, and the prodigious preparations they had made, more than any other motive, prevailed with the two kings to patch up a seeming accommodation, that they might save appearances; and *Philip* sailed for *Syria*, leaving behind him *Richard*, who was daily expecting his bride, and his mother in *Sicily*.

We have, already, fully treated of the operations in the *Holy Land*, and all we shall add on that subject is, that the haughtiness of *Richard* on all occasions towards *Philip* was insupportable, which determined the latter at all events upon returning to *France*, after the *Christians* had taken *Ugene-Ptolemais* or *Acon*. It is certain however, that *Philip*, on this occasion, acted with great duplicity. He harboured in his breast thoughts of vengeance, which he durst not attempt to gratify upon the spot, but reserved them for his return to *France*. He disdained the assumed superiority of his vassal; but he was so mean as to swear to *Richard* that

See
Vol. X.
p. 70.
et seq.
Richard
insults
Philip.

he would not invade his dominions in his absence, and he left him a body of troops under *Eudes* of *Burgundy*.

Vol. X.
p. 71.
et seq.

Philip, upon his return to *Italy*, in his way to *France*, applied to pope *Celestine* III. for absolution from this vow; but could not obtain it, and in general his reputation suffered by the manner in which he left *Syria*, tho' it was, perhaps, the wisest action of his life. His reception in *France* however, was such as testified the joy of his subjects for his return. He encreased their regard for his person, by pretending that *Richard* of *England* had hired some of the famous assassins, subject to a prince called the old man of the mountain, to murder him in the same manner as they had the marquis of *Montferrat*, upon the streets of *Tyre*. *Philip* affected so strong an apprehension of this event, that he raised a body guard, properly armed, to defend him against all surprizes; and he sent a messenger with presents to deprecate the wrath of the old man of the mountain, who ingenuously told him, that he had given orders for the assassination of the marquis of *Montferrat*, not because he was *Richard's*, but his own enemy, and that he had no kind of correspondence with the king of *England*.

He mar-
ries a
Danish
princess.

Philip's queen, *Isabella*, having died in his absence, he married *Ingerberge*, daughter of *Waldemar*, and sister to *Canute*, king of *Denmark*. His motive for this match was mean and mercenary. He insisted upon *Canute* making over to him all the claim the *Danes* had upon *England*; a (most ridiculous resignation,) and upon his lending him a fleet for making it good, which *Canute* refused. *Philip's* heart was so much bent upon being revenged of *Richard*, that he entered into a secret confederacy and correspondence with *John*, *Richard's* younger brother, afterwards the unhappy and mean spirited king of *England*.

Vol. VIII.
p. 461.
et seq.

Upon *Richard* being made prisoner by the duke of *Austria*, and consigned over to *Henry VI.* *Philip* offered the emperor a large sum for the person of *Richard*; but the imprisonment of that monarch had so much disgusted the *German* princes, that *Henry* durst not strike the bargain. *Philip*, however, resolved to avail himself of his connections with *John*, and sent a most unmanly denunciation to *Richard*, while in prison. The grounds of his quarrel were, that *Richard* had not performed the compact they had entered into in *Sicily*, by restoring his sister's fortune, and that she herself was detained a prisoner in *Rouen*. When *Philip* took the field and attacked *Normandy*, he found most of the places there unprovided for defence. He took *Eureux*, and after putting a strong garrison into the castle, he gave up the town itself to *John*; but he failed in an attempt he made upon *Rouen*, and he found the whole of his conduct against *Richard* so disagreeable to his great nobles that he was at last obliged to consent to *Richard's* being ransomed; and

He takes
Eureux.

this he intimated to *John* by a message, in which he desired him to take care of himself, because the great devil was unchained.

Richard, upon his return, finding that the conduct of *Philip* War was disapproved of, not only by the *French*, but the other princes of *Europe*; reclaimed the places which the other twain had taken from him in *Normandy*. *Philip* answered him by *Richard* besieging *Verneuil*, upon which *Richard* invaded *France* with a great fleet and army, and landed at *Barfleur*, while his brother *John* is said to have made his peace with him by treacherously and inhumanly cutting the throats of three hundred *French* officers after inviting them to an entertainment. This fact however, wants confirmation; but it is certain, that *Philip* soon after, by a hasty march, surprized *Eureux*, where he put all the *English* to death, and burnt the city to the ground. *Richard* took that opportunity of marching against the main body of *Philip's* army which was immediately dispersed. Some negotiations followed this, but to no purpose, but *Richard* having forced *Philip* to a battle, beat his army near *Vendosme*; and the *French* chancery, containing the most important archives of the kingdom, which always attended their kings in the field, fell into the hands of the *English* monarch. A fresh invasion of *Normany* by *Philip* followed, and a most bloody war was carried on without any decisive advantage to either party, till both became sensible of their folly and temerity. The pope's legate mediated between them, and a truce was concluded, which terminated in *November* 1195, in a definitive treaty, by which the princess *Alice*, the great bone of contention between the two monarchs, was delivered out of prison and married to the count of *Ponthieu*.

Though *Richard* was incomparably a better general than *Philip*, and his troops superior in every respect; yet the desire of revenge had blinded him so much, that he lost all the advantages which his superiority gave him. The late definitive peace which had been concluded at *Louviers*, did not remain unbroken six months, and *Philip* again invaded *Normandy*, on pretence of revenging an injury done by *Richard*; who had by nature great parts when they were unclouded by passion, and now perceived the mistakes he had been guilty of and the necessity of seconding courage by policy. He gave his sister *Joan*, the queen dowager of *Sicily*, in marriage to the count of *Tholouse*, and flattered the *Bretons* with the hopes of making young *Arthur*, his brother *Geoffrey's* son, his successor in the throne of *England*. He likewise brought over to his party the count of *Flanders*, by promising to assist him in recovering the county of *Artois*. Being thus strengthened with confederates, *Philip* was attacked on all hands. The count of

Flanders besieged *Arras*. The siege was raised by *Philip*, who, in pursuing the count entangled his army so much, that he had almost lost it, and was obliged to make peace with the count, upon no very honourable terms for himself. *Baldwin*, count of *Flanders*, attempted, after this, to mediate between *Richard* and *Philip*, but to little purpose, till by the intervention of pope *Innocent III.* a five years truce was concluded. This truce probably would have been as ineffectual as those preceeding it; but *Richard* was in 1199, ignobly killed by an arrow from a castle, which he was besieging, that he might dispossess its owner, who was his vassal, of a mass of treasure he had found.

Philip Though *Philip Augustus*, is by the historians of *France* parts with esteemed to have been both brave and politic; yet it is his wife. certain, that his passions hurried him, as well as *Richard*, into capital oversights. He treated the powerful vassals of his crown too harshly and ignominiously, in the disputes they had with him; and he was apt to carry his revenge too far. He had from the first night of cohabitation, conceived an aversion for his queen *Ingerburge*, though a beautiful and deserving princess, and he had confined her in a monastery, and had actually married *Agnes*, daughter of a *Dalmatian* duke. *Ingerburge's* brother, the king of *Denmark*, resented the injury done to his sister, and complained to the pope, who pronounced *Philip's* second marriage to be void, though he had obtained a divorce from certain *French* bishops, on pretence of consanguinity.

As *Philip* was distractedly fond of *Agnes*, he paid no regard to the papal mandate, and he made use of the standing army which he kept on foot for overawing the pope and his clergy, whom he taxed and oppressed most unmercifully for some time; but at last, the terrors of excommunication and ecclesiastical censures overcame his resolution; and he humbly applied to the pope for a farther revision of his second marriage, which was granted. In this however, he had no better success than before, and perceiving that a final determination was to be pronounced against him, he took *Ingerburge* out of her monastery, and mounting her behind himself upon the same palfrey, he conducted her as his queen, to *Paris*, where he owned her as such, while his other wife *Agnes* died of vexation. As his second marriage had been contracted *bona fide* upon the part of *Agnes*, the son and daughter he had by her were legitimated.

Queen The prodigious possessions which the royal family of *Eng-*
Eleanor land had in *France*, were perpetual sources of misfortunes takes part to both kingdoms. Old queen *Eleanor* of *Guienne*, formerly with her queen consort of *France*, and afterwards wife to *Henry II.* son *John.* of *England*, was yet alive, and saw her youngest son *John* on that throne. It is plain, that the kings of *England*, dukes of *Normandy*, did not think themselves obliged to observe

observe a regular succession to *England*, because *John* sat on the throne in prejudice of *Arthur*, son to *Geoffrey*, his elder brother, and that *Eleanor* sided with *John*, through the hatred she entertained for *Constance*, *Arthur's* mother. What is more extraordinary, *John* was then in possession of *Normandy* likewise; and *Arthur* laid claim only to *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Touraine*. *Philip* took *Arthur's* part, invaded *Normandy*, and practised so artfully on the fickleness and weakness of *John*, that queen *Eleanor* was obliged to interpose between the two kings. It was agreed that *Blanche*, the daughter of *Alonso*, king of *Castile*, should be married to *Lewis*, the king of *France's* eldest son, and neice to *John*, who in case he himself died without issue, was to settle on the issue of that marriage his estates in *France*; but in the mean time, he was to yield up to *Philip* the long disputed countries of *Eureux*, and the *Vexin*, while *Arthur* was to do homage to *John* for the duchy of *Bretagne*.

Scarcely any vice that can come in the composition of a Prince king or a man, was a stranger to *John*. He had repudiated *Arthur* the daughter of the duke of *Gloucester*, and had married *Isabel* of *Angouleme*, who had been affianced to the count of *Normandy Marche*, who resented the injury done him. Though both but is de-
Philip and the lady's father had at first approved of the feated and match, yet on the representation which the count made, taken pri-
Philip resolved to improve the disaffection that had been sener and raised by the count against *John* to his own purpose; and murdered.
 encouraged young *Arthur* to march with an army to besiege his grandmother *Eleanor*, in the castle of *Mirebeau*. *John* passing from *England* with an army to her relief, defeated *Arthur*, took him prisoner, and sent him to the castle of *Rouen*, where he was murdered, some say, by *John's* own hands. *Philip* did not fail to improve to his own advantage every circumstance of this barbarity, especially as the barons in *England* were then in arms against *John*, who was abandoned by almost all the world. *Philip* summoned him to ap-
 pear before his court at *Paris*, and he not appearing, *Philip* went through all the minute forms of law; *John* was con-
 victed of felony, and as such, *Normandy*, and all his posses-
 sions in *France*, were judged to be forfeited to that crown. To give this sentence effect, *Philip* entered *Normandy* with a strong army, and though *Chateau-Galliard*, and some other places made a brave resistance, yet *John* unaccountably retired to *England*. *Philip* reduced first the higher, then the lower, *Normandy*, and at last the city of *Rouen* itself, reannexing the whole to his own crown, after they had been separated from it three hundred years.

John's
French
 possessions
 forfeited.

This success enlarged the views of *Philip*, and reflecting *Philip*.
 on the disadvantages his predecessors lay under from the meditates
 power of their great lords, he resolved to lose no time in the re-
 reducing them. The juncture was favourable to his wishes. duction of

The

his great
lords.

p. 76.
et seq.

See
Vol. VIII.
p. 467.
et seq.

ibid.
p. 471.
He pre-
pares to
invade
England.

The count of *Flanders* had undertaken a crusade, the count of *Champagne* was an infant, and the count of *Tholouse* was persecuted by the pope, the inquisition, and all the bigots of *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy*. We have already given a full account of the inhuman and detestable crusade raised against that prince, and which was encouraged by *Philip* for obvious reasons. *Guy de Tours* was the only nobleman who made any effectual opposition against *Philip*. He had married *Constance*, mother of *Arthur*, and heiress of *Bretagne*, and upon the death of that princess he offered his service to *John* in assisting him to recover his *French* possessions. *John* accordingly carried a fleet and army to *Rochelle*; but his perpetual unsteadiness, and the superior genius of *Philip* rendered him again unsuccessful, so that the duke of *Bretagne* was obliged to submit. The interdict under which the pope, at this time, laid the kingdom of *England*, gave *Philip* a fair opportunity for securing his conquests. His son prince *Lewis*, had taken the cross against the *Albigenses*; but another crusade having been patched up by the pope against king *John*, *Philip* chose that *Lewis* should serve in it, that he might keep the war at a distance from home, as he made no doubt but that *John* would endeavour to retake *Normandy*, the rather, as many of the lords there were disaffected to himself. The insolence of the pope had procured *John* friends in *England*, and hearing of the vast preparations made by *Philip* for invading his dominions, he had prepared a noble fleet, and an army of sixty thousand men to oppose him. The preparations of *Lewis* were immense at the same time. *French* historians have raised his fleet to the incredible number of seventeen hundred ships, and nothing was now talked of at his court and camp, but a second conquest of *England*, the estates of which his great lords laid out among themselves. While it was thought that the fate of *England* was on the point of being decided, *John* had formed a very different plan of operations. He had projected an alliance with the emperor *Otho IV.* the count of *Flanders*, the count of *Boulogne*, and the earl of *Tholouse*. Pope *Innocent* was in the secret of this confederacy; but well knowing the cowardly variable disposition of *John*, he resolved to disappoint *Philip* of the kingdom of *England*. He gave one *Pandolph*, a subdeacon, instructions how to get admittance into *John*'s presence, in which he succeeded; and being introduced to him at *Dover*, he told the unhappy prince that he had come from *France*, where he was witness to the prodigious preparations made by *Philip* for conquering his kingdom, and that *Philip* boasted he had secret assurances of his being joined by those very lords on whom *John* depended, and that the only resource the latter had left was to throw himself under the protection of the pope, agreeing to hold his crown of his holiness.

holiness. *John* meanly consented to this in the following words :

“ I, *John*, by the grace of God, king of *England*, and but is
 “ lord of *Ireland*, for the expiation of my sins, and out of obliged to
 “ my pure free will, and with the advice of my barons, do desist by
 “ give unto the church of *Rome*, and to pope *Innocent*, and *John*’s
 “ his successors, the kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, to- submission
 “ gether with all the rights belonging to them ; and will to the
 “ hold them of the pope as his vassal : I will be faithful to pope.
 “ God, to the church of *Rome*, to the pope, my lord, and
 “ to his successors lawfully elected : and I bind myself to
 “ pay him a tribute of one thousand marks of silver yearly ;
 “ to wit, seven hundred for the kingdom of *England*, and
 “ three hundred for *Ireland*.”

Pandolph, according to *Matthew Paris*, carried from *Eng-* A confe-
land eight thousand pounds sterling ; an immense sum for deracy
 that time ; and, upon his arrival in *France*, he intimated to against
Philip, who was ready to set sail, that he must lay aside all *Philip*,
 thoughts of his expedition, because the kingdom of *England*
 now belonged to his holiness, from whom *John* had con-
 sented to hold it in homage. This injunction fell like a
 thunder-bolt upon *Philip* ; who remonstrated, that, having
 laid out sixty thousand pounds in his preparations, he was
 resolved to make use of them, and to proceed in his expedi-
 tion.

The count of *Flanders*, in consequence of his engage-
 ments with *John*, refused to follow him ; and now the con-
 federacy against *Philip* began to disclose itself. It appeared,
 that the count of *Flanders*, in the division of *Philip*’s spoils,
 was to have had the city of *Paris* and the isle of *France*. The
 emperor, *Otho*, was to possess *Burgundy* and *Champagne* ; as
 the count of *Boulogne* was the *Vermandois*. *Philip* immedi-
 ately fell into the county of *Flanders*, and besieged *Ghent* ;
 but the *English* fleet took three hundred of his store-ships ;
 sunk an hundred more ; and blocked up the remainder in
 the port of *Dam* : so that, to prevent their falling into the
 hands of the confederates, *Philip* ordered them to be burnt.

John, after this, invaded *Poitou*, and landed at *Rochelle* ;
 where he was joined by the inhabitants. He repaired the
 fortifications of *Angiers*, and ravaged *Philip*’s dominions to
 the frontiers of *Bretagne*. *Philip* sent his son, *Lewis*, to op-
 pose *John* ; but both parties seemed agreed to wait the deci-
 sive issue of the campaign in *Flanders*, where *Philip* and *Otho*
 commanded in their own persons.

Philip had under him an army of fifty thousand men, be- who gains
 sides twelve hundred knights, and between six and seven the great
 thousand men at arms, which composed the best body of battle of
 cavalry then in *Europe* ; but *Otho* was at the head of an hun- *Bouvines*.
 dred thousand men. All the princes of the *French* blood
 served under *Philip* ; as did the counts of *Sancerre*, *Ponthieu*,
 and

and *St. Paul*, and twenty-two other lords, who had the privilege of carrying banners. The counts of *Flanders*, *Boulogne*, and *Namur*, with the dukes of *Limbourg*, *Brabant*, and *Lorrain*, with a number of *German* princes, ranged themselves on the side of the emperor *Otho VI.* Both armies met, on the twenty-seventh of *July*, at a little village called *Bouvines*. The *French* army was drawn up by *Guerin*, a clergyman, who had been lately nominated to the see of *Senlis*; and, after a sharp dispute, *Philip* obtained a complete victory, in the manner which we have already related; and he entered *Paris* in triumph, with his illustrious prisoners in chains; among whom were the counts of *Flanders* and *Boulogne*.

ibid. et seq.

page 84.

If *Philip* did not reap all the advantages which might have been expected from a victory seemingly so decisive; we are to attribute it to political reasons; as no prince, in his time, was less likely than he was to lose any advantage. The truth is, he was afraid of his own great lords; who, even before his victory, had shewn symptoms of uneasiness at his over-grown power: and he resolved not to incense them farther. Instead of that, he sent his son, *Lewis*, to assist *Simon de Montfort* against the *Albigenses*. But a nobler scene of action now presented itself to that young prince; for the barons of *England* invited him to come and take their crown, as they were no longer able to bear the oppressions of *John*. *Philip*, at the interposition of the pope's legate, had already accepted of sixty thousand pounds from *John*, for which he had granted him a truce for five years; and it was guaranteed by the pope, and had been agreed to by his great lords. *Philip* could surmount these difficulties only by pretending, that his son, *Lewis*, had not his authority for accepting the invitation of the *English* barons; but, at the same time, he lent him a fleet and an army, with which he landed in *Kent*. Every step of *Lewis* in *England*, after this, was fatal to his pretensions, and gave the *English* a mean opinion of his abilities. Instead of his besieging and taking possession of *Dover*, which he might easily have done, and which was, by far, the most important fortress in the kingdom, he took *Rocheſter* and some other places in *Kent*; while *John* rendered *Dover* impregnable to the arms and artillery of those times. The common people of *England*, and many of the barons, hated a *French* government; and *John* was thereby at the head of an army with which he took a severe vengeance upon the barons who had invited in *Lewis*.

Death of
John.

John being snatched away by a sudden and deplorable death, his crown devolved upon his son *Henry*, who was then in his cradle; and the earl of *Pembroke*, who was appointed the head of the regency, was as zealously served by the *English* as *John* had been reluctantly.

Lewis,

Lewis, finding his party daily declining in *England*, made The *English* a truce with the *English* regent, and returned to *France*; but, upon his arrival there, he found, that both himself and his father had been excommunicated; and, such was the terror of the papal anathema, that *Philip* refused to admit him publicly into his presence. *Lewis*, however, raised some troops, and, his party being in possession of *London*, he returned to *England*. By that time, a terrible revolution, to the prejudice of the *French*, had happened in the minds of the *English*. A count of *Melun*, who had been a favourite with *Lewis*, had, on his death-bed, declared, that his master looked upon all the *English* barons who had invited him in, to be traitors; and resolved to cut them off with the first opportunity: so that *Lewis*, upon his return, found the whole nation in arms against him. Having failed in a fresh attempt he made upon *Dover*, he besieged the castle of *Lincoln*; but his army was defeated by the regent, the earl of *Pembroke*. This obliged him, with the remainder of his troops, to shut himself up in *London*; from whence he implored his father's assistance. *Philip* continued the scene of dissimulation he had adopted; but winked at his wife, queen *Blanche*, raising a fleet and an army, which were defeated by the *English*, who struck off the head of the *French* admiral, *Eustace le Moine*, because he had been formerly in their service.

The pope's legate then interposed with the earl of *Pembroke*, and it was agreed, That the pretensions of *Lewis* should be submitted to the church; but that he was at liberty to return to *France* with all the prisoners taken by the *English*; upon his promising, That, if he could not prevail with his father to restore *Normandy* to the king of *England*, he would do it as soon as he became king of *France*. Those terms being agreed on, *Lewis* was absolved by the legate from his excommunication; and the *English* barons were reinstated in their immunities.

The five years truce already mentioned being expired, *Lewis* besieged and took *Rochelle*; but, upon the appearance of the earls of *Kent* and *Salisbury* with an army, it was restored. The rest of the reign of *Philip Augustus* was employed in the affairs of the *Albigenses*; of which we have already given an ample account.

Philip died at *Mante*, on the fourteenth of *July*, 1223, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign. The vast success he met with in reviving the lustre of the *French* monarchy, has screened his memory from the censure due to the many acts of meanness, barbarity and treachery he perpetrated in establishing his greatness. It must be allowed, at the same time, that he was the legislator and the civilizer of his own country. He improved the military discipline and fortifications of *France*; and, if he amassed

and progeny of *Philip Augustus.*
ibid. amassed money; it was to lay it out in the noblest purposes; in constructing public roads, bridges, and buildings. He married, first, in 1180, *Isabel*, daughter of *Baldwin*, count of *Hainault*, who died in 1190; and by her he had *Lewis*, his son and successor. We have already seen the fate of his marriage with *Ingerburge*, the *Dane*, whom he married in 1193; and the death of *Agnes*, whom he married upon repudiating *Ingerburge*. By her, he had *Philip*, count of *Clermont*, and afterwards of *Dammartin* and *Boulogne*; with a daughter, *Mary*; married, first, to *Philip*, count of *Namur*; and, secondly, to *Henry*, duke of *Brabant*.

END OF VOLUME THE TENTH.